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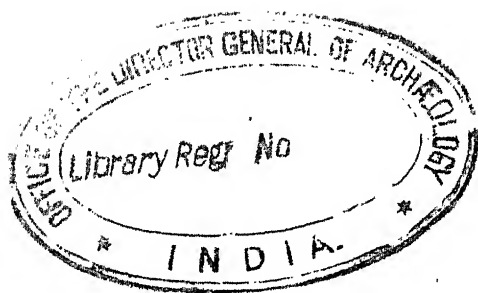
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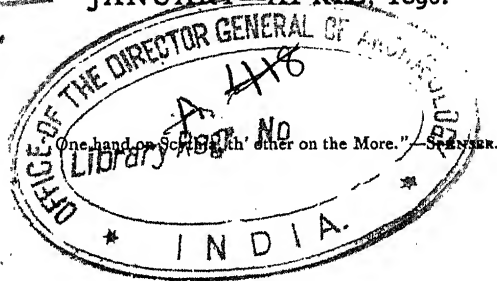
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JANUARY, 1896.

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INDIA AND LANCASHIRE.

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR RICHARD GARTH, P.C.

THE prospects of the Lancashire Cotton Trade seem gloomy enough.—We hear that many thousands of spinners are already out of employ; that their numbers are likely to be increased as the winter season advances;—that the weaving branch of this trade is in no better plight; and that old established mills have been actually closed, the proprietors not seeing their way to repairing them, in the face of declining profits.

One of the most remarkable features of this sad depression seems to be the disinclination or disability of those who are most interested in the question, to realize the true causes of the mischief.

Poor India, which has troubles enough already, and which for many years past has been Lancashire's best friend and customer, is abused, as if she were answerable for Lancashire's distress; and the Secretary of State is persistently urged to repeal or modify the cotton duties, as if that would be any cure for the disorder.

India, we may be sure, hates those duties, at least as much as Lancashire; and for the best of reasons, because she in fact bears the burthen of them; and if they were repealed to-morrow, Lancashire would be in no better plight; for India must then be taxed in some other more objectionable way, and her people become even less capable

than they are now, of supplying themselves with Lancashire's productions.

No. — ; *the duties are the consequence of the mischief, not the cause*;—and I am sorry to say they are imposed for no other reason, than to provide for the unjust military expenditure, which has been wasting India's resources for the last ten years, and, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of our wisest and most experienced statesmen and Generals, drawing down upon our Government the righteous odium and indignation of the whole Indian community.

The last phase of this unfortunate policy has been the Chitral invasion;—and it is unfortunate, that this should have occurred, at a time when for other and more important reasons, with which I shall presently deal, the trade of Lancashire in the East has been more than usually depressed.—To many of us this Chitral expedition seems quite indefensible.—It was undertaken by the late Government directly in the teeth of an Act of the British Parliament; and it had all the appearance of an unrighteous attempt to force our rule upon an unwilling people, who had never done us any injury, and whose only offence, (if it could be called one,) was their passionate love of freedom and independence.

Moreover, the means which were adopted for carrying out our designs seem scarcely consistent with the honour of the British Nation.—I do not know whether any of my readers have seen the Blue-Book containing the Chitral correspondence.—If not, I would invite their attention to it.—It must be difficult, I think, for any Englishman to read that correspondence, and to realize without a feeling of shame the way in which those poor mountain chiefs are bribed to sell not only their own honour, but also the liberty and independence of their subjects.

So long as this unhappy policy is permitted to guide our Councils at home, and to impoverish our fellow-subjects in India, there is little chance, we fear, of prosperity for the Lancashire Cotton Trade.—But we must hope for better

things in that respect.—A Commission is at last sitting, which, although the Public is for some reason excluded from its proceedings, we trust will be guided by a true sense of justice to India, and will no longer permit our people there to be ruined by a military expenditure, which, if undertaken at all, ought to be paid for out of the British Treasury.

But the other cause of Lancashire's depression is a far more serious one ;—and as far as we can see at present, there would seem to be no remedy for it.—I need hardly say, that I allude to the fall in the silver exchange ;—or to speak more correctly, the appreciation of gold money, as compared with silver, which has been going on during the last 20 years, and has now assumed such gigantic proportions, that whereas some 22 years ago the par value of the English sovereign was about 10 rupees, it is now worth nearly double that sum, or between 18 and 19 rupees.

And the consequences of this great change in the relative value of gold and silver money are in India marvellously startling. In this respect India is divided against herself.—In her financial relations with this country the change is absolutely ruinous ;—because her revenue is of course collected in silver, whilst her payments to England of many millions a year for interest on loans and what are called “ The Home Charges,” must be made in gold ;—so that virtually, (however unjust it may seem) she has to pay to England on these accounts nearly double as much in proportion, as she did 20 years ago ;—another consequence is that the Civil Service of India and all other Government servants, who receive their salaries in silver and have to make their home payments in gold, suffer also in the same way, though not of course to the same extent.

But on the other hand, to the Planters and Manufacturers in India, who carry on their business in silver money, and get gold prices for the produce, the fall of exchange is a very great gain ;—because the purchasing value of the rupee in India is almost the same now, as it was 20 years



ago, and the manufacturers get their labour, land and other requisites for silver prices, whilst they sell the produce for gold.

Here therefore is the main cause of Lancashire's distress.—This is where the Indian Cotton Manufacturer has such an immense advantage over Lancashire. Assuming the conditions of the two Manufacturers to be in other respects equal, that is to say, that India had as good material, mills, machinery and labour as Lancashire, then, if India pays silver money for the Manufacture, while Lancashire pays gold, it is obvious, that it would cost Lancashire nearly double as much as India.

But the conditions, of course, in many respects are not the same.—We all know that Lancashire has capital, skill and experience far beyond any other nation in the world. And moreover, she has certain other advantages, more especially in the manufacture of the higher classes of goods.—She commands the cheapest market for the best qualities of cotton ; she has the newest and most perfect machinery ;—and, moreover, there seems to be something in the climate of Bombay, which militates against the spinning of the finer counts of yarn.

But notwithstanding these advantages, which Lancashire possesses, the competition of Bombay, more especially in the lower class of goods, which are used by the great mass of the people, has become very alarming.—The stir which has been made over the Indian import duties is a sufficient proof of this.—And how can it be otherwise ? How can Lancashire, which pays gold money for everything, her material, her factories, rates and taxes, *and above all, her labour*, contend in the lower class goods with the Indian manufacturer, who pays silver money for everything ?

So the prospect for Lancashire is not cheering ; and the darkest feature in it seems to be this ;—that the great Gold Confederacy, with Lord Farrar and Sir William Harcourt as their exponents, appear to be perfectly satisfied with the présent state of things, and congratulate us upon the prosperity of the country.

So long as Sir Robert Giffen's figures look well upon paper, and the appreciation of gold is satisfactory to Lombard Street,—what matters it, that Lancashire is in distress, or that the Agriculturists are ruined, or that our iron and other great industries are leaving the country?

We were not without hope some little time ago, that Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, who are not so blind to the dangers of monometallism, as some other of our Legislators, and who have undoubtedly a deep regard for British Agriculture, and the prosperity of British Manufactures, might have seen their way to proposing some bimetallic system, by which the more wholesome state of things which prevailed in Europe for many years before the demonetization of silver, might, in some measure at least, have been restored;—but Mr. Balfour has very honestly informed us that the feeling in certain powerful quarters against any such change is so strong, that it is hopeless to make the attempt.—So the gold worshippers must be left to brood over their money bags, and some other remedy must be devised, if possible, for improving British Industries.

But meanwhile, what is Lancashire to do?

I am almost afraid to suggest, what I firmly believe would be the salvation of her industry, and at the same time prove a vast source of wealth and prosperity to our Indian Empire. Why not transfer some portion of our Lancashire industry to the East, and so appropriate the advantages of the silver exchange, which India now possesses?

I can well understand some of our great cotton magnates indignant at the very idea of such an exodus, and even consigning your humble servant to the shades, for daring to suggest, what they may naturally consider, as a desertion of the old Lancashire Colours.—But I am old enough to bear the brunt of their indignation, and would only ask them to be patient with me for a few short moments, whilst I explain my meaning—.

No one would suppose of course, that the larger and old established manufactories, whose owners have made the

name and fame of Lancashire, and we trust also their own fortunes, would think of deserting their old associations, and their beautiful homes and Parks, for any thing, however tempting, that India could offer them.—But there are others in the trade, who, if report says truly, are not so fortunate; both individuals and partnerships that have not yet made their fortunes, but that, with a certain amount of capital, have plenty of skill and knowledge, and a large share of English enterprise to back it.

To these I would venture to say;—why not bring your experience and capital to a land where fortunes may be made in less than half the time that they can now be made in England, and where you would not be subjected to those inevitable difficulties, which undoubtedly are serious hindrances to your success at home?

In the high lands of India, within easy reach of Bombay, at Poona, Bangalore, or the Nielgherries, are some of the finest and healthiest climates in the world.—Why not start a new Lancashire in one of these? You may bring with you, if you please, your own engineers, your own machinery, and a sufficient number of your skilled hands, to launch your manufacture in the most approved way.—You may grow your own cotton, build your own factories, buy your own coals and other necessities, *at silver prices*, and command any amount of easily trained labour, for about one-third what it would cost you in England.

Your skill and machinery would do wonders in the improvement of the Bombay manufacture; and I believe there is no doubt that with attention and a careful selection of seed the cultivation of the cotton plant might be largely improved.—Moreover, you would find a market for your goods at your very doors; and in most localities, certainly in those which I have mentioned, a good supply of railway accommodation.

And it must not be supposed, that in these healthier and more desirable localities, there need be any lack of those social comforts or amenities, which it might be difficult to

find in other countries of the East.—You would still be under a British Government ; and the establishment of a powerful industry would bring with it its own social accompaniments.—You would find Civilian officers of all grades, Military men, Bankers, Planters and others ;—sport and recreation of all kinds for your sons, and amusements no less attractive, (if I may be allowed to say so,) for your wives and daughters.

This may perhaps appear to some of our readers, rather too rosy a picture of Indian life, and hardly consistent with the accounts which we read of the less salubrious districts of Bengal.—But India has a pretty large area, and a vast variety of soils and climates ; and I am not speaking now of low-lying lands, or even of the large Presidency Towns, but of the higher and healthier regions of the hills, where, as far as I know, there is no reason why cotton factories on a large scale should not be established.

Perhaps some of our readers may ask, why, if such grand openings for trade are to be found in India, the natives of the country have not taken advantage of them?—The question is a very pertinent one, but by those who know anything of India, very easily answered.—Native gentlemen as a rule have no taste or talent for Industries or Manufactures, which is a very great source of regret to those who, like myself, take a keen interest in the country.—They have a land teeming with wealth, which, if properly developed, might be one of the richest countries in the world. But they have not as a rule the energy or enterprise, which is necessary for such undertakings, and which seems to be the special gift of the Anglo-Saxon.—Many of their nobles and great men have plenty of capital, but they do not care to embark it in such ventures. Land and Zemindari pursuits are the great objects of their ambition. Their bankers, lawyers, merchants and others often make large fortunes, but they are generally laid out sooner or later in land.—Let industries be ever so inviting, ever so lucrative, native gentlemen seem to avoid them.

I believe one main reason of this to be, that their caste prejudices are often strongly opposed to undertakings of that nature; and another is, that the Government have done nothing to encourage them.

Thus we find all the great industries in India almost entirely in the hands of our own countrymen.

Only look at the great tea industry; the wonderful strides that it has made during the last 30 years. Thousands upon thousands of acres of rank, unwholesome, forest land converted into rich and smiling tea plantations, where fortunes are being rapidly made by British enterprise, and hundreds of thousands of coolies are employed, well fed and well cared for, and sufficiently well paid to lay by at least one-half of their earnings against the time when they return, if they ever care to return, to their native homes.

Look again at the vast jute trade, which in the space of a few short years has turned the broad waste of swamps, which lies between Dacca and the Himalayas, into a thriving jute garden, and has enriched the ryots of that region to an extent which they never dreamt of twenty years ago. —The actual cultivation of the jute plant is of course the work of the natives; but the vast bulk of the trade and manufacture is in the hands of Europeans.

Look again at the coffee plantations of Coorg, and the great indigo factories of Bengal. —Consider what an enormous source of wealth these vast undertakings have been to India, and all virtually the work of our own people!

Consider also, how impossible it would be to carry on these great industries at all if their promoters had to pay gold prices, as Lancashire has, for their land, labour and outgoings! —How could the wheat grower in India undersell the English farmer, as he does, if he had to pay gold prices for its cultivation?

I would only ask our Lancashire friends to think of these things; to consider, whether they might not bestow with advantage a portion of their skill, experience, and capital upon a land which would repay them a hundredfold, and to

which they would soon become a most welcome source of wealth and prosperity.

There is a vast field open in India for cotton manufacture, which is at present only occupied by a comparatively small number of Parsees and others, and principally in the neighbourhood of Bombay ;—and if our countrymen do not see their way to take advantage of their opportunities, we cannot doubt that other nations of Europe, some of which are becoming quite as tired as we are of an expensive labour market, will soon obtain a footing in India, if they think they can establish themselves there with any good prospect of success.

We must not forget that our trading and mercantile position in India has been by no means unchallenged of late years ; and inroads, which have been made upon it, have caused no small disquietude.

A large portion of the corn and grain trade has found its way into the hands of foreigners ; and Armenians, Greeks, Germans and others now occupy an important position in the mercantile world, which was once considered the almost exclusive province of the British merchant.

The French too, we must remember, have been complaining for some time past, that India has been the ruin of their cotton trade ;—and France would probably not be the only nation in Europe, which would be glad to found industries in India, if she thought that she might do so with a good chance of success.

And let us not lose sight of the important fact, that before long other silver using countries in the East, besides India, will be opening their doors to European manufactures.—In fact, the race of competition has actually begun.—Japan, as we all know, is playing an active part in the cotton and other markets.—Chinese labour is cheap, skilful and abundant ;—and if China is thrown open to European industries, we may expect to find no lack of manufacturing activity in Chinese territory.

I may observe in conclusion, that in anticipation of a

large increase in Eastern trade we hear that a well known Steamship Company is now preparing a fleet of vessels to run to and fro from the western shores of America across the Pacific ;—and if the monometallic fever continues to prevail in Europe, there is no knowing, how soon other manufactures, besides cotton, may betake themselves to the more profitable markets of the East.

RICHARD GARTIL.

## “THE SOVEREIGN PRINCES OF INDIA AND THEIR RELATION TO THE EMPIRE.”

—RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.—

BY A TERRITORIAL MAHARAJA.

DELICATE though it may sound that an Indian Prince should take the liberty of pronouncing his opinions on a matter that deeply concerns the royal sons of India, like the one under consideration, yet it may not be out of place, that one should unfold, at your instance, one's loyal opinions concerning this question of vital importance, on the authority of the past history of this country, maintained by the present circumstances that go to favour and strengthen our view.

In the halcyon days of Hindu Sovereignty, this land of Bharata enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful reign, the Court of Ayodhya, on the one hand, and the Court of Hastinapura, on the other hand, having acted as centres of political supremacy, binding the vassal sovereigns by the common tie of patriotism towards their mother land, and loyalty towards their sovereign, recognized as such, by divine right. From the glimpses of political history we can gather on the authority of our ancient Epics,—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—we learn that every political act of great moment was before its execution proposed by the sovereign head and carried by the unanimous voice of the vassals (Samantha Rajas) and ministers, invited to advise and edify on such matters. The installation of Rama was proposed by the Emperor Dasaratha, when he desired to lead a retired life during his old age, relieving himself from the cares of sovereignty, and the assembled vassals and ministers carried the proposition unanimously. The War of the Mahabharata was another momentous act of Politics that was brought about by the united voice of the subject sovereigns and vassals who were scattered about the length and breadth of this vast and glorious Empire constituting 56 Aryan Principalities. Still later when we come to the siege of Somnath, we find the Hindu Sovereigns assembled



under a common banner, in the cause of their religion and country, to oppose Mahomed of Ghazni. These are then a few among the many leading points of evidence that go to establish that there must have existed in the Hindu Sovereignty, the germs of an Imperial Constitution, which might have developed well organized councils for political guidance, at one time or other, during the prehistoric sway of Hindu sovereigns over this vast Empire.

As a standing proof of this we have the system of feudal sovereignty that prevails up to date in Rajputana, which is nothing but the survival of the vassal system, in vogue in this ancient land in times prehistoric. Wherever the vassal system is in force, there we cannot but see a relation which necessitates mutual help and advice, in matters *politic*, a relation which in a form, rude or refined, indicates the germs of a political Constitution, similar, if not exactly corresponding, to the modern Imperial Constitution, the existence of which in this country is disputed by Mr. Lee Warner and Mr. Tupper, whose knowledge of the political traditions of this historic land does not go beyond the chaotic mass of "Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads."

Centuries must have rolled on without tainting this holy relation between the Imperial Majesty of India and her Vassal Sovereigns, even before she was destined to fall a victim in the hands of murderous Tartars and other barbarous tribes that were long waiting to pounce on their coveted prey. The sovereign princes trembled at the sight of these desperate and dissolute marauders, the country being doomed to a condition of chaos and anarchy—a condition of things from which Rome, the Mistress of the World, herself had not escaped. These were no doubt dark days for India. But Providence never intended that she should be left in darkness through all eternity. When brighter days had dawned, when the Muhammadan invader ceased to be a mere plunderer of a foreign soil, but established himself permanently in the country, laying the foundation of the Muhammadan Empire, she saw the shadow of her former glory returning by slow degrees, when Baber founded the

Moghal Empire on the Indian soil and secured her safety by securing the friendship of the Rajput princes, a policy, which he and his successors found necessary for the prosperous growth of their Empire.

Akbar the Great, the most popular of the Moghal Emperors made the people and the Sovereign Princes of India realize her former glory, by expounding a healthy system of laws and introducing a good many reforms which tended to secure the welfare of the people of his Empire. Akbar best recognized the importance of the policy pursued by his grandfather Baber and succeeded in bringing the sovereign princes of the land together on terms of friendship, in the interests of the vast Empire, which he knew he could not govern without the internal union and confidence that ought to subsist between the Emperor and his vassal princes. He, as Emperor, found out that Rajputana had the vassal system, a relic of ancient Hindu Imperial Constitution, in force; and proposed to the Rajput princes that he would become their Suzerain—i.e.—their highest chieftain. When many of the princes assented to the proposal, a strong tie of attachment was created between them and the Sovereign-head.

At this point we may do well to examine into the actual relation that subsisted between the Emperor at Delhi and his vassal or feudatory Princes. This relation mainly rested on the right of the Emperor to demand from the vassal the payment, every year, of a certain sum of money, often nominal, as a tribute in token of his recognition of the authority of the Paramount Power of the land; and the vassal was, as a matter of fact, bound to place his person and his army at the disposal of the Emperor, whenever the safety of the Empire was endangered. In other respects the vassals enjoyed the entire confidence of the Sovereign-head and exercised independent powers over their kingdoms without being meddled with, in every matter that concerned the local administration, whether revenue, civil, or criminal. The greater the confidence placed in these princes, the greater was their attachment to

the paramount power, and the more secure was the Empire. This relation between the princes of India and the Emperor, during the Middle-ages of India, was not far different from the relation that subsisted between the Norman Kings of England and their vassal-lords, on the Conquest of England by William of Normandy, who introduced into England the Feudal system of the Continent, in a slightly modified form. The motto of the vassal princes of India has all along been to protect the Empire from foreign aggression and save it from ruin and downfall. The loyalty of the vassal-princes of this land is a thing unprecedented in the history of the world; and the same cannot be said of the relation between the Vassal Prince and the paramount authority of other countries, where the King may have reason to fear the power and influence of his vassal in the land.

The relation that at present subsists between the feudatory chiefs of this land and the Empire may not compare favourably with the one that subsisted between these bodies either during the Moghal regime or during the prehistoric sway of Hindu Sovereigns. The Sovereign Princes of our Empire are now bound to govern their states with the help of Residents stationed in their territories. In the majority of cases, the native princes are at the mercy of the Residents stationed in their capital and are moved as mere "puppets" in their hands, in spite of the fact that these Indian Princes are highly cultured and are capable of proving themselves eminent statesmen, if allowed to exercise their talents in the direction of administering their territories with much less restriction, without being watched every inch by the Resident stationed at the capital. The loyal Sovereign princes of India do ever hope to be enlisted into the confidence of the Imperial Majesty of the Indian Empire, and ever pray for the safety of the Empire, prepared, ever at the beck and call of the paramount power, to place their persons, armies and resources at the disposal of the Superior Power for the safety of Her Majesty and the Empire. It will then be

a source of much gratification to the Sovereign Princes of the land, and will be a certain testimony of the confidence the State places in these Princes, if Her Majesty is graciously pleased to allow such enlightened Sovereign Princes as H.H. the Gaikwar of Baroda to rule over their kingdoms with less restrictions from the Residents stationed at their capitals, and it is hoped that such a step will in the long run induce other Sovereign Princes to become more enlightened and better fitted to rule over their kingdoms and to serve in the Common Cause of the Empire whose prosperity is their watchword.

How far different from this was then the relation that subsisted between Akbar the Great and his subject Sovereigns? He pursued the healthy policy of conciliation towards the princes of this vast Empire and exalted the lesser nobility to high offices in the State. He succeeded in bringing into existence an effective political Constitution by which the whole Empire was placed in constant touch with every part of it. He brought about a political organization in which the Hindu tributary princes were placed on a par with the Moghal nobility as feudal Lords. With the aid of these princes Akbar succeeded in subjugating the Patan Kingdoms of Northern India. The Emperors of Delhi adopted in succession this noble policy, invented by the founder of the Moghal Empire and developed by his grandson, the greatest of the Moghal Emperors. So long as this policy was pursued by the Moghal Emperors of Delhi, so long did the Empire stand free from danger and downfall. But Aurangzeb pursued a policy far different from that pursued by his ancestors towards the princes of his Empire. Actuated by religious fanaticism he kindled the inimical feelings of the Rajputs and other Hindu princes, by imposing on every infidel, an insulting tax called Jazia. This inhuman tax drove the subject races out of the Empire, and the Hindu Princes who had been the means of lending vitality to the Empire during the reigns of Akbar and his predecessors, became in turn the very instruments of ruin to Aurangzeb and

his followers. The inevitable result of their receding from the sound policy of Akbar, induced by religious bigotry and actuated by sensuality, was certainly the breaking loose of the strong bond of union that kept the Empire firm and steady, finally ending in their degradation and the downfall of their Empire.

Just at this juncture, it has pleased Providence to entrust this land with its millions of inhabitants, to the care of a benevolent and God-fearing race of rulers—the English. The loyal and patriotic Princes of India have always welcomed the British Raj as a God-send, have uniformly acted with a spirit of unswerving loyalty to the State, and have shown themselves conspicuous in standing firm under the benign banner of the Imperial Majesty of India. The history of the Mutiny of 1857 and the records of the E. I. Company previous to that event, are permeated with marked instances of their loyalty. What greater evidence of their present loyalty can be given than the one portrayed in the words of the well-known letter of the Nizam on the occasion of the Panjdeh Russian scare! The loyalty of the Princes and people of India to the Imperial Majesty is a household word!

What does this world-known loyalty indicate? What does this desire to make common cause of everything that may affect in the least their paramount sovereign, declare? Surely nothing but a filial right and a loyal claim to be restored to their lost prestige and glory; nothing but a longing to be redeemed from the thralldom of a bygone rule; nay, a confidence on the part of the many millions of India that England shall in the long run mete out to them their political salvation.

This hope, this longing and this confidence was not to go in vain. During the winter session of 1875-76, this country was honoured by the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, when this crowning gem of Britain's possessions paid her tribute of unfailing loyalty never before surpassed in the annals of British India. During this season of joy and festivity throughout the land, the princes of this

vast empire felt that the day was not far off when they would have the good fortune of being incorporated into the Imperial Constitution of a glorious dynasty. Accordingly, the year 1877 has marked out a glorious epoch in the annals of the British Empire in the East. In that year, the relation that has subsisted between the sovereign princes of India and Her Imperial Majesty received a formal recognition, whereby some of the Sovereign Princes of India have accepted the title of "Councillor of the Empress." Herein was realized the hope of the far-sighted statesman, Lord Beaconsfield, during the Viceregal administration of an equally far-sighted statesman, Lord Lytton.

The Imperial Declaration at Delhi was, in the opinion of great statesmen, the dawn of a prosperous future for India. Lord Lytton has thereby originated the Imperial Council, and has entrusted it even in its infancy to the charge of the successive Secretaries of State for India and Viceroy, to be nurtured with due care. But, no sooner had Lord Lytton left the shores of India, than the lines of his imperial policy were relinquished; and the infant Council found itself at the mercy of uninterested nurses in whose hands it had to pass the critical age of childhood, though now and then presenting dangerous symptoms, under the weight of which it might decline and be lost. But India has no cause to despair of its prosperity under any circumstances, seeing that this infant Council has all along been under the care and guidance of a higher Power—Providence. Though the Imperial Council was helpless in the hands of its guardians, yet thanks be to the Secretaries of State for India and the Viceroy who had this vast Empire entrusted to their charge, for their good wishes towards the Sovereign Princes of India who are interested in the growth of this infant Council, for the liberal policy they have been all along pursuing towards them, under the auspices of Her Gracious Majesty, the Empress of India. The lapse of nearly two decades ever since Lord Lytton constituted this infant Council has not been entirely fruitless. For during this period the Sovereign Princes of India, such as H.H. the Gaikwar of Baroda,

H.H. the late Maharaja of Mysore, H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore and many others have distinguished themselves, as portrayed in the words of a disinterested observer, the Earl of Meath,—“by their high culture and intellect, speaking English without the slightest accent, keenly alive to all that is passing in the world, and sincerely desirous of governing their territories both wisely and justly. Several of them have widened their minds by travel, have visited Great Britain, been presented to their Empress, and have made themselves acquainted with other portions of the vast Empire, over which her rule extends.” This interval has been of immense good to the Princes of the land in preparing them for the noble and responsible call to serve Her Majesty, as Councillors, in the administration of this vast Empire, wherein is cast the lot of several millions of people, bound by the common tie of loyalty to the same Paramount Power, though differing from one another in respect of creed, custom and language.

It is therefore our individual opinion, as is the opinion of many impartial observers on Indian Politics, that the time has already arrived for allowing the enlightened Native Princes of India to play an active part in the Imperial Council of Her Majesty, into which a few of them had the honour of being initiated as Her Majesty's Councillors, on the occasion of the Imperial Declaration at Delhi. It may so happen that some of the Native Princes may not all at once like to take part in the Imperial Union, on the ground that their prestige as Sovereign Princes will become a thing of commonplace. But steps might be taken to have their prestige and power kept sacred and respected, if not enhanced and exalted. It is further our opinion that such a step will in the long run bring the Princes and people of India into a closer touch with the British Sovereign Power, and will certainly result in multiplying the welfare and contentment of the people of India, by bringing into united action the dormant powers of the Sovereign Princes of the soil, now confined within the narrow limits of their territories, to bear upon the Empire for their common weal.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING OUR POSITION IN INDIA. II.

BY R. CARSTAIRS, B.C.S.

(Concluded from Vol. X., No. 20, October, 1895, p. 287.)

IN the last number I dwelt on two of the five defects in our Indian administration that I think are capable of remedy. These were: 1. A weak Executive and 2. The absence of a good Rating system. There remained: 3. Bad communications. 4. Insufficient protection from drought. 5. Neglected forests. I, therefore, now proceed to consider the 3rd defect:

III. *Bad communications.*—I have already shown how, by a good Rating system, we may bring within reach and make available one main resource of India, viz.—the wealth and labour of its vast population. I propose now to follow that up by pointing out three ways in which it is possible greatly to develop the other main resource of the country, viz.—the land. Bengal alone has 150,000 square miles, out of which 54,000,000 acres—more than half—are under cultivation. An extensive property—what can be done for it? I propose to notice removeable defects in connexion with roads, irrigation and forests, and to point out how they can be remedied.

*To take Roads first.* The system of roads ought to give access to every group of houses by means of local roads, and to the great centres and lines of traffic by means of main roads. Every road should have a good hard surface, and the proper engineering works for giving an easy passage over natural obstructions. In no part of the country with which I am acquainted, (outside towns), are the roads up to this standard. The local roads are, for the most part, little more than mere tracks, owing their existence to the natural impossibility of altogether preventing people from moving about. In main roads, a beginning has been made;



but there is not yet a mile of these for every ten square miles of country, and of that a part only has been provided with a hard surface and bridges. Roads remain in good order only if unused, for they are not kept in thorough repair.

The result of this state of things is that during the three months of the rainy season, road traffic is blocked, to the great inconvenience of all concerned, and especially to the heavy loss of the railways. At all seasons, the bulk of transport has to be on lightly laden carts, by pack-animals, or on men's heads. Here is the matter in a nutshell. Five pairs of pack bullocks can carry a ton on their backs. The same five pairs on an ordinary unbridged road in the dry season can, when yoked in carts, convey two tons. The same bullocks and carts, with the same labour, can convey along a well-kept and fully bridged road three tons.

This will sufficiently explain the mere commercial loss which the want of good roads entails on a population of 70,000,000, mostly country people, without railways or other means of transport within reach, and living by the production of grain and other agricultural crops.

In my opinion, the cause of the defective road service I have described above is that the principle which would almost automatically provide roads as many, as good and in as many places as they are wanted, has not been fully applied. This principle is that "those who use pay; those who pay use." There are two expedients by which that principle is commonly applied—payment before the work is done, by an assessed rate, and payment after the work is done at the time of use, by hire or toll. Of these two expedients the Government of Bengal relies on the former only—the assessed rate—and will not permit the latter—the toll or hire—to be used for the making and maintenance of roads. This laying aside of the toll is the mistake which has prevented the development of the road system in Bengal.

The rate and the toll have always had each its own duty to do, which cannot well be done by the other; and this is

well understood in England. In England, a rate is never used except for the maintenance by local funds of a local work for local use :—as, for instance, a town street, a school, or some parish service, in which the rate-payers, and they alone, have a direct and tangible interest. I believe that there is no case, in any populous part of England, of a rate on occupiers being levied from an area of more than 100 square miles : most rate areas are under ten square miles. Works of general interest, for the use of a large and indefinite community, such as railways, canals, tramways and harbours, have always been provided, as a business speculation, by capitalists, and hired to the public. The use of a town-street is not charged for at the time of use, because it has already been paid for. The use of a railway is charged for at the time of use, because it has not been paid for beforehand, and those who were to use it could not have been assembled and assessed beforehand with the cost. The only practical motive which can procure such a work on any terms for the use of the public is the faith of capitalists in the willingness of the public to pay hire for it, after it has been provided.

In England, long ago, roads were maintained by the parish, out of parish rates, within the parish, and according to parish requirements. When a public demand for main roads of a better and more uniform quality arose, these were provided by capital, and hired to the public for a toll. The parish rate-payers were never called upon to provide roads for the use of the general public. That was a business for capital.

By degrees, chiefly through improved roads, the value of land rose, and with it the productiveness of rates. Then railways and canals came in and took away the through traffic, leaving for roads the local traffic only. When this happened,—when the costly work of bridging, *etc.*, had all been done, and only the work of maintenance, reduced by the cessation of through traffic, was left ;—when the tolls had to be paid mainly by local people, instead of, as for-

merly, by people from a distance—were paid in fact by the same community that paid the rates;—when the rates became more productive, and better able to bear this reduced cost of maintenance,—then toll went out of date, and ordinary roads of all kinds in England came to be supported by rates alone. This result was hastened by the offer of the Government to give a grant in aid as compensation for the loss of tolls on through traffic.

In India, none of the conditions which put tolls out of date in England are found. Railways and canals have not, in most parts of the country, superseded roads for the carriage of through traffic, the greater part of which duty is still performed by roads. Bridges, and even good surfaces for the main lines of road that exist are still far from being completely provided; the traffic passing over the roads wears them out faster than the limited funds can get them mended; the value of land in India is, for the most part only about a fiftieth, area for area, of the value of land in England; and the rates are proportionately unproductive; while there is no Government grant in prospect to pay for the wear and tear of through traffic.

The funds for making and maintaining roads outside towns are, in Bengal, raised by means of a Rate or Cess, which is levied throughout the whole area of a Revenue District—that is about 3,000 square miles, more or less. The rate must be uniform over that large area, and the fund is treated as a single fund—not distributed to localities. Tolls which, before the institution of this Cess, had been in use on one or two main roads, are prohibited everywhere. Instead of the rate-funds, scanty as they are owing to the unproductiveness of the rate, being used, as they ought to be and, in England always are, for the local service of the rate-payers, they have been appropriated almost entirely for making and maintaining the great roads which carry through traffic—the works corresponding to which in England are not roads but railways. As might be expected, the main roads thus maintained out of inadequate

funds are in quantity scanty and in quality deficient, while the local roads, to maintain which is the proper office of the rates, are left to nature.

The only way of bringing things back to a satisfactory condition is to confine the rates to the support of purely local works,—their natural duty; and to leave to capital, as in England, the business of supplying main roads for hire to the public. Whether the day will come, when, as in England, the toll-supported railway and the rate-supported road shall, between them, serve all wants, and the toll-supported road will be out of date, it is useless to speculate: that time is not yet come.

I believe that, in a country so populous and so full of industry as Bengal, capitalists will look on the provision of roads for hire as a good investment; money will flow freely into the business; and the want of good main roads, now grievously felt, will be supplied. On the other hand, the rate-payers, if they find that their rates are spent on their own local roads, will be more ready to give them, and these also will prosper. Land will rise in value; rates will become productive; railways will be extended; and traffic, which is the country's life blood, will flow easily and in abundance.

As for the political danger of levying tolls on roads, I have every cause to know that a reasonable system of tolls, levied only for the support of roads and not for revenue, would be popular rather than the reverse.

IV. *Insufficient Water-supply* is the next removable defect which I propose to notice.

Out of 54,000,000 acres of cultivation in Bengal, about half is safe from drought, either through natural climate or through artificial means; but the other half is exposed to drought. On this half, about one-fourth of the crop in an average year,—and in a bad year, (which causes scarcity, and, if repeated, famine,) more than one-fourth is lost through that cause. Translated into money, the annual loss to Bengal from drought in an average year consider-

ably exceeds 100,000,000 Rs. Further, scarcity of water means the emptying of all reservoirs to save crops, whereby men and animals are deprived of their drinking water and much sickness is caused.

In my opinion, the greater part of this heavy loss is unnecessary and preventible. I shall say nothing about costly irrigation-canals, a subject which can only be dealt with by a professional engineer. Common sense, however, tells us that, in a country like Bengal where the minimum rainfall is 30 inches in the year, it is possible to store water enough to secure all crops from drought. I have now to show what the State should do to prevent this loss.

It is a prerogative of the Crown to sell water for irrigation. The landlord or the cultivator may irrigate the fields which he owns or occupies; but no one may, except in this way, legally make a profit out of the supply of water for irrigation. Even in the case of landlords or tenants, the intervention of other rights may often prevent the carrying out of large schemes, where their owners are not willing to give facilities for making reservoirs or distributories. It is also too often the case that those entitled to do the work are not enlightened enough, or have not the means to carry it out. The loss is largely due, therefore, to ignorance, want of capital, and divided interests.

The action of the State is needed—(1st), to make known the necessity for works,—(2d), to introduce capital into the business,—and (3d), to make up for the shortcomings of private enterprise.

The intervention of the State is necessary, because the selling of water for irrigation is a Crown prerogative, and rightly so, since (a) the storage of water involves a monopoly of natural resources, which should not be allowed to private persons without due safeguards for the rights of the public; and (b) water-stores and distributories cannot be made economically unless there is a power of compulsory purchase.

The first form of action to be taken by the State is the

spreading of knowledge. A complete survey of the whole country should be made, having special regard to water-levels, and drainage-basins. For each basin there should be a statement of the area under cultivation; and how far it has, and how far it has not protection from drought. It is information we are already supposed to have for the purpose of famine prevention. A minimum should be fixed, below which the water-storage of the area should not be allowed to fall. All this information should be made public.

The second form of action is the introduction of capital. This can be done by encouraging landlords, tenants or capitalists not connected with the land to come forward and obtain private bills or charters giving them the right to supply water for their own use or for the use of others, on suitable conditions, with the right of compulsorily acquiring land. In the case of water-works, as in that of railways, compulsory rights and a certain amount of monopoly are essential to the successful prosecution of the business. If the State gives power to acquire these, this action in itself will, without any expenditure of public money, add largely to the water-supply of the country, by enabling capital to be employed. The business needs an immensely larger amount of capital, and the capital is ready to go into it, but cannot find a door. It is for the State to open that door.

The third form of action for the State is to step in and do the work itself, where the supply is below the minimum and private enterprise is not ready.

There are reasons why Government should interfere now, even if it was not bound to do so before. The first is that the Government has made itself responsible for the prevention of death by famine. I have felt the harassing weight of care that presses on every Government servant who is responsible for the safety of a Revenue District with its one, two or three millions of inhabitants. Every season he has to be intently on the watch, steering between the Scylla of famine, and the Charybdis of excessive spending. It seems

right that a foe so much dreaded and so difficult to cope with as drought should be thrust as far from our doors as possible.

The second reason is that in these days of extensive trade, the village reserves of grain—formerly the chief insurance against famine—are emptied much more quickly than in former times, and this renders necessary some other method of insurance. I can think of none so simple and good as to store such a reserve of water as will prevent all risk of failure of crop through drought.

Even if no profit were obtained from the storage and the sale of the water, the investment of money in such works would be a saving to Government, relieving it of much expense now incurred for the rescue of its subjects from the worst consequences of loss through drought. I think, however, a substantial money-return might generally be looked for, if the following conditions were observed,—

(1), Never to make a reservoir very deep; but rather, if a large supply is wanted, to spread the water over a large area, terracing it off if necessary,—

(2), Not to have too long distributories; but rather to have many reservoirs,—

(3), To sell the flow of water instead of taxing the fields, making the purchaser temporary tenant of the distributories,—

(4), To utilize what may be called the bye-products—fish, wild-fowl, grazing, and orchards planted on the banks.

I anticipate that, simply by the giving of facilities for carrying on the business of storing and selling water, the demand and the answering supply will soon mount far above the minimum fixed by Government; and that the use of water for all purposes will be very largely increased. There seems hardly any limit to the benefit which may be conferred on the country by keeping back for its use a sufficient portion of those vast volumes of wealth in the form of water which are being poured with so lavish a hand upon the soil year by year, only to flow off, in unproductive and even ruinous floods, to the sea.

V. *Neglect of forests* is the last of the three removeable defects which I propose to notice.

The forests of India are the sources on which her people depend for material to make and mend house and furniture ; for fuel ; for tools, boats and carts ; railway waggons and sleepers ; and packing-cases for indigo, opium and tea. They supply important articles of commerce, like lace, tussar silk and India rubber. They afford grazing and shelter for flocks and herds ; and they alleviate the climate, especially in a hilly country. From land bare of forest, the rain rushes off in torrents as it falls, scouring out the soil, and leaving barren and boulder-strewn ravines. On the forest-clad land, the fall of the rain is broken by the trees, and it sinks into the soil, welling forth, lower down, in springs. The trees gather fertility from the air, and deposit it on the soil in generation after generation of leaves.

India has no resources from which to draw her supply of wood save her own forests. What she cannot get there she must go without. They are a great public institution of vital importance to her people, and must, in the public interest, be carefully protected.

The forest question in India has of late years grown greatly in importance. A generation ago, the great object was to clear away jungle : now, it is to prevent over-clearing. There are large and populous tracts of country where the mischief has already been done ; and others, as great and populous, where it is being done rapidly. I point this out as a calamity needing prompt attention, since more mischief can be done in a year than can be remedied in a generation.

The causes of the evil are more than one. The science of forestry is, both in England and in India, of recent growth. As in the backwoods of America, so in the jungles of Bengal, the supply of wood, until recent years, so greatly exceeded the demand in or near the forests where it grew, that it was looked on as unimportant because inexhaustible.

The Government of India is now awake to the importance of preserving forests, and has established a Forest Depart-



ment which, on State lands, has done a great and profitable work, though even there that work is hampered by the old wasteful customs of the country. Outside Government Estates, there has been little reaction from the old customs, and these are rapidly bringing great hardship on many parts of the country.

At a meeting of the Scottish Arboricultural Society, on January 23, 1895, its president, R. C. M. Ferguson, Esq., M.P., a Scottish landlord, put forward, apparently with the approval of the meeting, the suggestion that Government ought to carry on the forests, because the returns of such property, though enormous, are so slow that few private owners are able to wait for them. I was struck with the fact that, in a country where so much is left to private enterprise; where landlords are comparatively well-to-do, enlightened, well-served, far-sighted and contented with small and slow returns, such a proposal should have been made at all. If all the forests in Scotland were to go, the country would be poorer, but it would get on by the aid of iron, coal, and foreign supplies of wood.

In Bengal, the landlords are, most of them, unenlightened, poor, badly served, unenterprising, and eager for quick and high returns. India would also suffer, far more severely than Scotland, by the destruction of her forests, for she has no effectual substitute or other source of supply. Even if some proprietor, exceptionally enlightened, were, by careful management for a generation, to nurse up a good private forest; his successor would probably be foolish, and would, as I have seen done, sweep it bare in a single season.

The remedy for this heavy misfortune that has fallen and is falling on so many districts of Bengal must be, if it is to be of any use at all, thorough and searching. Merely to strengthen the hands of the proprietors will not do. Nothing will do short of the Government taking into its own hands, (with just compensation to those having vested interests), such wastes or other land as may be needed for the purpose, and forming and managing, after the most approved methods, forests for the supply of the public needs.

No one except the Government has the skilled agency, or the continuity of policy necessary; and leaving the forests, on which the country depends, in private hands is to ensure their mismanagement, and risk their destruction.

The cost of preservation and restoration will necessarily come at the beginning, and the returns only after many years. India's forests are, however, so great and necessary an ingredient in her prosperity, that we cannot look on as excessive, any trouble and expense which result in securing them for the country.

Having now ended my survey of the five changes of policy which I suggest in the management of our Indian affairs, I will shortly state the general results.

*First* :—The people are apathetic in matters which concern their own well-being to a great extent because they are accustomed in everything to look to Government for a lead. The Government, thinking that the people should be free to do as they please in these matters, have not hitherto been giving them that lead; but have, on the contrary, been rather trying to get them to advance without it. It is desirable that the lead should be given, in which case we may look for real progress.

*Secondly* :—There is among the people a great want of united action; and, as a necessary foundation for this, of a good, workable system of Rating. I have suggested such a system for adoption.

*Thirdly* :—The most extensive property which the country possesses is the land. By proper development this property can be immensely increased in value; and one cardinal means of development is a proper system of roads. The policy now in force has the effect of starving roads by shutting out from the business of providing and maintaining them all capital except the scanty produce of a Rate on the value, necessarily small, of the undeveloped land. I suggest a change of policy which will have the effect of giving capital free access to this business, whereby we may hope to see the business done.

*Fourthly* :—A second cardinal means of developing the

land is to utilize the naturally abundant water-supply. At present, capital is similarly excluded from the business of storing and selling water; and I suggest a change of policy which will give it free access to this business also.

*Fifthly* :—The forests, which are necessary to the prosperity of the land, are, so far as they are in private hands, in danger of destruction; and I suggest the adoption of a policy which will effectually prevent this.

It is obviously impossible to calculate the effect which all these changes, every one of which is far-reaching, may be expected to have on the circumstances of the country. I do not think it at all extravagant to hope that they will add two shillings a week to the average income of the 14,000,000 families now living in Bengal, and that would mean the important addition of 1,400,000,000 Rs. to the annual income of the country.

The list of evils and their remedies which I have given above by no means exhausts the field of Indian reforms and improvements. For instance, very little use is made of the cheapest and most widely distributed motive power in the country—the wind. Then the banking system is defective, loans being contracted more for the barbarous purposes of warfare, in the law-courts and elsewhere, and for display, like weddings, funerals and the like, than for the useful development of the land.

I can hardly hope that my suggestions will find acceptance in all quarters; and no doubt there are defects and weak points about them which might be noticed. At all events, I believe I have been able to bring to notice some evils that exist. All experience tells us that the only way to get at the best way of doing things is to begin trying to do them in the best way we know. We have had enough of the fatalist Eastern method, of lamenting but accepting as inevitable the evils that over-hang the country. Rather let us set to work and be doing what we can,—in my way, —or, if there be a better, then in that,—to ward them off.

## NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY IN INDIA.\*

BY MANOMOHAN GHOSE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

AMONG Englishmen, of whatever shade of political opinion, there are not two views upon the subject of Judicial independence. The whole Constitution of this country from the days of the Stuarts is bound up with it. Has any necessity, therefore, arisen in India, as a question of fact and not of principle, for guarding the independence of those who have to administer justice? My honest conclusions and inferences from facts within my experience may be entirely wrong and even the facts themselves, which I will now submit, may be capable of a different explanation from mine. The subject also is one that affects the whole of India, whilst my professional experience is entirely confined to the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

It is to the Criminal Courts that I particularly desire to call attention. The feeling of the thinking portion of my countrymen is that justice was, on the whole, never better administered in India than at present. This even-handed justice in all Courts is the main cause of our contentment, happiness, and loyalty. If there is any defect in the system which has a tendency to impair that appreciation I think it is the duty of every Englishman, as well as of every Indian subject of the Queen, to point it out with the view to its being remedied if possible.

The administration of justice in India is practically in the hands of the covenanted Civil Servants. No student of British Indian history can fail to acknowledge the great benefits which that Indian Civil Service has conferred upon my countrymen. That service has produced administrators of whom not only India but England may well be proud.

\* For the discussion on this subject, see "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this Review.—ED.

It has also produced Judges who, though not "professional" men, will in point of brilliancy and independence, bear favourable comparison with the best Judges of England. If, therefore, in the course of my observations I point out certain defects in the present *system*, the fault is *not* to be laid at the door of *individuals*.

Although the administration of criminal Justice is also chiefly in the hands of the Covenanted Civil Servants, a very large proportion of the magistracy consists of my own "uncovenanted" countrymen. Though the severity of my remarks falls upon them, who compose the subordinate magistracy, they too are victims of the "system."

There are three grades or classes of magistrates in India invested with three classes of power, of whom the third is the lowest. These magistrates may belong to either the covenanted or the uncovenanted Civil Service, but are mostly natives. They all act under the District Magistrate who is always of the first class. He combines in himself large executive, with judicial, powers. He is the representative of the Government, the head of the police, and of every conceivable department in the district, and he is also the Appellate Court from the decision of second and third class magistrates. The appeals from the first class magistrates lie to the District Judge, who is also the Sessions Judge who tries the more heinous cases which cannot be tried by the magistrates. Over the District Judge is the High Court of the Presidency consisting of Barrister Judges, members of the Civil Service, and natives of India who are qualified by their learning and eminence to fill the responsible position of a High Court Judge.

Now, is there anywhere any tendency to interfere with the judicial independence of these different classes of judges? So far as the Government, the policy of England, and even the majority of officials are concerned, there is no desire to unduly interfere, but the system works in such a way, that the result does affect judiciary independence.

The greatest complaints about the interference with the

judiciary relate to the subordinate magistrates, who whether first, second, or third class are dependent on the District Judge for their promotion and also to a great extent for their transfer from one district to another. The magistrate of the district, being the chief executive officer, has to make over cases to the subordinate magistrates, or Deputy Magistrates as they are called on our side of India, for trial according to their respective powers. They are chiefly Bengali gentlemen, who find that, as a matter of fact, they cannot perform their judicial duties without being interfered with by their executive head. It may not be done intentionally, it may be through ignorance, but the effect of the interference is to make the subordinate magistrates feel that they have no discretion and no judgment of their own. For instance: the Deputy Magistrate thinks fit, upon the evidence, to release a man on bail, in the exercise of his judicial discretion. If the Superintendent, or Inspector of Police, does not approve of it, he merely complains to the District Magistrate that criminal A has just been released by magistrate B on bail whereupon the District Magistrate may immediately send a slip to his subordinate asking to explain how he came to do so? This frightens the Deputy Magistrate who thinks that he may have committed a great wrong, and in the next case will probably not release a man on bail, even if he thinks that he ought to do so, lest he should incur the wrath of his official superior. This sort of thing is of almost daily occurrence. I have known instances in which Deputy Magistrates have been told, by the District Magistrate, who meant no harm or may even have thought that he only did his duty: "I have formed a very strong opinion on this case: I think the accused ought to be severely punished. I make over the case to Baboo A, B, or C." This practice is due to the system which combines executive and judicial functions in one officer, who, just as he would in an executive matter, sends a confidential *chit*, to his official subordinate in a judicial matter also. In

political questions this may be right, but in the administration of justice it is altogether out of place. We may be told that under the law the District Magistrate has a revisional jurisdiction over his subordinate. Yes, but the law never contemplated that, whilst a case is pending, the magistrate trying it should in any way be interfered with. Once, whilst defending a case, the Deputy Magistrate said to me: "I have just received a *chit* from the District Magistrate that I must do so and so." On my representing that his discretion could not be interfered with, he replied: "I am only a subordinate; you had better speak to my Head." This I did, but the District Magistrate only affirmed, in the most innocent manner, that he had a perfect right to interfere because the Deputy Magistrate was his subordinate. I have known a District Magistrate deliberately make over cases, where the evidence was so strong that one could not resist a conviction, to the second or third class magistrate so that the appeal might lie to himself. Under the code of 1872, the Appellate Court had the power, now happily been done away with except in the case of the High Court, of enhancing sentences. A District Magistrate once made over a case to the subordinate magistrate, who sentenced a man to two months imprisonment; the man appealed to the District Magistrate, who made it six months! [Since the alteration in the law, in consequence of the scandal which such enhancements led to, this cannot now be done.] I brought up this and other cases to the High Court which quashed the whole conviction. Such a state of things causes much heart-burning among the people, who say: "We cannot get justice." If the District Magistrate has, from *ex parte* representations of the police or otherwise, made up his mind to convict a man no subordinate of his will acquit him, however innocent. Sometimes the subordinate magistrates imagine that a particular decision will be agreeable to the District Officer. Do not hastily blame them. They have not had the education of the covenanted civilian, nor the advantage

of associating with English people in this country. I will give a glaring instance of "the system" which came under my observation. A man complained to a Deputy Magistrate that he had been severely thrashed by the District Magistrate. The marks of the thrashing upon his person he showed to the Deputy Magistrate, and asked for redress. The Deputy Magistrate was much disturbed on finding that the complaint was against his own superior officer, and without putting a single question he wrote on the complaint: "This case is manifestly false—I dismiss it and I call upon the complainant to show cause why he should not be prosecuted for bringing a false charge." In the meantime, the man appealed to the judge of the District against the order dismissing his complaint. The rumour reached the accused District Magistrate himself, who happened to be in the interior, and, as any Englishman of honour would do, he immediately wrote a letter to the District Judge, stating that he did strike the man under great provocation, thus admitting the whole thing. This case is no doubt illustrative of certain features in national character: the Englishman comes forward, and admits what he had done; the Deputy Magistrate who probably imagined that his superior would deny the accusation, in anticipation dismisses the case! The only practical inference to be drawn is that subordinates are in great fear of their superiors upon whom their future prospects depend. The only remedy is to devise some scheme whereby the magistrate of the lowest grade may have his discretion unfettered. That is what I ask for, but it is not all. The second or third class magistrate often says when a case has been made over to him by the District Magistrate, to whom the appeal lies: "I know my superior would be glad if I convicted this man, and he is moreover the appellate authority; so that it is safer for me to convict."

Then as regards the District Magistrates themselves. Sometimes from the best motives they will make mistakes



which make one almost shudder. The following came within my own experience : A covenanted magistrate not long ago came to a district and asked a Zemindar for a subscription of Rs. 20,000 for a public object. The Zemindar did not quite see his way to give it. The magistrate had heard that before he joined the district there had been a criminal case against the Zemindar. He suddenly looked up the papers and of his own motion revived the prosecution against the Zemindar and made it over to his subordinate to try. The Zemindar naturally got frightened. Letters then passed through an intermediary to the effect that if the Zemindar would pay up the subscription the prosecution would be dropped. Under my advice the Zemindar applied to the High Court to bring up the whole proceeding. The High Court, surprised at the case, sent for the Record, and issued a Rule to show cause why the whole proceedings should not be quashed. The Crown Officer who came to show cause said to me " We had better not have a discussion of this very ugly case ; I will consent to the proceedings being quashed, if you do not expose this magistrate." I agreed. The order was set aside and so far as public action went, there the matter ended, but does it not show the evil of the combination of executive with judicial functions ? Until this system is modified, the people will not have confidence in the purity of the administration of justice.

The Sessions Judges hear appeals from first class magistrates. They have only a revisional control of sending cases to the High Court ; and none over the second and third class magistrates. Throughout Bengal there is a feeling of the greatest respect for the justice administered by them. They are not lawyers trained in England, but belong to the same service as the covenanted magistracy. Yet, how is it, while there is every confidence felt in them, there is so much less in the justice of the magistracy ? The reason is not far to seek. The District or Sessions Judges do not combine executive with judicial functions nor are

they subordinate in any way to any executive officer except to the Government of Bengal for their appointments and promotions. They are only subject to the High Court. Of late years, however, there has been a tendency on the part of the executive to interfere indirectly even with their independence. District Judges have recently complained bitterly of it and this encroachment of the executive is also very much to be deplored.

Over the District Judge there is the High Court. There is not another institution in the country which commands greater respect and confidence. The High Court Judges, very often under the orders of the Chief Justice form a Bench, each consisting of two Judges. Although they hold their offices during the pleasure of the Queen, they are thoroughly independent of the executive. This frequently leads them to reverse the judgments of the subordinate magistrates who sometimes feel irritated at their treatment by the High Court. It is not surprising, after what I have revealed, that the High Court should sometimes feel bound to reverse their decisions. This causes friction between the Executive in the interior and the High Court Judges. In one instance, a District Magistrate had the impudence in an official reply to sneer at the judges of the High Court and to say he did not care how they decided. The High Court may be magnanimous enough to overlook this gross contempt of Court, but the people all know of it; it gets into the papers, and it certainly is not calculated to enhance the respect which ought to be felt for the highest Court in the country. In my early days the Government and executive authorities, as a rule, loyally accepted a decision of the High Court upon any question of fact as final. Now the tendency is to sneer at its decisions and those of the District Judges, yet, while the Executive often form their conclusions on confidential official *chits*, and have no chance of sifting any question by cross-examination, the Judges, who are the constituted tribunals of the country, have the advantage of hearing both sides of the question and naturally

may be presumed to come to a more correct conclusion. The tendency, indeed, is to decide cases *before* the Judges themselves have decided them, e.g. : a police officer sends up a case : the Executive take the view of the police : *before* the witnesses are cross-examined, the Executive promote that police officer. When the case is submitted to a Judge and Jury they come to the conclusion that the whole case was false and, perhaps, fabricated by the police officer in question. Then the Executive resent the Judge daring to say of one of their men that he has fabricated evidence, and there is friction. Indeed, Executive officers are always angry at a Judge commenting on the conduct of the police, that they say injures its *prestige*. This *prestige* is a tremendous bugbear in India, of administrators as well as of Judges. Justice is often sacrificed at the altar of *prestige*. The question often is not whether a man is guilty or not, but "a crime has been committed, the police have got hold of a man, and why should the Judges say that he is innocent?" I look upon the existence of this feeling as fraught with great danger. Do our Courts exist to carry out the behests of the Executive or to find out the truth and deal out even-handed justice? I have said that the High Court Judges are as a body thoroughly independent. Yet the Bengal Government, or its Secretary, only a short time ago published a Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette* censuring the Judges of the High Court for certain decisions which they had given! The idea of a Secretary in a Government Office censuring Judges! The Bengal Government also asserted the right of criticising the conduct of the subordinate judiciaries. The High Court protested, but to no practical purpose. The matter was referred to the Secretary of State and *he* thought that the Lieutenant Governor was doing his duty, so were the High Court Judges, but *he* need not give any decision! The High Court, and the District, Judges are, as a body, independent, but how about a subordinate Judge who knows that a particular decision may ensure his transfer to an unhealthy district? Take human nature as it is all

over the world and the answer is obvious. The evil in India has reached its climax. Native magistrates, many my personal friends, have privately shown me documents which they could not make use of while in the Service, asking me whether there was no remedy to a state of things which compelled them to decide a case as directed or be told that they were insubordinate. In many cases, no doubt, the District Magistrate may not be conscious of the impropriety of interference, direct or indirect. The people of Bengal, however, are shrewd and subtle, and their confidence in the justice of the magistracy is shaken by the present system, a standing cause of discontent.

Some people complain of the Native press. It will often write on imperfect information and indulge in unfair criticism, but the cases which give rise to these attacks are mostly cases of magisterial misconduct.

Is it not time now that another system be devised whereby the present evils may be remedied? Let the District Magistrate, as he is now, remain the chief executive head of the district, but let the magistracy who try cases be subordinate not to him, but to the District Judge. This reform Lord Kimberley, in the House of Lords, declared was very desirable, and his predecessor, Lord Cross, in the same debate, declared that its introduction was of the utmost importance. The Secretary of State was, however, "advised" that for financial reasons the reform could not be carried out. So far as Bengal is concerned, the reform can be carried out with great facility, a slight alteration in the Criminal Code and without costing the State an additional rupee. My friend, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, has framed a scheme in which he shows that the whole of this reform could be carried out with the existing staff of officers, and without any additional expense, and his opinion is supported by Sir Richard Garth and others. Our best thanks are also due for the great service in this cause by Mr. Da Costa, an honoured member of the mercantile community of Calcutta. The real difficulty is this, though

Lord Kimberley shrank from giving it, that the Executive and the Magistracy are under the impression that their prestige will be weakened. But this prestige difficulty does not stand in the way in the presidency towns of Bombay, Madras and Bengal where the magistrates are not subordinate to the Commissioner of Police, and yet the Commissioner of Police has as much prestige as he ever had. Nor does the question of expense bar the way. Then why not carry out the suggested reform, at any rate experimentally? I do not advocate the separation of judicial and executive functions in Chitrál,\* but in the advanced parts of India where the people will appreciate the blessings to be conferred by the reform.

\* Even in Chitrál it would be an advantage and, as a matter of fact, Kazis were ever supposed to be independent of the executive.—*Ed.*

## OUR INTEREST IN CHINA.

BY A. MICHIE.

SINCE I last had the privilege of contributing a paper to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on the Far East—a little over two years ago—much has happened in that part of the world. I have been asked somewhat pointedly whether my views respecting the relations between the Chinese and the British-Indian Empires have been modified by these unexpected events, to which I unhesitatingly answer, No. Not that I set much store by verbal consistency, which as a rule is to be had only at the price of ossification, for where would be the interest in assimilating new *data* if the verdict on them was already stereotyped?

As regards the position of China the fundamental facts have not changed; they have only been exposed by the events of the recent war with Japan. These facts, so far as they concern the British and British-Indian Empire, may be summarized as follows:

1. That China, our imperial neighbour, is a vast territory inhabited by the greatest agglomeration of human beings on the earth's surface, incapable of war, but models of docility, industry and commercial virtue.

2. That the Chinese Empire is actually and potentially one of our most important markets, and that it is consequently a matter of the highest interest to us to preserve the Empire alike from anarchy and dismemberment.

3. That besides being a customer for our trade China occupies the geographical position of buffer between us and two aggressive and anti-commercial Powers whose avowed policy is to destroy British trade by every possible means.

4. That it results from these *data* that a close alliance between the British and Chinese Empires was, and is, a relation prescribed to us by natural necessity. This is a position from which no British Government will ever

henceforth be able to escape, since its soundness has been demonstrated by the late war and its sequel.

To those who conceived China as a fighting power the war with Japan must have been like the awakening from a dream. But no practical statesman could ever have contemplated anything in the nature of a military alliance with China as the term is commonly understood ; it would not have been feasible had the force of that country been ever so efficient. Indeed the greater her military strength the more impossible would it have been to make any terms with China ; and our experience of the way she treats agreements would not have encouraged even a sanguine Foreign Minister in building any British interest on so ricketty a foundation. Russia has shown us the only practical kind of military connection with China, the alliance between the limbs and the body. The subject needs no exposition. He that runs may read.

Her Majesty's Government had in a half-conscious way been following this very line of policy, but so little did they understand what they were doing, or realize what was required for its success that when the psychological moment came for giving it something of a concrete expression, and turning it to practical account, they got suddenly frightened and threw overboard precious cargo as if it had been marked "dynamite." It is difficult to characterize such a proceeding. It is a kind of aberration to which popular governments seem to be liable, and we have to accept it as part of the price the nation has to pay for its inimitable constitution. There is no question here of Whig or Tory, Radical or Unionist, but solely of capacity to apprehend a fact, and incapacity. The late Government was made up of living men and lay figures, which in their corporate functions were scarcely more efficient than the Tsungli Yamen itself, that type of all incompetence. The departments which had to do with matters outside the range of parochial telescopes, and therefore out of touch with the electorate, were ruled by men of respectability who counted

for something less than nothing in the real government of the Empire. We have lately seen what the touch of a masculine hand can do in the Colonial Office, and hope also to see the Foreign Office respond to the spur of a resolute rider. But these new lights only make the old darkness more visible. It is certainly not for the sake of flogging a dead horse that one would recall the nightmare of the last few years, but it is impossible to comprehend present actualities either in the East or the Far East, without an occasional retrospective shudder at the vagaries of the past.

As great a problem as any that confronts Great Britain at the present moment is that of the disposal of China. There we have a sick man worth many Turkeys, of more value to us as a people than all the Armenians that ever walked the earth; as a commercial inheritance, priceless, beyond all the ivory and peacocks that ever came out of Africa. It was, and must ever be the business of this country to foster and conserve that grand entity called China, even as the industrious ant-colonies cherish the aphides which supply their wants. To a nation like our own which can only live by the exchange of products, a race of 300 millions of consumers and workers is a gift from the Gods, to despise which would be the kind of madness which the Gods also bestow, as a prelude to destruction.

In a general way no doubt as much as this would be verbally granted by our men in authority, and even by the Press. But let the pious aspiration come within sight of being translated into action and it becomes plain that neither Government nor public have any tenacious grasp of the problem. It would indeed appear that our rivals are ahead of us in the practical appreciation of what present circumstances demand, and the Powers which are bent on our commercial downfall take more trouble to compass their designs than we do to maintain and develop our position of commercial supremacy. It is evident that the



change of Government, which in this instance at any rate meant the accession of capable men, came none too soon. Lord Salisbury has now to toil with a heavy load up the glacis which Lord Rosebery so easily slipped down. But it will not now be possible for this country to dislodge its rivals from the coign of vantage they have so well earned by the vigilant strategy of their Statesmen.

If it be asked what ought to be done in order to cement a profitable connection with China, it is not easy to give a categorical answer. For it is not by pharmaceutical prescription that you can obtain such combinations as alone could raise to its legitimate position what is called British influence in China. Some useful modifications could no doubt be made in the outward mechanism of British representation there, for as matters are now conducted the Minister residing in Peking is but one degree better informed of what is passing at the commercial ports than the Secretary of State himself. But the appointment of new functionaries, whatever title they may bear, will not carry us very far unless a right spirit moves them. It is men rather than officials that are wanted, for it is a vital and not a statistical problem which is to be solved.

Our obvious duty to China's millions and our own is to draw them together by every kind of bond that is feasible for the purpose. Time was, even within the memory of living men, when it was laid down as an axiom by a British Secretary of State that our policy in China should be directed to reducing the number of points of contact to a minimum. That was in the dark ages when the attachment of the Colonies was regarded as a doubtful blessing by British Statesmen. Wider experience has condemned both sentiments, and the wisdom of one generation has become the folly of the succeeding one, and *vice versa*.

The most obvious as well as the safest line of attachment of the two peoples is what is embraced in the general idea of commerce, because it is profitable from the outset, and consequently both popular and intelligible. We cannot be

too persistent in pushing our trade on the Chinese, and in what is called "opening up the country." The phrase indeed is often used in a loose, indeterminate manner, yet is there always a residuum of meaning in it. Officially, China is now opened to our trade, and has been these thirty and odd years. It is much more open than Japan, for example, which is sometimes held up as a model of what China should be. It is illegal for a British subject to buy or sell outside the narrow limits of certain specified sea-ports in Japan, whereas one may travel and trade throughout the length and breadth of China, the treaty providing explicitly for the regulation of the transit-dues to be paid on merchandise or produce carried to and fro. But though it is lawful it is not expedient, that is to say not profitable for a British trader to do business in the interior of China, any more than it will be in the interior of Japan. It is absurd to suppose that a high-feeding, heavily-moving Englishman can compete with the nimble natives of either country on their own ground. The temptation to spread out offered by the opening of the Yangtze Kiang and coast ports in 1861—and there can never be such a strong temptation again—was the proximate cause of the ruin of most of the great business houses of that period. According to analogy therefore the opening of Japan will prove an illusion, while the grandiloquent talk we hear sometimes about breaking down the exclusiveness of China, has so far as commerce is concerned, no meaning.

What we really want is improved means of transport, whether by land or water. And this brings us back to the old postulates of Wingrove Cooke, the only man who has really touched the commercial relations of China with a luminous pen. It is remarkable that after a lapse of 38 years, after two invasions of our own, one of France and one of Japan, Chinese affairs should not have advanced one inch beyond the lines laid down by that most perspicacious of correspondents. Wingrove Cooke wanted a starling to be taught to say "Free transit throughout China" and to

be hung up in the cabin of the British plenipotentiary; and it is the same bird with the same cry which is wanted to-day. The free navigation of the lower Yangtze having proved a conspicuous success, every opportunity should be taken to extend this boon to the upper section of that river, as well as to all other rivers, lakes and canals where it is possible for a steamer to ply. No phenomenal access of new trade is to be looked for from any new measures of that sort, because we have already got to the very heart of the country, but some addition would surely be made to the volume of existing commerce. So well is this recognized that the petition for the opening of the West River in the Canton province is one of the commonplaces of the periodical correspondence between the China Chambers of Commerce and Her Majesty's Government; but no step has been taken towards its realization.

Everyone knows, of course, that to ask anything of China is to be refused, without any regard to the merits of the request. But there have been times when China had herself something to ask and when we might have stipulated for a *quid pro quo*. There was, for example, the extraordinary concession Lord Salisbury made to China ten years ago in sanctioning a large increase of the Opium duties and in making the free port of Hong Kong a Chinese Revenue Station. In exchange for such a favour we might have had whatever we wanted from China, and it was nothing short of culpable negligence on the part of our Foreign Office to let such a chance slip without opening at least some of the more important Chinese rivers to trade and steam traffic. Similar opportunities will occur again. It will not be long before China—if she intends to remain solvent—will have to ask permission to increase her import duties in order to meet the war indemnity. Then perhaps we shall have a chance to place our commercial intercourse on a better footing. Shall we be ready to seize it?

The opening of the Chinese water-ways to steam, and the encouragement of railway communication wherever

practicable would be but the natural complement of the efforts now being made to connect our Burman territories with the Western provinces of China, an enterprise which has received an effective stimulus from the activity of our rivals in the Far East.

But these things after all are but the roads to commerce, not commerce itself. The field is there, but it will demand diligent cultivation before it will yield its fruit. Its extent no man can measure, and in this there lies a danger of exaggerated hopes leading to deep disappointment, as was the case on the two previous occasions of China's being "opened," namely after the Wars of 1842 and 1860. No simple rule-of-three formula can assist us; so many people, so much trade would be a most unsafe basis to frame estimates on. Such calculations used to be made, when we knew less than we do now of China and her wants. The stories that were current after the first war, if not all true were at least well invented. One firm reckoned that in a population of 412 millions, the odd twelve at least would want to wear stockings, and on the most moderate estimate a tenth part of that number would become immediate customers for so useful a foot-covering. Other firms made similar "safe" calculations with regard to their special manufactures; and so consignments of boots and pianos were sent to be "consumed" in freight and charges. And if estimates in detail are erroneous, still more must be estimates in the gross made up of these details. Residents in China still remember the disastrous effect of the glowing pictures in English papers which sent men and capital to China on a wild goose chase in the years following the war of 1860.

Out of the débris of these ventures however a certain legitimate and solid trade did survive, watches, jewellery, mirrors, musical boxes, and a gradually increasing list of articles of furniture have made their way into China, and yet the whole amount of such trade is but trifling.

Comparisons too between the Chinese and Japanese are

of course entirely fallacious, as the incidents of the late war must have made clear to everybody. The two peoples are opposite in their nature; the one is passive, the other aggressive. While one seeks us the other waits for us to seek it. The Japanese come and search out all our hidden things, weigh us, measure us, gauge our capacities better than we can do ourselves, for they are able to compare us, without bias, with our competitors. The case is absolutely different with the Chinese, and therefore numerical analogies can lead to no sound conclusion.

The merchant in China needs in fact to be a missionary as well, to discover what the people need and persuade them to buy it. But this is hardly merchants' business; they have neither the time nor the aptitude for it, and necessarily do it indifferently. Neither has the individual merchant a direct interest in the development of trade, because increase in its volume brings greater competition and tends to diminish rather than enhance the individual profit. The persons who are really interested in the extension of trade are not the few hundreds who are engaged in handling the merchandize but, on the one side, the British artisan, the British manufacturer and the British nation; on the other, the Chinese people. The latter are inaccessible to outside ideas, dumb and incompetent. We have seen them without an effort—of which they are indeed incapable—succumbing to the competition of India and Ceylon in their staple export, Tea. This is because the Chinese growers have no initiative, do not make improvements, and do not advertise or push their product as our countrymen in India and Ceylon have done so successfully with theirs.

But what concerns us most is the future of our own manufactures. And here it must be said that the listlessness of the Chinese tea growers has been fairly well matched by the rigidity of the British manufacturers. They also wait till the world comes to them, and seem quite astonished that the world goes past them. The

conservatism of British industry is one of the most striking phenomena of the day, not only rooted to one spot, but bound to one pattern and one routine, so that whosoever wants something different must seek it elsewhere. The trade with China is stagnant and restricted to a few of the commonest staples which can be turned out by the million, without any fresh call on the inventive genius. No one it seems with the requisite technical knowledge and the necessary amount of the pioneering spirit has ever taken the trouble to study the actual and possible wants of the people. What has been done in the way of investigation has been done by Government officials and private explorers at their own expense and risk, and as neither of these classes possess the educated eye they have brought back little that was of any immediate service to the British manufacturer. There seems to be at last a little shaking of the dry bones in our manufacturing centres. Lancashire and Yorkshire evince a tendency to awake to the needs of our trade in the Chinese dominions, and Chambers of Commerce are considering the propriety of putting their own shoulders to the wheel of commercial exploration, and not relying so entirely as they have done heretofore on Secretaries of Legation, peripatetic Consuls or amateur travellers. Not a day too soon; rather, thirty years too late !\*

Where so much has to be done to establish ordinary commercial intercourse, it may well seem premature to think of any broader intimacy based on the charitable desire to make liberal allowances for habits and thoughts

\* Since this paper was written the circular dispatch to the Governors of Colonies issued by the Secretary of State affords conclusive proof that Her Majesty's Government at least are seriously concerned about the inroads which are being made on our commercial supremacy. The searching questions which Mr. Chamberlain addresses to the Colonial Governments show that he knows exactly where the weak spot is; and when he receives their answers, with the samples of our own and competitors' wares, the Right Honourable gentleman will be in a position to admonish the British manufacturer with such authority as will leave no doubt where the real responsibility rests for the comparative decay of British trade.

radiating from a point in the moral sphere different from our own. The gulf which separates us from the Chinese people may possibly be too wide to be spanned by the most elastic of our social bridgework. Missionaries appear to find it hard to reach the hearts of the people. Commerce would no doubt stand a better chance, having a self-evident basis and being free from the explosive elements with which missionaries gratuitously encumber themselves. But it is best to confess frankly that the English is not a sympathetic or conciliatory race. Providence which has endowed us with certain imperial qualities has withheld the subtler faculty of pleasing; and it would be vain to expect in China what is conspicuously absent elsewhere, the divine tact which causes mountains of opposition to melt away. In Turkey with our Cyprus Conventions and traditional advantages we seem to have no practical resource but bullying and threatening the Sultan, which anybody possessing sufficient war-ships could do. In Burma, after fifty years' experience, a bloodless conquest, which competent judges deemed easy, was beyond the grasp of the regulation mind. So also in the settlement of the new territory we had not the address to cast a halo over the conquest by gaining over the population, which was also very feasible, but we must needs first turn the people into enemies, and then trample them into submission. Such being our usual mode of procedure we can only pray for more power to our elbow, for those who have only force to rely upon naturally require a good deal of it. We do not here refer exclusively to brute force, but also to force of will and the unaccommodating masterfulness which characterise much of our procedure abroad.

But while recognizing that there is no help for this state of things it is well nevertheless to remember that some of our rivals and opponents—notably the Russians—excel in the very points in which we are deficient. They in fact possess immense advantages over us in winning the confidence of their Asiatic neighbours. For one thing, every

Russian, man, woman and child, in China speaks the language, which Englishmen as a rule do not, except where they have been paid in hard coin for the labour—much against the grain—of learning it. Germans also, take naturally to the cultivation of Chinese, and in a general way the same may be said of every race save the indomitable Anglo-Saxon. And this is but one example of the way adaptable competitors get ahead of us in the international struggle. Our attitude towards the world at large is: "This is my throne, let kings come bow to it;" a magnificent pretension could we afford to live up to it! As manufacturers, we say, "Here is a good article, you are fools if you don't buy it." As legislators we say "Here is a grand system of laws, bow down and worship it." As administrators, "We give you roads and police, keep the wolf from your door, and allow you to multiply at will, what more can we do to earn your love?" Yet the love, like a spirit which one may call from the vasty deep, does not come. Why? One thing thou lackest, sympathy. Neither justice nor benevolence, nor even self-immolation will supply its place.

Hanging over this whole field of commercial expansion, the extension of civilization, and so forth, is the great military cloud which casts its shadow over the Far East. How do we stand in regard to that? Do we control it or it us? No one dares answer such a question, for as a nation we really do not know where we are. Where we ought to be is plain enough; we ought to be working heart and soul for the advancement of our own people, prepared in such a cause to resist attacks of every kind, and from every quarter. Only so can we be either safe or happy, for to be weak is to be miserable. Nothing need be adventured of the heroic or sensational order, except on compulsion; no spasms of imitation of our vivacious neighbours who in matters of commerce are addicted to building inverted pyramids. Our proper course is prosaic, but useful, like the earning of daily bread. A wide and steady



pressure, as of a tidal wave has to be maintained so that every open channel shall be kept so filled with our endeavour that there shall be no room for opposing influences to work against us. It is not the Government, but the commercial and industrial community that must give, and sustain the momentum of this great wave of commercial progress, without which Secretaries of State and Secretaries of Legation are alike impotent.

And since we are incapable of making friends, let us at least avoid as much as possible inflaming enemies. All the Powers may be classed as enemies, since they all desire what we possess, and we shall never therefore receive help from any of them. It is almost a maudlin proceeding, now that the misery of isolation is brought home to us, to be putting out feelers for the sympathy of this or that Power, and it is puerile to imagine that they will come to our side just when it suits us to call. The most powerful magnet to attract friends is the clear demonstration that we do not need them.

Our isolation in the Far Eastern question may be deplorable, but since we have chosen the part, let us at least play it like men, and trust to our own right hand to bring us through, for assuredly we shall look round the horizon in vain for help from any quarter. Russia and France are bent on sapping our trade, the former as an incident in her own legitimate advancement, the latter as the substantive object of a policy of pure destruction.\* From every foot of territory where either of these Powers may hold sway will our commerce be excluded. Self-preservation therefore requires us to prevent their dealing thus with the territory and people of China. And our best means of doing so is to "prevent," in the archaic sense of the word, not by sputterings of opposition, but by giving full and free scope to the vindication of our own position. As the true pioneers of the world's commerce we are second to no people, and surely it needs no naval, or other demon-

\* Not a healthy sign of her own condition, but that is not our concern.

stration to satisfy the world that we are to be reckoned with. Our Scottish motto\* should be once more our watchword, blazoned on our banner for the information of all whom it concerns. What we need—and perhaps we have got it—is a resolute Government ready to defend our commerce against all comers, and a commercial community alert to take advantage of every opening, while keeping up a steady pressure behind the Government. Possession of the field is nine points of the law.

In all these reflections we find ourselves instinctively treating China herself as a negligible quantity, and since she has, under stress of misfortune, surrendered the power of judging or choosing in matters international, it is difficult to regard her in any other light than that of a sick man who, for his own good, has to submit to his doctors. This may be only a passing phase, or it may be the prelude to a still more serious condition of affairs, for doctors are not always happy in the issue of their efforts. For every contingency it behoves this country to be prepared, so that come what may our interests may be safe-guarded.

The military value of China is an abstruse question, fit only for experts. Fortunately, an expert has answered it. COLONEL MARK BELL bringing theoretical studies into line with personal observation—for which he enjoyed exceptional opportunities—has treated this question with conscientious ability. His article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1895 presents the case of China's militant status with a simplicity and clearness which leave nothing to be desired. In the avalanches of loose matter which have poured through the columns of the Press during the last eighteen months there is not a line that is worth reading in comparison with the keen-sighted touches of Colonel Bell. He explains in a very few words why China failed, and must have failed, to resist the Japanese or any other organized force. He discriminates between the defeats of the soldier and the vices of the administration, and analy-

\* Nemo me impune lacessit.

zing the character of the Chinese as a soldier, he reconciles in a philosophical manner the apparent inconsistencies of courage and cowardice, devotion and pusillanimity which are an enigma to most observers. The conclusion Colonel Bell arrives at on the military question—he treats the political, which are the commercial, interests of Great Britain in China with equal mastery—is that China furnishes excellent military material, but it must be shaped and guided by foreigners. By whom? is the question of questions.

## THE DUNGAN REBELLION AND HAN-KOW.

BY COLONEL MARK BELL, V.C., C.B.

MUCH concern is felt by the Public at the sight of China struggling in the toils of adversity. Unable to distinguish friend from foe, China is distracted beyond measure. Her Muhammadan subjects of Kansuh are now availing themselves of her troubles to pay off old scores and have raised the standard of revolt. This movement is of vital importance to China, and to ourselves, as perhaps her only sincere well-wisher, and the one most interested in her future prosperity as an independent Empire. I will, therefore, venture to lay before my readers in the next issue of this Review a short description of what I saw and learnt in 1887 of the results of the last Dungan rebellion (1861-72) when passing through the very midst of the country on which still lay heavily the mantle of desolation. Before doing so, however, I here premise some considerations on both rebellions, chiefly as affecting Central Asian trade and trade routes.

The Muhammadans of North Western China have been settled there since the 9th century, and are now a power in Kansuh, Shensi and Shansi. To the South their centres are in Szchuen and Yunnan and to the East in Shantung, Chili and the Lian-tung peninsula. There is however no province in which Muhammadans are not numerous. From whatever country the small proselytizing community emanated, whether deported from Central Asia or visitors from India, they are now physically Chinamen, though morally superior to their pagan brethren, as their religion binds them to abstention from intoxicating drinks and opium and unites them in a bond of brotherhood for self-defence—they now number some thirty millions of souls.

The Muhammadan or Dungan rebellion of 1861 was confined to the provinces of Shensi and Kansuh; by one

account (Muhammadan) it appears to have been caused by treachery on the part of the Chinese.

During the Tai-ping rebellion it is said that troops were organized in Kansuh to prevent the rebels from advancing out of the adjoining province of Shensi, where, as we shall see, they had committed considerable ravage; two bands were formed for this purpose, one of Muhammadans and one of Chinese, each working independently. The former pushed forward and drove back the rebels only to find on returning to their homes that they had been rifled by their heathen brethren. Naturally they retaliated and, gaining advantages over their cowardly plunderers, raised the standard of revolt.

Other accounts are to the effect that the revolt arose from the hatred that must ever exist between Muhammadans and pork-eating pagans and from the leaning of the Mussulmans towards the Tai-pings; doubtless then, as now, they took advantage of China's difficulties to better their condition; but they do not appear to have suffered from any particular oppression nor can they be considered fanatical, for they resemble their co-religionists in Kashgaria who are the most tolerant of their faith and who give their daughters freely in marriage and even in concubinage to the Chinese believer in ancestors and in joss ceremonies.

Still a Muhammadan is always under the influence of his creed; his militarism will assert itself, and he will, on occasions try conclusions with the heathen, and, if victorious, slaughter all who will not embrace his faith. He can only feel the greatest contempt for his idol-worshipping brother, who in Kansuh, which province has been treated as a Botany Bay in its remotest parts from Peking, is specially demoralized. Opium and tobacco, local products, are cheap and man, woman and child consume the former to excess; their family affections are dulled by its abuse. A good-looking female sells for 50 taels and her fate is that of the harshly-treated concubine and servant of the master or of

one of the sons of his family. The most debasing profligacy is prevalent; a mandarin has as many wives as he wishes; women and children are only looked upon as so much property. In the town of Lan-chow-fu, the capital of Kansuh, there were said to be a thousand mandarins waiting for re-employment; the tenure of office being 3 years they have to enrich themselves within that short time, and to lay in a reserve for lean years and for buying a lucrative post from those in power. The system is one obviously calculated to cause extortion, corruption and bad government.

The chief Muhammadan strongholds in Kansuh were, in 1865, Si-ning, Ho-chow, Ning-hia and Su-chow. The first measures taken by the Peking authorities were to echelon troops along the line Kwei-hua-cheng, Bauto, Ning-hia, Lan-chow, *i.e.* the line of the Yellow river, some 70,000 in all, and to strengthen the garrisons of the towns on the main route. Inactive within the walls of their cities they allowed the insurgents to devastate the country for upwards of 10 years. In 1865 China had lost control of Shensi, Kansuh and Kashgaria, and rebel bands wandered at will throughout these provinces, in 1869, devastating Ortos and Alashan, within the line of troops echeloned around Shensi. In 1872 active measures were commenced to reduce Si-ning-fu, into which town 70,000 of the rebels had retired. The Chinese troops were fair specimen of their kind, and consisted of Hupan braves and some foreign armed and drilled troops. Once operations were energetically conducted Si-ning, Ta-tung and other towns in the vicinity soon fell and their garrisons were slaughtered with the exception of those who embraced Buddhism. Reinforced, the advance was continued westwards, and in 1873 Su-chow was recaptured and in 1878 Kashgaria.

Tzo, the Viceroy who finally stamped out the rebellion, acted, in a Chinese sense, energetically against the rebels; each force played the game of brag in oriental fashion, but he also massed troops, 100,000 it is said, made roads,

reduced towns by starving them out and otherwise gained victories in the Chinese way, not by battles and sieges, but by diplomacy, by so conducting the campaign as to avoid all disagreeable encounters, by payments and rewards, etc. The Akhuns or Muhammadan religious leaders were gained over by titles and buttons of distinction so dear to the Chinese heart. They are reported still to have considerable influence which they will retain so long as they are feared.

The words "Muhammadan" and "thief" are in Kansuh synonymous; before the rebellion Mussulmans dared not to raise their heads; of late they have been better treated, but still do not receive equal justice at the hands of the Mandarins, though much depends on the character of the governing Viceroy. It was Tzo's policy to treat them well; so treated they become tractable and profitable subjects.

The Mussulmans of Yunnan for many years (from 1856) waged war successfully against the authorities and in a manner similar to that of their co-religionists of N.W. China excepting in that they did not so ruthlessly destroy; their leader, carrying everything before him, entered into a treaty with the Imperial Viceroy and they together, for a time, divided the province between them; the villagers as often sided with the rebels as the Imperial soldiery and were in turns oppressed by both. The insurgents desired to rule and trade and it was many years before the real state of affairs became known at Peking, for the Imperial Viceroy was wealthy enough to draw into his pay all troops sent against him.

The importance of the present rising will greatly depend on the loyalty of the troops sent to suppress it and on the character of their leader. A venal commander may for a time make common cause with the insurgents whilst an energetic one, with a sufficiently numerous rabble of Hunan braves at his heels, will easily suppress it. The military genius of a Chinese commander lies in knowing how to make his rabble army fight. It was the practice of one

Goliath, selected to command by reason of his magnificent physique, to gain victories, not by example and leading, but by bringing up the rear and slaughtering all who attempted to share with him that place of safety. The Kansuh winter is severe, but the climate is dry and invigorating, and there should be no necessity to go into winter quarters as the ruined villages will afford ample accommodation.

The rebels are credited with the intention of setting up a Muhammadan Power in N.W. China, but they will doubtless, as heretofore, act in isolated bands, and will therefore be powerful only to devastate and to slaughter the villagers. The Imperial troops have no discipline, but if they can be got to act together for a few months they will compass their object. I would myself guarantee, with full powers conferred by imperial edict, the aid of a score of British officers and N.C. officers and the Chinese personnel available,—Manchu, Bannermen and Hunan Braves,—to restore order and prosperity to Kansuh before the end of next autumn.

From the latest accounts, from Russian sources, disturbances have already spread to the towns on the main N.W. route, and Lan-chow-fu, the chief town of Kansuh, and Ngan-si-chow, beyond the Great Wall on the border of the Gobi desert, are said to have fallen to the rebels. Si-ning, the other centre of revolt, is, as will be seen later on, a 9 days' journey from Lan-chow-fu and on the borders of Thibet.

The occupation of Ngan-si-chow will cause considerable annoyance as it is the town where preparation is made for crossing the Gobi desert and as it hampers communication with Kashgaria, a province from which it is of the utmost moment to exclude the insurgent element. Troops from this province are stated to be marching from their Headquarters, Urumtsi, on Ngan-si-chow viâ Khami. The loss of Lan-chow-fu, if true, is a serious matter; it is a centre of communications, head-quarters of the Provincial Governor and did not fall in the last rebellion; indeed it was the base



of operations for the re-conquest of Kansuh. The truth of the report is doubted.

It must be remembered that whilst we still occupied Tien-tsin and when still smarting from her recent defeat by the combined forces of England and France in 1890, China had on her hands a Taiping rebellion and revolts of her Mussulman subjects in both S.W. and N.W. China, Yunnan, Shensi and Kansuh, followed by her complete exclusion from Kashgaria;—and yet, left to herself, she, with time, restored order within her most distant provinces and made slow but still not inconsiderable progress in also restoring prosperity. No trained troops of a European Power are necessary for this partisan warfare.

Kashgaria was never so prosperous or content as at present and will not revolt unless instigated to do so.

#### HAN-KOW, THE PORT OF EASTERN CENTRAL ASIA.

The position of great commercial cities depends on no adventitious circumstances, and that of Si-nan-fu is no exception to the rule. It will be found incidentally that it is a centre of communications; they indeed here converge from the N.S.E. and West, but the one to which I wish to draw most particular attention is to that to Honan-fu. At present the ports of Si-nan-fu are Lao-ho-kow on the Han river and Tien-tsin. In the near future railways must annul the value of both these ports and lead to an immense expansion of the trade of Han-kow on the Yang-tse, for it is this port that is destined to be the *Port of Si-nan-fu, i.e., of Eastern Central Asia.*

The Great Central Asian trade route from Si-nan-fu to the North-West, traverses regions of great agricultural wealth and possibilities with an assured coal supply and possible iron supply and the only inlet for a railway from Central Asia to Mid China and the Yong-tse-kiang is that by which the present cart road from Si-nan-fu, South of the Yellow river, reaches Honan-fu and Fan-cheng and Han-kow. Ho-nan-fu, from its favourable position in this and

other respects, is destined to be a great future railway centre, for from it at least two good lines are available for a railway to Han-kow ; it is an easy passage viâ Kai-fong to Peking and the iron and coal of Shansi can be tapped by a line from Tung-kwan up the valley of the Fuen-ho to Tai-yue<sup>h</sup> and beyond. Any tunnelling in the Shansi hills to enable a line to reach Peking could be made to pass through strata of coal. Coal occurs in N. Shensi and most possibly iron as well. Is there a railway in the world that can hold forth equal promises of an assured future success ? without mention even of the line to Upper Burma referred to later on. Both Shansi and Shensi are rich in agricultural wealth and "dreams" of fertility and productiveness to the Chinese, but at present the cost of transport over such shocking roads as exist is prohibitive. The lines then contemplated are from Si-nan-fu (1) viâ Honan-fu, to Peking by Kaifong and Changteh and to Han-kow viâ Nan-yang or Kaifong, the first the more direct ; (2) viâ Lan-chow-fu to the N. West and (3) viâ Tung-kwan and the Fuen-ho valley, Tai-Yun-fu to Ching-ting-fu on the Honan-fu Peking line.

The construction of railways in a country like China will allow of no double "squeeze,"—the "Syndicate" as well as the "Mandarin" squeeze,—and their lines would be best constructed after the manner of their initial line from Lutai, viz., with their own capital and board of management, and with the work under British engineers. This line cost but £2,000 a mile with an "initial squeeze" of not over £12,000 for preliminary expenses, a mere nothing compared to what is paid in this country under the name of promotion shares.

This Utopian method, under existing circumstances, being unattainable, companies and syndicates are necessary to carry them out with certitude and rapidity and these bodies will doubtless take care to safeguard their concessions by interesting in them influential and wealthy Chinamen without which lubricating element frictions are likely to be excessive.

Railways are the first and essential step to the regeneration of both moral and commercial China. Remove her sources of grief, her famines and want of employment for her sons and she will grow less opium ; at present, the ten-fold plenty of a good year in Shensi and Kansuh rots for want of means of conveying it elsewhere and is wasted before the lean year of famine comes ; and three-fourths of the labour of her excellent transport animals is lost in overcoming the difficulties of bad roads and to feed that three-fourths on dry fodder, straw, oats and beans and barley, is a heavy and useless drain upon the soil.

The mining of her rich coal deposits and her iron ore ; the establishment of smelting works and the adaptation of iron to industrial pursuits will be the means of widening the ideas of this singularly exclusive and conservative people and of gradually effecting the change of character we are anxiously awaiting. With the extension of railways revolts will become impossible and their inauguration will increase the importance and prosperity of N. W. China and Kashgaria or the Sin-kiang Province.

Together with their growth *pari passu* must be that of the Chinese Imperial Customs' Department whose agents must as time goes on be established inland in all capital towns of Provinces and on the borders of the empire Yarkand, Kashgar, Li, etc. The first step, it will be noted, later on has already been taken in this direction by the posting of a European official at Su-chow.

One of the commercial objects of the Siberian railway is to draw towards it the trade of China. A merchant looks upon the world as a field for his commerce and anxiously watches any attempts of rivals to supplant him, where, by his exertions and enterprise, he has already gained a footing. The trade of Mid and N.W. China is of great importance to Britain and she can command it from a port on the Yang-tze-kiang river, such as Han-kow on a river with branches stretching out towards Si-nan-fu and giving access into the Pe-ling, Sin-ling, mountains which run

east and west through Honan, Shensi and Kansuh, separating the waters of the Huango-ho and Yang-tze-kiang, and by a railway working round them and through the Honan gap into the Hwei Valley. Concessions at Treaty ports are open to all the Great Powers and are the monopoly of none.

The main aims of diplomacy are political and commercial ; let us leave the former and concern ourselves with commerce only. Under the guidance of common sense and in furtherance of common interests, the British Public is recommended, whilst keeping one eye on their interests in the N. Pacific, to focus the other on the Hwei Valley, Mid China, and its communications, including those to the S.W. :—for, supplementary to the railways from Han-kow to Peking and the Hwei-Valley will be that through Yunnan to Upper Burma in connection with the line of Rangoon, Mandalay and the Shan States. The talented author of the “Japanese imbroglio” which appeared in the pages of *Blackwood* for September showed a deplorable debit balance as the result of Britain’s participation in that episode ; we have, indeed, much lee-way to make up.

Now that the three Powers *cum* Spain have seen what to them may be fair play as between Japan and China and themselves, time is ripe for the Powers of Christendom to take up China’s case and to act in concert for her good. It is useless to ask whether these Powers acted in accord with the spirit of the age. However this may be, their action, whether influenced by selfish ends or not, can only be explained by presuming that it was solely in the interests of future peace and to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East. So far then this is well for both China and Japan, for none of these Great Powers can in honor permit any other or others of them to disturb that balance without actively interfering as an ally of the two Eastern Powers, to prevent that disturbance, otherwise they will have acted dishonourably towards their Eastern neighbours and the West will have set an example of perfidiousness to the

East, the very mention of which must bring a blush to the cheek.

To substitute Russia for Japan in either Corea or China should now therefore be an impossibility.

Between ourselves and Russia in Asia there is no commercial reciprocity; were, for instance, Kashgaria, Russian, our increasing trade between Leh and Yarkand would cease; and there is even now a tremour lest at the instance of the Russian Consul-General in Kashgar this trade may be stifled by imports imposed by the Chinese. India with fair treatment can supply Kashgaria with better and cheaper goods than Russia. I found the country lightly taxed and the people contented and prosperous; indeed it is held by the good will of the people alone. Through Kashgaria our commerce reaches Russian Turkestan and it is an object of Russia to close this door against us as she has already closed those from Persia and Afghanistan. Indeed, death to our commerce follows the advance of the Russian customs' officer in Central Asia; his progress southwards from Siberia *pari passu* must not only cause our trade with China and Corea to languish, but also puts us to the expense of building additional ironclads and cruisers to safeguard what will remain until at last the remnant may not be worth protecting. The nations may then have an opportunity of uniting against our commercial ascendancy under a modern form of the devise: "*delenda est Carthago.*"

To be forewarned, however, is to be forearmed, and it requires no prophet to predict failure to those who in their folly may attempt to destroy Britain's commerce, once the country is fully roused to a danger threatening its very existence, for by commerce we have prospered and grown strong and by commerce we must still thrive and grow stronger.

## THE KHALIFA QUESTION AND THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.—I.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

THE general ignorance of Christian statesmen of the precise merits of the claim of the Sultan of Turkey to the spiritual sovereignty of the Sunni Muhammadan world is really the cause of the present complications in that country. The "little knowledge" of our ministers, who seem to look upon foreign politics as sport, is becoming "a dangerous thing" to the ascendancy of England in a world which is tired of Aristides. France and Russia are determined to lead the van in the growing protest. A Franco-Muhammadan Empire in Africa as a beginning and the alienation of our Indian Muhammadan fellow-subjects is the aim, and may be the reward, of the Powers that have been combining to protect the Khalifa in his hour of distress and to stand between him and the roaring British lion who is going out like a lamb. The English fleet is neutralized by the French and Russian men-of-war that in their turn are watched by those of Austria and Italy, whilst Germany plays "the honest broker" to them all. Happily at the time that I am writing, the second guardships have not yet been sent into the Bosphorus with that avowed ostentation which would only precipitate a massacre of Christians at Constantinople not only within sight of the Embassies, as a few weeks ago, but perhaps also *in* the Embassies themselves. The necessarily selfish wisdom of the Sultan has so far avoided a catastrophe to the prestige of Europe, if not to the integrity of Turkey that must ever remain unimpaired, as long as the Christian powers are divided by jealousies so worthy of "unbelievers." Turkey is a Muhammadan theocracy governing the subject Armenian, Greek and other theocracies and those who would attack or dismember her must themselves have, at least, a living

faith, such as Russia has, and France ever professes—in the East. Fortunately for the Khalîfa, these two Powers are now on his side, whilst the world has little belief in our disinterested sympathy with the Armenians, when, without any provocation, we “make over” “the brethren of the Europeans,” the Kafirs of the Hindukush, to their hereditary destroyers and enslavers.

No one who has lived long in Turkey doubts that the old state of religious and local autonomies, when the milder precepts of the Koran or of the Bible could be appealed to to govern the actions of men, was better than the present centralisation imitated from European patterns in all their objectionable characteristics. It is the new wine that has been poured into old bottles that is answerable for the confusion leading to the Armenian explosion and to Muhammadan retaliation. For this, as also for trifling with the Khalîfa question since the accession of the present Sultan, England, or rather English education, is mainly responsible in Turkey, as it is in India a solvent of beliefs, associations and existing restraints. In a list of terms of abuse, which I publish further on, attaching to various nations in Turkey, that of England is known as “Dinsiz” or “without religion,” but the excellent American missionaries also, though both practical and scholarly, have much to answer for; they converted the Armenian, the traditional *factotum* and almost *alter ego* of the Turk, into a discontented subject, who has now brought on his head the cruel anger of his astonished patron. Under normal conditions, Turks or Kurds and Armenians are the best of men, whilst among Armenians the absence of crime and vice was traditionally proverbial. What has so changed the former, besides the effect of a subversive education on the latter? I maintain that it is the hysterical and contradictory conduct of England with regard to the Sultan as Khalîfa and to our own Frankenstein, the Mahdî. Years ago I suggested to our Asiatic Society to consider the latter’s pretensions from an academic standpoint, but a knowledge of Arabic, without

which it is absurd to touch any Muhammadan question, is as rare in that Society as it is among our Statesmen or among the combatants for or against the Turks in the Press. I have studied in Muhammadan, Greek and Armenian Schools and I have subscribed for their respective houses of worship, but my very warmest sympathies are, perhaps, like those of a most observant writer in the *Times* from Constantinople, rather with the Muhammadans of the old School, among whom, in spite of their fanaticism when roused, can be found those God-fearing, honest, able and energetic men who alone could lead their country in reforms, real, because not dictated from without, and compatible alike with the spirit of progress and that of their faith. This the present Sultan saw only too well when, after a stormy youth, he threw himself into the arms of the U'lemá and if he has given more power than he should have done to the Palace clique, it is because the "liberal" Ministers of the now crippled Porte who had raised him to the Throne had driven his uncle Abdul Aziz to suicide, and had deposed, shortly after installing, his brother Murad V. Then only a palace creature was found faithful to outraged Majesty and in the last of many terrible scenes three Ministers were shot and the heroic Hussein Avni Pasha cut into pieces by his avenging hand. No wonder that Abdul Hamid, who is now 53 years old, trusts rather to himself, to his spies and to the development of the Khalifa idea, even if need be beyond its traditional limits, till it becomes a danger to himself and to England, than to State-functionaries or to Ambassadors, excepting that of Russia, which, whatever her ulterior objects, was ever-ready with her fleet in similar times of need to come to the Sultan's personal protection.

The portraits of the last and present Sultan, (to which I add that of the heir-presumptive, Muhammad Rishád, his younger brother by 2 years,)\* are taken from my series of pictures of the 35 Ottoman Sultans that have reigned, including the Conqueror "Gházi" Osman I. who founded the present Dynasty at Brussa, where he is buried. He was

\* See next page.



born in the year of the Hegira 656\* or just about 656 lunar years ago! It was his 10th successor Salim II. who first claimed the title of Khalifa 261 years later, under circumstances the validity of which I hope to discuss in an early



H. M. SULTAN ABDUL-HAMID.



SULTAN MURAD V.



PRINCE MUHAMMAD RISHAD.

issue with reference to current events and to the growing agitation in the Muhammadan World. Suffice it at present to lay down the principles necessary for such a discussion and, with this view, to quote from a letter which appeared in the *Times* of 2nd January 1884 :

"There was a time when the co-operation of the Sultan of Turkey and of his spiritual adviser, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, would have been welcomed by England in a religious war against Russia in Central Asia ; there was another time when attempts were made to lower the prestige of the Sultan among the faithful in India and elsewhere by contesting his claim to the Khalifat (or more correctly Khiláfat), on the ground that he was not a

\* 1258 A.D.

descendant of the 'Prophet Mahomed,' and did not even belong to his tribe of the Koreish. Both advocates and opponents, whether European or Muhammadan scholars, did their cause an infinity of harm by unsettling the historical basis of the question, and by encouraging, in consequence, the growth of all sorts of heterodox notions in the Muhammadan world, which was before so susceptible to the influence of England.

"Dull, therefore, as any treatment of the subject away from current politics may be, I must beg for the indulgent consideration of the following aspect of a question which has been much obscured by both European and Muhammadan writers :

"In the domain of practical politics connected with 'the Eastern question' it does not matter whether the head or heads of Islám (for there have been, and can be, several at a time) can prove Koreish descent or investiture by a real Khalifa in past history, in order to claim the obedience of the Sunnis, who form the great majority of Muhammadans, so long as he carries out, in their opinion, the Divine law. The doctrine is distinctly laid down, though I have never seen it quoted by any of the writers on the subject, that a Khalifa may be a 'perfect Khalifa' or an 'imperfect Khalifa,' a difference which applies to other conditions of men or monarchs, and which is certainly established in Muhammadan history. 'A perfect Khalifa' is merely the ideal of a viceregent of the prophet. He must be, in spite of his titular feminine termination, a man, of age, free from bodily and mental Dynas, learned, pious, just, a free man (not a slave, as in the case of some infirmities), and, of course, of Koreish descent ; in fact, an admirable Crichton and a 'Defender of the Faith,' and yet he would not be a Khalifa at all unless he possessed the supreme qualification, that of having the power to enforce his commands, just as a man might be a good Christian without being a monarch, or might even be a Christian monarch without being a good Christian.

"Traditions are conflicting on the point of Koreish descent being essential to the Khiláfat. As long as the Khalifas happened to be Koreishis, it was convenient to point out that the prophet had made them the ruling tribe 'even if only two persons remained in it.' Others alleged that he had predicted that there would be no perfect Khalifa thirty years after his death, and yet Koreishis ruled long after that period. He, at all events, nominated no successor or viceregent, and left his election to "the assembly of the Faithful," with the inevitable result that one party wanted both the prophet's mantle and the secular power to remain in the family, and the other party wished to get the power, at least, into the hands of 'the best man' to be appointed by themselves.

"The confusion between the infallible Imám or spiritual *antistes* of the Faithful and the fallible Khalifa or viceregent of the Moslems began with the earliest times of Islám, and led to the main division of Muhammadanism into the sects of Sunnis and Shiahs. The former are so-called because they are guided by 'rules and the consensus of the Faithful (ahl-Sunnat wa Jamá'a't).' It follows from this that Sunnism is essentially a democratic theocracy, while Shiah belief 'follows' the hereditary descent of its spiritual chief from Muhammad, by Fatima and Ali, as the very reason

of its existence. In most Muhammadan authorities, where the Khilāfat is spoken of, the word 'Imām' is used, and in others it is implied. The confusion was welcome to the writers, because it saved their conscience and occasionally their necks, and because it slurred over a difficulty which, in my humble opinion, with every deference to the venerable commentators, the Koran and the practical attitude of Muhammadan States and nations, both now and in the past, towards the question of the Khilāfat, amply explain.

"All Sunnis are equal. They possess a continually living Muhammadan Church in "the consensus of the assembly of the Faithful." The Khalīfa, if there be any, for which there is no absolute need, is the first among peers, so far as he possesses most power to carry out the Muhammadan law. Had the Sultans of Turkey not committed the mistake of subordinating the priesthood or judiciary (to which any Sunni may aspire) to the secular power, the presumed free opinion of his spiritual advisers would, indeed, have carried weight throughout the Sunni Muhammadan world, and would have made the Sultan an uncontested Khalīfa. Even then, however, had he tried, beyond complimentary *quasi*-investitures of rulers of Yarrkand, Bokhara, Afghanistan, and other Muhammadan countries, to interfere in the slightest degree with their internal affairs, he would, with all respect to him as Khalīfa, have been rightly confronted by the lawful opposition of the Sunni subjects of those 'Umrā-ul-mu'menīn,' or 'Rulers of the Faithful,' unless, indeed, he had the power of enforcing his decree. If he has not that power coupled with the consensus of the Faithful, he is not the perfect Khalīfa, at all events where it is so contested.

"The Grand Sharīf of Mecca, with whom most regrettable, and once unnecessary, negotiations are, and have been, carried on, not only by the Sultan, is not a Khalīfa, although this sacred personage is of the purest Koreish descent and has all the qualifications of a 'perfect Khalīfa,' except the essential one of having an army under his command. 'An imperfect Khalīfa,' however, is he who stands at the head of the Sunni world as a Muhammadan ruler, however deficient he may be in all the desirable qualifications, except the all-important one to which I have referred. Indeed, he may be a very wicked man, as may be gathered from the following passage in the Koran, when the angels expostulate with God for creating man as his Khalīfa—'Wilt thou create one as thy Khalīfa who will do iniquity on earth and unjustly shed blood?'

"The Abbasside, Ummiyade, and other Khalīfas were of the bluest blood, and yet were scarcely perfect Khalīfas. In short, by admitting the claim of the Sultan's Khilāfat, we do neither more nor less than is warranted by the consensus of the faithful of his persuasion, and we gain, as long as he has any power, the advantage of being in sympathy with the bulk of the 'orthodox' Muhammadan world, whereas by discussing pretensions with which we have no concern, and by confusing the 'Imāmat' (the spiritual headship of Islām) with the *de facto* Khilāfat, we raise a storm of which a cloud is already on the horizon. The common sense of Sunniism is a safe and sufficient guide in this matter, if left to itself, as also the supposed kindred question of the 'Jihād' or the holy war against infidels, on which

more than one volume would have been unwritten had it been generally understood to mean merely 'an effort' which is only lawful, if almost certain of success; otherwise, as elsewhere, patriotism becomes flat rebellion.

"Far different is the case with Shiah. To them the Khalífa is a dead letter and the 'Imám' a living being. The special sense of Imám is that of spiritual head. Thus, in the Koran, God appoints Abraham, after testing his complete obedience, as an 'Imám for Mankind' though he refuses to make the dignity hereditary since the offspring might not be free from sin, which Abraham, as an Imám, by implication, was. It will be remembered that a similar guarantee was not required when man was created God's Khalífa, but, be that as it may, the hereditary descent of the Imám is the special property of the Shiah persuasion. When the popular assembly at which the just claim of the chivalrous relative, and another 'light' of Mahomed, His Highness Ali, was rejected in favour of Muawiya, the consolation still remained to the lovers of justice, Adilias, as the Shiahs are more properly called, that whoever had usurped the *de facto* secular dominion of the Mussulmans, the spiritual head, the Imám, was still theirs, and would remain with them in his lineal descendants. They alone are the 'guides' (the root from which 'Mahdi' is formed) of nations in both secular and spiritual matters.

"Deprived of the former, the spiritual rule was handed down from father to son, until the twelfth and last Imám, Muhammad Mahdi, who disappeared from earth (in 265 A.H. or in 878-79 A.D.) in order to return with the day of judgment. At all assemblies, however, of believing Shiahs, the Imám, the ruler of worlds, is invisibly present. The Magian basis of belief has never been entirely destroyed in Shiah Persia, and it is still the feeder of a vivid and artistic imagination in contrast to the monotony and practical sense of orthodox Sunniism, but for political purposes the fanaticism that can be evoked by the spread of the doctrine that the leadership of Islám belongs to the Imám, which is the inevitable result of denying the Khiláfat of the Sultan on the ground of his not being a Koreishi by descent, is far more dangerous than the voluntary subordination of Sunnis to the *fait accompli* of the Sultan as the Khalífa for the time being.

"Unfortunately, surrounded as the Sultans have been by flatterers or servile instruments of their will, and owing to an impulse from without which I can only vaguely indicate, the suicidal notion has gained a firm footing at the Sublime Porte that the Sultan is a sort of Muhammadan Popè, and more or less doubtful documents have been disinterred to show that the last Khalífa had in 1519, if I remember rightly, made over the Khiláfat to the Ottoman Sultan Salim, while on a visit to Constantinople. Even if this was not done under duress, it proves nothing, for the Khiláfat is not hereditary according to Sunni notions, and Sultan Salim was not elected, although, once in power as the chief, or a great chief of Sunnis, his claim, or that of his descendants, is sufficiently ratified by the simplicity of 'the consensus of the faithful,' beyond which it is unnecessary and unsafe to go. Equally unnecessary flirtations for a spiritual sanction of the claim to a perfect Khiláfatship have been carried on with the Sharif of

Mecca and are now invoked, not so much against the Mahdi as against the growing agitation among the Arabs and other Muhammadans. That prelate would be more than human if he did not tacitly support a leaning in favour of the sanctity of Koreish descent. Indeed, the innumerable progeny of Sayyads, or descendants of the prophet among Sunni Muhammadans, have been more or less active propagators of the heresy of hereditary sanctity. Many educated Sunnis, especially those who enjoy Persian literature, profess or feel a secret 'affection for the House of Ali,' and indignation at the treatment it received by the Khalîfa, whom the 'Jemâa't' elected, while it is to be feared that many unscrupulous Shiahs, who, mistaking the doctrine of 'Taqqia' or denial of their faith which is, unfortunately, permitted to that sect in times of extreme danger and among fellow-Mussulmans only, pass themselves off as Sunnis in order to propagate the fanatical doctrine of the Mahdi."

This letter created some stir at the time and I received the thanks of the Porte,\* through Mussurus Pasha, whom I did not know personally. Our greatest Arabic Scholar, Sir William Muir, however, writing to me on the 21st September last, remarks as follows :

"I do not think that I could add anything to what I have already written in the last chapter of the 'Caliphate' on the Sultan's claim to be Caliph.

"I doubt if any of the Semitic races in their heart admit that a Turk could be a Caliph."

Turning to the work I find the following view, which I quote with the greatest respect for its eminent author, though I do not, from the standpoint of practical religious politics, agree with the theory of the Sultan's claim being an anachronism :

*The Caliphate*, page 590: "In virtue of Mutawakkil's cession of his title (of Caliph), the Osmanly Sultans make pretension not only to the sovereignty of the Moslem world, but to the Caliphate itself,—that is to the spiritual as well as political power held by the Successors of the Prophet. Were there no other bar, the Tartar blood which flows in their veins, would make the claim untenable. Even if their pedigree by some flattering fiction could be traced up to Coreishite stock, the claim would be but a fond anachronism. The Caliphate ended with the fall of Bagdad. The illusory resuscitation by the Mamelukes was a lifeless show; the Osmanly Caliphate a dream."

\* This is not an immaterial detail, for the claim of the Sultan to the Khalîfaship has since assumed an extension and complexion which go considerably beyond what was admitted in 1884.

NATIONAL NICKNAMES USED IN TURKEY.\*

I have thought it interesting to add the opprobrious or descriptive terms employed to designate various nationalities or religions by the Muhammadans in Turkey of the lower orders, as they are generally founded on some salient fact or a current prejudice that may become politically important. Thus we talk of "the cruel Turk," "the fickle Frenchman," and he of "perfidious Albion." The following List also has a value as throwing light on the state of things in Turkey in 1858, when there did not exist the present animosities and deliberate misrepresentations :

ALBANIANS : *Giergi* = liver sellers ; from the occupation of those living in large towns.

ARMENIANS : *Bokgi* = filth-eaters, owing to a probably unfounded report of a practice at one of their religious ceremonies. They engage in banking, finance, *the farming of the Revenue* and are termed "the leeches of Turkey."

ARABS : *fudul* = proud ; engage in the traffic of the produce of their country.

BULGARIANS : *Potur, haivan* = mule, beast ; engage chiefly in manufacture and agriculture ; are very industrious.

CHRISTIANS : *putperest* = idol-worshippers, owing to their iconolatry, which Muslims abhor. The Christians monopolise the trade of Turkey.

*Catholics* = *French* from the protection which France gives them and from the missionary zeal of the French. They engage in different trades.

*Greeks* (orthodox) : *taushan* = hares from their vivacity. Generally "Orum" "Rum" = (Eastern) Romans = Byzantines. Are speculators and merchants.

*Protestants* : *Prassa* = cabbage, from a similarity of sound, and an allusion to their recent and humble origin. About 20,000 converts chiefly from the Armenians.

MUSSULMANS or MUSLIMS = followers of Islām = the creed of resignation to the Divine will. The Turks do not like to be called "*Türk*" = *robber*, a term which is often applied by them to Kurds or other nomadic races. They like the term "Osmanli" or "descendants of Osman" or "belonging to the Ottoman nation." There can hardly be 500,000 genuine Osmanlis, as they have so much intermarried with alien races. The Turks call the Tartars, a similar race, "carrion-eaters" and all Non-Muhammadans, "Kafirs," by corruption "*Giaours*" = "Infidels." Strangely enough some Native Christians, like the Bulgarians, have adopted this term to designate themselves. The Turks seek petty posts under Government, in preference to engaging in trades. Many follow agricultural pursuits and leave their homes as soon as the commerce around them increases.

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\* See my "Races of Turkey and the state of their education in 1858."

PERSIANS : *Chim-Chim-Chelebis* = gentlemen who speak through the nose, from affectation. They are also called "sensualists."

JEWS : *Chifut* = mangy, from the supposed prevalence of cutaneous diseases among them. They engage in banking and all kinds of trade. The Karaite Jews are proverbial for cleanliness and honesty.

EUROPEANS : "*Firengi*" = "Franks" or "Donsuz" = "Sans-culotte"; an appropriate reflection on our ridiculous dress. A similar term is also used to designate a scamp.

FRENCH : *Fransiz imansiz* = "faithless Frenchmen."

GERMANS : "*Gürür Kâfir*" = "infidel blasphemers" or "noisy infidels." This shows that the Turks came first into contact with the German Military ; otherwise, they are called "*Niemtzé*" from the Russian.

ENGLISH : "*Iugliz Dinsiz*" = "without religion"; from the undemonstrativeness of Protestant worship and the recklessness of sailors etc. ; otherwise, the Turks rather esteem the English.

DUTCH : "*Penirgi*" = "Cheesemongers"; origin obvious.

RUSSIANS : "Russ," "Moskof" (Moscovites) are called : "mad infidels." The Poles : "Proud Infidels ; the *Italians* and *Spaniards* "lazy infidels."

MOLDAVIANS AND WALLACHIANS (now "Roumanians") are called drones, panders, gipsies (many of whom are settled there) or "*Lech*" = a corruption of *Wallach*, a term also applied to foreign Jews.

GIPSIES : *Pitch* = bastards, or *Zingane* (our "Zingari" from *Sinkari* = inhabitants on the Sin = (Upper) Indus. They call themselves *Romani* = men, a name which the Wallachians have also adopted in the form of "Roumanians" as descendants of a Roman colony.

## THE AFRICAN PIONEERS.

BY CAPTAIN S. PASFIELD OLIVER.

DIRECTLY the French Government had decided, November 1894, to despatch an expedition to Madagascar, the central recruiting Bureau of Paris, in the Rue Saint Dominique, was beset by numbers of men willing to serve in the ranks of General Duchesne's army during the period of the campaign. Unfortunately for these adventurers the Commission de l'armée had already determined that no voluntary recruits should be accepted for this purpose under such conditions—indeed no soldier has been allowed to embark under twenty-one years of age. Moreover the strict regulations of the French military service prevent the acceptance of the services of a valuable class of applicants between 25 and 30 years of age, who have been through the ranks but who are now reservistes. The numbers of such applicants were increased by the various strikes among workmen at this period.

In the pages of the *Revue des deux mondes* the well known Academician, Vicomte Eugene Melchior de Vogué, noticed this newly arisen spirit of adventure and "esprit de lucre" which thus impelled crowds of men out of work to seek such an opportunity, men who could not be engaged in consequence of the absence of any legislative machinery for the purpose. He pointed out that neighbouring countries furnished the ten battalions of the Foreign Legion Regiments from the waifs and strays entering France from across her frontier; and he asked why France should not utilize her own sons in order to furnish a corps of military colonists who could settle in Madagascar after that great island had been taken possession of.

M. de Vogué declared that the nucleus, or embryo of such a corps already existed in the *Pionniers Africains*, a body of *Catholic* emigrants who had taken up the work of the "Frères armés" advocated by the late Cardinal Lavigerie. These Pioneers, he stated, had already sent out their first



advanced party to Madagascar before hostilities had commenced, their expenses being supported by modest subscriptions, received principally (we are told) from the province of Alsace-Lorraine. Were an appeal to be raised by those in authority throughout France, — stated the Vicomte, this small band might become a legion. These men, he adds, for the most part old soldiers, would in four or five months be drilled sufficiently to fight the Hova and would cost the State far less than the ordinary recruits. On reading this chivalrous and Quixotic call to arms by the Count de Vogué, a certain amount of curiosity arises as to what these Pioneers have been doing. The Honorable Academician must surely have been dreaming to think that crowds of Parisians would join a band of Catholic armed brethren.

A few inquiries made in Paris as to the existence of the "Pionniers Africains" led to the discovery that this French Society had existed from February. 1894 and issued a monthly bulletin, in form of a brochure—one sheet of 16 pp. large quarto—entitled *La France Noire*—named after a charming book written by Monsieur Marcel Monnier the clever explorer, and author of many books of travel. The first number contains the statutes of the Society with a list of the subscribers, from which it appears that the movement was principally initiated and supported by the Reverend Père Iung, Missionnaire des Pionniers d'Afrique. The leading article advocating the temporal scheme of holding on high the flag of expansion coloniale is from the pen of Maurice Delafosse, whilst the religious side of the movement, a crusade directed against slavery is discussed by M. Louis Cros.

In the Statutes we find that the Société Française des Pionniers Africains is an association founded at Paris, having for its triple object ; 1st the opening up of roads through those parts of Africa reserved within the sphere of French influence ; 2nd to stake out along these roads, industrial, agricultural and commercial posts ; 3rd to put a stop to

slave-catching, razzias, human sacrifices and, in general to all causes of native depopulation.

The aspirants to this Society are pledged to celibacy in France, but in Africa they will be allowed to marry :—

“ L’union avec des femmes indigènes, sans être obligatoire bien entendu, sera très recommandée comme devant fournir une pépinière d’excellents pionniers africains, faits au climat, bien que Français de père, de cœur, de langue, et d’éducation. Cela constituerait une race franco-africaine propice au relèvement de la race noire et au développement de l’influence Française en Afrique.”

The first meeting of the Pioneers took place on the 20th March 1894 ; and in the journals of the day we find some account of Père Iung, who was unanimously elected treasurer of the new Society. He was born at Walscheid in Lorraine and, having been educated at Nancy, was some time priest at Dabo, but soon afterwards, excited by the crusade preached by Cardinal Lavigerie he joined the Society of *Pères-Blancs*, and was one of that band of *Frères-armés* organised for the purpose of combatting slavery in the Sahara by the Cardinal. Only six members appear to have attended this preliminary meeting and they promptly balloted for the officers of the administration. M. Lachelin was elected Director ; then two Sub Directors, a Secretary, and a Chef de Poste made up the remainder. In fact things were arranged much as in Alphonse Daudet’s little Southern Community when the foundation of Port Tarasçon was agreed upon under the illustrious Tartarin.

At first the Soudan or West Africa was proposed as the scene of operations, whilst Abyssinia seemed inviting to French settlers ; but a communication from M. de Mahy, deputy of Réunion and vice-president of the Chamber, indicated Madagascar as a favourable field whereon to attempt the first experiment. At a meeting on the 13th June, Colonel the Prince de Polignac addressed the African Pioneers and tried to induce them to try Abyssinia—*un paradis terrestre*—or to follow Père Hacquard towards Lake Tchad ; but Père Iung announced that the Government had been induced by M. de Mahy to grant free passages out to Tamatave in

Madagascar—a proof that their prayers had been of avail and that Heaven pointed the way.

A small detachment of four frères-armés made up this forlorn hope, composed as follows : viz, M. Joseph Lancelin, the Chef du Poste, a Breton and a descendant of Surcouf ; next, M. Biendiné, an artist in pencil and water-colour ; third, M. Lamblin, a chemist from Burgundy ; and last, M. Lemoyne de Forges, a country gentleman fond of gardening—

“C’est notre planteur de lys d’orchidées et de roses: celui qui fait grimper sur la maisonnette la vanille et le liseron, et grace à qui nos Pionniers, dans leur dur labeur respirent l’air embaumé qui rejouit les cœurs purs.”

So he is described in the official bulletin—

One hardly knows whether to laugh or to cry at reading of the mission thus started. Are we reading Alphonse Daudet or “the Hunting of the Snark” ?

A solemn service was held in the crypt of the Sacré-Cœur at Montmartre on the 10th August for the dedication of the work thus initiated at the altar, where the avant garde received the Communion and took an oath of obedience to the flag and their leader.

On the 12th August the party made their start from Marseilles on board the “Irouaddy,” mail steamer. From the journal of M. Biendiné the artist we gather some knowledge of how these four French Catholic Pioneers proceeded to open up Africa and commence their crusade against slavery in Madagascar. By the 8th September they were landed at Tamatave where rumours of war were already rife. The pioneers after two days at the hotel took a house at forty francs per month. M. Biendiné describes his peaceful walks in the neighbourhood, the hire of a catholic interpréter and the church and schools established by the Jesuits. One day he takes his gun and sallies out in search of crocodiles but sees none—however he shoots a snake. Finding nothing to encourage their stay at the very civilised town of Tamatave the brethren are advised by M. Larrouy the French Resident General to try Sainte

Marie, but first of all M. Lancelin decided to visit M. Froger, the Governor of the French Colony at Diego-Suarez, in the extreme north of the island, under whose authority Ste. Marie had been placed. M. Froger received the Pioneers civilly enough and said they were prudent to remain on the coast and not to adventure themselves inland; but on hearing however that they elected to stay at Nosy Braha (Ste. Marie) the Governor tried to dissuade them.

"You have chosen Ste. Marie—you say—the climate there is very unhealthy, the country is not more fertile than on the west coast, all the centre is composed of prairies where the rain-water stands unless the sun evaporates it. You can certainly take up as many concessions of land there as you like, but I greatly fear that you will be sadly in want of a slave-holding population, and even of civil authority. You will find no anti-slavery work cut out for you in Ste. Marie"—"M. le Gouverneur!" replied M. Lancelin, "we do not wish to carry out any anti-slavery work in Ste. Marie; we wish simply to create an agricultural station." . . . "Then Nossi-Bé (the Colony on the west coast) would suit far better; the climate there is altogether far more healthy than at Sainte Marie. But why do you select an island? In an island you are limited and you cannot act according to your object."

"M. le Gouverneur! since, at the present time we cannot go into the interior, since we cannot do anti-slavery work in Madagascar, we have decided to confine ourselves to colonisation; we are not (at Ste. Marie) more than two hours' distant from the main land, and if later we can liberate some young slaves, they will be in far greater safety in an island than anywhere else. If the rumours of war which are spreading have any foundation we shall know how to act. In case of fighting, M. le Gouverneur, we place our four carbines at your disposal."

. . . "It is unfortunate that you have not an hundred slaves by you, or I would arm them. But it is to the west coast of Madagascar that you ought to direct your attention: Slavery is in great force amongst the Sakalavas and if you were to establish yourselves there, you would soon be able to collect about you all the slaves in the country; but that would place you in opposition to the Sakalavas *who are just now my allies*. So you can understand that I would not send you there just at present. As for the Hovas, who have among them plenty of slaves, you cannot go among them now for they would kill you before you could do anything. (Here a smile of derision crossing the face of M. Lancelin)—Ah, but it is no joke, they are well armed."

"You see then Monsieur, that we have good reasons for settling in Ste. Marie whilst awaiting the end of the Malagasy Question which will permit us to found posts in the interior. We shall not place ourselves in opposition to the people of the island for we confine ourselves, as I have said, strictly to colonization. In our programme we include colonization as much as anti-slavery."

Of course the end of this interview was the appointment of M. Lancelin as a Colonial Official. On his return to Ste. Marie, M. Péan the French Principal Administrateur (2nd class) at Ste. Marie immediately nominated the leader of the African Pioneers as Chief of the Poste of Ambatzo, and magistrate over the extreme north part of the little islet. Every Frenchman expects to become a fonctionnaire. Before continuing the story of these Pioneers, it may be as well to give a brief sketch of the Island of Ste. Marie.

The little island of Sainte Marie de Madagascar or Nossi Ibrabim consists of a long narrow strip of land, of but little elevation, extending in a line parallel to the east coast of Madagascar from which it is separated only by a channel some four to ten miles in width. The whole area of the islet contains but 40,000 acres (17,000 hectares) being only 31 miles in length, by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in breadth. When we add that this island has been occupied as a Colony by France since 1750, i.e., for more than 140 years, it is remarkable, to say the least of it, that in 1894 the African Pioneers should commence their scheme of Colonial Expansion and of Conquest, of Anti-Slavery work in the oldest of all the French Colonies. The climate of Sainte Marie is similar to that prevailing throughout Northern Madagascar and the coast of Africa, East and West, in that latitude viz. between  $16^{\circ}$  and  $17^{\circ}$  S. Latitude: that is to say it is very damp with high temperature for the greater part of the year, and is most uncommonly malarious. The islet is surrounded by coral reefs and the population, generally estimated at 6000 Betsimisaraka Malagasy, is mostly occupied in fishing and agriculture. On the West side of the island, opposite Tintingue, the port on the main land, is a really convenient natural harbour, accessible at all times and tides, in which are two little islets the outer *Ile aux Forbans*, now used as a coal depot, whilst the inner, *Ilot Madame*, the actual seat of the Government, where M. Péan, the Administrator—the only European Civilian in the Colony—resides, contains the Public Offices, Hospital and workshops. *Ilot Madame*

is connected with the shore by two bridges, one of which leads to Saint Louis—the capital town of Ste. Marie, inhabited solely by creoles from Réunion and natives. It is a pretty little town, its houses being surrounded by gardens and the streets well planted with Cocoanut Palms and Mango trees. Owing, however, to the pestilential atmosphere of this locality, fatal to Europeans, the French garrison has been reduced to 1 solitary sergeant of Marine Artillery, who is simply caretaker of the deserted fort, whilst the half dozen civil employés, who have actually nothing to do, are black creoles and natives.

The fort is on the highest point of the ridge at the narrowed neck of the island overlooking the harbour and a broad stretch of swamp to the east. It has long been deserted. But numerous graves, crosses and ruined monuments attest the mortality attending the wretched troops who have been quartered here. One stone, surmounted by a cross, inscribed *Hic Capita Jacent*, marks the spot where the skulls of the French sailors killed at Tamatave in 1845 found a last resting place nine years subsequently in 1854.

The story how the French became possessed of this little island is brief, simple and instructive—as a good example of “Colonial Expansion.” It may illustrate on a small scale what is not impossibly “on the cards” as regards the great continental island of Madagascar itself.

Ste. Marie was at the beginning of the last century one of the resorts of the pirates: and as soon as these sea-rovers had been routed out by the Commodore Matthews, the slave-dealers still found it profitable to trade here with the native chiefs, who were encouraged to make war with one another in order to obtain a supply of slaves wherewith to purchase rum and gunpowder from the Europeans. One chief, Ratsimilahy said to be the son of the notorious pirate Angria, soon distinguished himself in these wars and made himself master of the mainland about Tintingue. He seems to have died in 1745: and in 1750, his widow ceded the island of Ste. Marie to M. Gosse, the accredited agent of

the Compagnie Française des Indes. Rochon and Le Gentil represent this Frenchman as cruel, unjust, and tyrannical in his dealings with the natives: so it is not surprising that in 1754 the Malagasy, driven past endurance by his conduct, rose up surprised the post and massacred Gosse and his few comrades. M. Bouvet de Lozier, the Governor of the Ile de France, immediately on hearing the news of this tragedy, despatched a vessel to Foule Pointe and the villages there were burnt, the widow of Ratsimilahy being numbered among the Malagasy slain, whilst her daughter, Bétia, was carried off a prisoner to the Ile de France. The Conseil supérieur of that Colony, judging her innocent of all complicity in the murder of M. Gosse, sent her back to Foule Pointe laden with presents for her brother Andriamanhary, generally known as Jean Harre. At Foule Pointe, a French soldier, Bigorne, acting as interpreter, ingratiated himself with Princess Bétia, married her, and received a commission as agent of the French Company. Under his auspices a trade with the Mascarene islands was started which has been maintained with occasional interruptions to the present day. In October 1818, a French expedition under Baron de Mackau, the captain of *Le Golo*, accompanied by a civil commission under M. Sylvain Roux, retook possession of Ste. Marie, where a permanent colony was established, subject to the Government of Réunion. The casualties from fever, however, increased to such an extent among the military and naval detachments and labourers landed from the French men-of-war on Ile Madame, that it was found necessary to utilise one vessel "La Normande" as a floating hospital. Yet by the end of January 1822 only one midshipman and a dozen sailors and workmen were fit for duty. M. Sylvain Roux, the commandant and many other officers and men died at St. Louis, as the capital of the new colony was named. No wonder M. Carpeau de Saussay had written a hundred years before—"Nous appelons l'île Sainte-Marie le cimetière des Français, parce qu'il n'y va aucun navire qui n'y laisse bon

nombre de personnes, pour peu de séjour qu'il y fût."—M. Blévec succeeded to M. Roux as Commandant at Ste. Marie; but the Frenchman of all others who did most for this wretched colony was M. Fortuné Albrand, a young Marseillais, who coming out to Réunion as a schoolmaster made it his vocation to study all the dialects in the Malagasy language. He soon became the principal commercial and political agent on the coast, and was entrusted with a mission by his Government to obtain concessions from the Malagasy tribes in Northern Madagascar. He established himself at Ste. Marie and set to work vigorously to found an agricultural colony, especially directing his attention to the hygiene and improved sanitation of the European settlement. For three years he employed the natives in clearing the jungle and in making plantations—in fact he formed what there is of the streets, buildings and gardens of Saint Louis. He was so far successful that the Government of Charles X. sent out a garrison for the fort which was constructed as we have seen on the hill above the harbour: but in the moment of his success M. Albrand died, and the best monument to him is in the name on the maps given to the most northern extremity of the island, called in his honour Pointe Albrand. Unfortunately our Hydrographic department at the Admiralty will insist on aspirating the name by adding an ugly letter H., so that in our modern naval charts the erroneous spelling, Halbrand Pt. appears. Historical names ought to be preserved, even when belonging to a foreigner. In similar fashion the southern extremity of the Ile des Nattes has long been named "Cape Blévec," after Albrand's friend the Commandant of the Colony, which is, of course, transformed by our British Cartographers at Whitehall, into Bléve Pt.

To return, however, to the fortunes of our French Pioneers—M. Biendin's diary gives a slight idea of their life at Ste. Marie, for instance we find entries as follows:—

"October 8, 1894. Visit to the Resident and to the Curé, who shows us a small church in building. I would offer to paint the altar, but have no colours.



*October 9.* In the evening we are sitting down to dinner, when the Curé knocks at our cottage-door. There is an alarm of fire. We rush out *au pas gymnastique*. But we lose ourselves in the marshes, we get bogged with water up to our knees—and after all it is only some bushes on fire.

*October 12.* I make a trip with another of our set to the north of the island. We go 21 miles. We pass the night in the hut of the chief of a village. They bring us sweet potatoes, manioc, *cœurs-de-bœuf* (custard apple) and fresh coconuts. The cocoanuts sold at fairs in France give no idea of these fruits, as gathered from the palm. They are enveloped like nuts, in a thick green shell which must be cut open by a hatchet. They contain about one litre and a half of juice. The children of the place suck sugar-canes: they all crowd round to see us eat. The whole village knows that some *vaza* (foreigners) have arrived.

*October 14.* Mass. Vespers—we see a boa on the sand. I take it for the branch of a tree! I have my revolver but the natives do not like us to kill these reptiles.

*October 15.* The summer now commences. The heat is very supportable (77° Fahr. in the shade). I remain constantly, with naked feet, in shirt-sleeves.

*October 17.* I buy some mussels from a Malgache for 30 centimes. Fish are not dear. I buy a conger, three fish with blue scales and a crab for 30 centimes, a fowl for 60 centimes. There are no cattle here. Europeans do not come to this country. The climate, it appears, is unhealthy. But when one has experienced Ouargia in N. Africa, that does not count.

*19th.* I bought from a Malgache woman 6 fish and some mussels for 0.30. I gave her 0.50. The next day she brought back the four sous! Here, everywhere they have their huts open. The Malagasy are not thieves. . . .

*20th.* Continuation of our explorations. We are taken for Hova spies, as they see us taking copious notes. We fear lest the natives may put poison into our food.

*21st.* Sunday. Mass. During the sermon, the Father has to observe that it is not the correct thing to open umbrellas during the service.

*22nd.* We decide to request for land on which to establish our post. There are not many Europeans in the whole island. The Curé, the Sisters,\* the Resident, the Doctor and five or six colonists including us four pioneers.

*23rd.* Two of our number leave in a canoe to make out the site of our concession. The map of Sainte Marie has not yet been traced very accurately. The locality chosen is 15½ miles from Ambotifouthre.

(Ambotifothre is a suburb of Malagasy huts on piles and thatched with ravenale palm leaves forming a village to the west of the European town of Saint Louis.) *Ouf.* What a name!

*26th.* We must commence by planting vegetables, and then proceed to make some coffee plantations etc. . . . The 'gaillarde peinte' grows spontaneously here. Meantime I propose making a herbarium in water-colours of all the plants of the island. There is much to be done in this island."

\* Two Sœurs of the Congregation of Saint Joseph of Cluny, who teach in the school.

In another bulletin we find parts of the diary of M. René Lemoyne de Forges. The Pioneers are still at Saint Louis, or rather in their cottage in the native village of Ambotifouthre close by.

"1st November. We attend Mass in the new church, which is crowded with soldiers of the Marine Infantry\* brought by the last mail steamer from Réunion. The organ accompanies the chants. It is played by M. Darboul, the agent of the firm Bonnemaison. In the evening Chants of the *Libera* at the cemetery. A great crowd.

3rd November. I find to-day one of my old friends, Vicomte Raymond de Malartic, Corporal in the 4th Infantry of Marine. I little expected to meet him again here, re-engaged with corporal's lace on his arm.

14th November. M. Lancelin has purchased a boat from M. Victor one of the planters. She costs 350 francs, measures three tons, and is named the *Ste. Anne*.

19th November. We finish getting our canteens ready, for we leave to-morrow by the *Ste. Anne* which comes to fetch us. She is sailed by Tsanga-Tsang, the native Brigadier of Police at the port of Ambako, whose Malagasy name signifies 'Go and walk.'

20th November. After having paid our adieux to the Resident, we set sail and proceed on our voyage. At 2 p.m. we are at Loukinsi, whence we set out again at 3 p.m., and at 6 p.m. we reach Ambatouro.

22nd November. MM. Lamblin and Biendiné plant 'Bois noirs' (acacias) to form coverts for the coffee plants. Seated on the roots of a mango-tree, with a chopping-block close by me, I cut the branches and form the cuttings which the other two plant.

23rd. In the morning I work in the garden of the post, where I clear out a good bit of ground. In the evening I make cuttings of 'Bois noir.'

28th. Whilst M. Biendiné and myself are breakfasting under the verandah (it is evident that the Pioneers have found a comfortable dwelling all ready) of the Post, we see the *Amazon* of the Messageries Maritimes pass by. She is not steaming rapidly, for the wind is against her, and besides she has a cargo of 35,000 cartridges for Diego Suarez.

29th November. We expect M. Lancelin, but the rain and storm make us fear that he will not come to-day. Meantime we have neither bread, nor wine, nor coffee. At last by 7 o'clock he arrives under a pouring rain.

5th December. We are invited to breakfast at a Frenchman's—M. Levé, of the Post Loukinsi; we start early on foot. We pass through the forest of Wagnanimpour where we see a giant of the *Ste. Marie* forests. One could easily hollow out in its trunk a good bedroom, and the block thus cut out and squared would not pass under the open gateway of 9 Rue de Verneuil—(the headquarters of the French Society in Paris). At nine o'clock

\* At this time M. Le Myre de Vilers had gone up to the capital to present the French ultimatum, and it appears from this entry that he was backed up by a force of Marines at *Ste. Marie* ready for the landing at Tamatave—a fact not hitherto noticed in the French press or published accounts of the French envoy's proceedings.

we reach Loukinsi. We breakfast at eleven, and at three o'clock go back in rain and storm.

6th December. We set out, M. Lancelin and myself, to get the mail letters at Saint Louis, which have come by the *Ava* of the Messageries. Lancelin is very ill at Loukinsi. Impossible to cross the bar, the sea having risen. I leave Lancelin with M. Levé and go on foot to Saint Louis with Tsanga-Tsang.

7. December. I go to the Residency to fetch our mail. We get plenty of letters, and I get my share. With what pleasure I read these letters—after being five months without any.

11th December. I brought back with me yesterday a carpenter's apprentice who will make us chairs and tables, a commencement of our furniture.

14th. M. Biendiné arrived at two in the afternoon. He has walked all the way under a blazing heat, accomplishing his twenty-eight miles. This the colonists declare to be too much. M. Biendiné has established his reputation as a pedestrian.

15th. This morning M. Levé having arrived stayed to breakfast with us.

16th. *Sainte Anne* and four rowers, with M. Helluy, the carpenter, steering, come to fetch M. Lancelin to Saint Louis. We hope they will get there to-morrow. The whole day the rain never ceases to pour.

17th December. Torrential rain all day. The torrents which have formed down the sides of the hills carry away a portion of our garden."

After the publication of the above diary, which appeared in the Bulletin for February 1895, no notice has been taken in the organ of the Society of the doings of the Pioneers until, in the April Number, there appears the following paragraph under the ominous heading "necrology"—

"We have been grievously surprised by the news of the death of our collaborator, M. René Lemoyne de Forges at Sainte Marie, on the 26th January. He is the first pioneer who pays with his life for his devotedness to the cause of civilization and of France. Every fruitful thing has its root in grief. This first mourning strikes our work without extinguishing it. The African Pioneers live as soldiers and must die in the same manner. We spare the heroic soul of our friend the vain honour of a pompous discourse. We wish simply to ask for him the prayers of our friends and to present our respectful condolences to a family so cruelly stricken. A Requiem Mass will be celebrated in Paris, at which the Parisian group of Pioneers and the editorial staff of *La France Noire* will be present."

Not a word about the other three members of the small post of Ambatouro in Ste. Marie appears either in this, the April number, or in the following issue for May 1895. It is to be feared that this first instalment of the African Pioneers' Madagascar expedition has been wiped out.

Under any circumstances such an impracticable venture must fail. Its insuccess was preordained from its initiation.

But let us follow the doings of the Committee at the Metropolis. Having despatched four innocents abroad to die of fever in the pestilential marshes of a deserted Colony, already abandoned by a Government which has sunk thousands of francs in trying to render the place fit for colonisation—what is the next step. A military crusade!

On the 11th February, 1895, Père Iung, accompanied by M. Charles Droulers the director, editor, and publisher of *La France Noire*, presented themselves to Admiral Besnard, the Minister of Marine, to make an offer to the Government to raise a contingent of ONE HUNDRED pioneers to join the expedition to Madagascar—to be subsidised, clothed, armed; drilled and transported to the seat of war by the Government—to be well paid and to receive concessions of land from the conquered Hovas after the campaign. This they said would be the full realisation of the noble and patriotic idea ventilated by the Academician, M. le Vicomte Eugène Melchior de Vogué in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (December 1894):—

“Pourquoi ne pas susciter un corps d’engagés libres qui gagneraient dans l’opération militaire les concessions qu’ils exploiteraient ensuite comme colons?”

Wide regions in Asia have thus been colonised by the Russian Cossacks. The forerunners of the French in Africa, the Romans in like manner settled whole districts in that continent with their veteran legions. Thus also Marshal Bugeaud had organised the military settlers in Algeria and formed villages along the principal strategical lines of communication. General Mercier, said Père Iung, had already expressed his sympathy with the cause, but unfortunately he had already appropriated centime by centime for the whole sum voted by Parliament: and therefore the Military Ecclesiastic had come on to urge his scheme at the Admiralty.

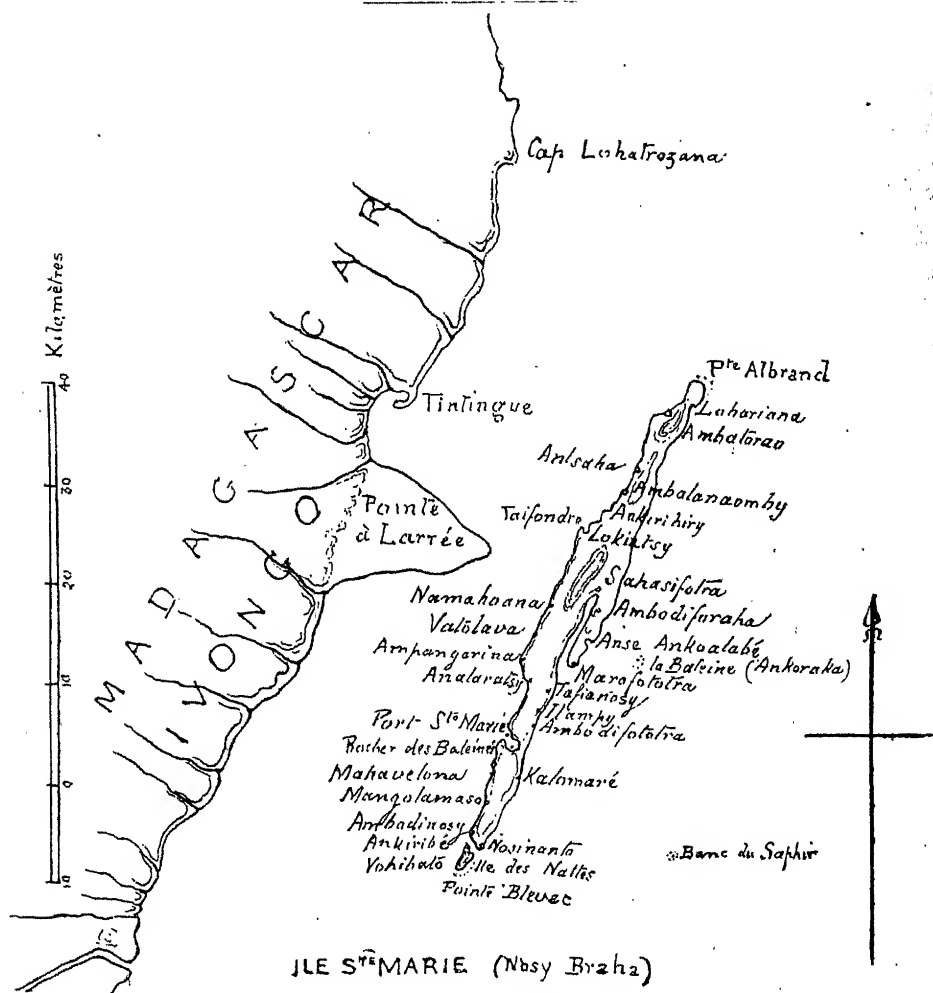
Admiral Besnard listened patiently to the sermon of Père Iung, and the harangue of M. Droulers the journalist,

and referred them to Admiral Roustan, the director of the personnel of Marine, who, it was suggested, might advise these ardent Catholic Pioneers, to find their way to Réunion Colony, where a battalion of Creole Volunteers was in want of recruits. For, in truth, the Réunion Creoles (whose deputy had declared in the Chamber that they would enlist in thousands) were holding back and refusing to enlist on any terms, having learnt from the unfortunate experiences of the former volunteers in the previous campaign of 1883-85. It is to be hoped, writes M. Charles Droulers, that the Government will not leave unutilised the devotions and energies of these aspirants for glory of a novel kind, who only desire one favour—that of contributing their feeble endeavours towards the furtherance of the grandeur of France . . . with, he should add, colonial pay and allowances, gratuities and grants of land, galore. These old soldiers, who have served in Algeria, Tonkin and China, such as those promised by Father Lung, and who have spent all their accumulated “loot” acquired during colonial campaigns, are not disinterestedly desirous of glory alone. They require the loaves and fishes—and are not likely to put themselves forward where more kicks than halfpence are likely to be their portion. Père Lung may be sure that his precious veterans as Catholics would not be acceptable in the Republican ranks : and as working efficient soldiers would not be worth their salt in the expeditionary force under General Duchesne.

We have regretfully come to the conclusion that this Movement of African Civilisers is not likely to accomplish any sound work. That which Cardinal Lavigerie's *Frères armés* failed to carry out on the dark continent is not likely to succeed better under such incompetent organisation as that exhibited already at the Head Quarters Administration of the Catholic Pioneers in the Rue de Verneuil at Paris, where it is needless to say *subscriptions* from the faithful are earnestly desired. The Journal La France Noire will profit by them, if nobody else does !

P.S.—Later accounts tell how, after the death of M. de

Forges, the other three pioneers spent all the hot season at the healthy and delightful colony of Réunion, revisiting their garden at Ste. Marie during the cooler and healthy months. Their expenses now fall on the funds of the Colony of Ste. Marie, and they enjoy a comfortable sinecure with little or nothing to do and plenty to get at the charges of their mother country. And yet some people can be found to say that France does not understand colonisation. The protégés of M. de Mahy, however, thoroughly understand how to obtain colonial appointments.



S. Parfield Oliver  
from Hansen's map  
1895

## THE STRAITS SETTLEMENT.—I. ITS EARLY HISTORY.

BY W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.

### INTRODUCTION.

AT a time when all classes are complaining of a declining trade owing to foreign competition, and the lack of new markets for the sale of our products and manufactures; and when there is a danger that we may be elbowed out of our hardy-earned commercial position in the Far East, by nations which have only entered the field at the eleventh hour, I cannot help thinking that a narrative of what the British Government can accomplish by an enterprising policy carried out by able, and conscientious officials, may be of some interest to the Public.

The marvellous results which have already been gained in the Malay Peninsula, are primarily owing alike to the bold and conciliatory policy, inaugurated by Sir Andrew Clarke in January 1874.\* This policy, continued and developed by a succession of able Governors of the Straits Settlements, and British Residents in the various Native States, has changed Perak, Salengor, and Sungei Ujong, especially, from being wastes of jungle and swamp, sparsely

\* For the Chaos of 20 years ago, we find that the revenue of *one* state—Perak—equals that of the Straits Settlements, and that the States have their Railway, Telegraph, Educational and other Departments, with churches, chapels, clubs, educational Institutes, theatres, *etc.* Though much is due to Governors like Sir F. Wild and Sir C. Smith, and to Residents like Sir Hugh Low, Mr. Maxwell and above all, Mr. Swettenham, it must be remembered that Sir A. Clarke first took the bull by the horns and got a Conservative Government to sanction his action which has, with God's blessing, brought about the present peace and prosperity, in place of the former bloodshed, oppression and anarchy. There is no doubt, too, that, in this case, the permanent Staff of the Colonial Office have, from the first, done much towards assisting in the good work by keeping the Native States outside of the Crown Colony system, and by allowing our Governors and Residents to do the real work, even while they let the Native Sultans and Rajahs think that they were themselves governing their respective States, and by giving them due honour in the face of the real people,—the Chinese.

I think that the time has come for a Confederation, and I trust Mr. Swettenham will be enabled to inaugurate the new scheme and be succeeded by a list of able, conscientious, firm and just officials.

inhabited by Malay pirates and turbulent Chinese, into peaceful habitations of flourishing merchants and labourers, the produce of whose enterprise or labour greatly adds to the value of British Commerce and also provides a revenue equal to that of our Colony, the Straits Settlements. In connection with this prosperity I must mention Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., who, since 1874, whether as pioneer in exploration, or Resident in Perak and Salengor, has indefatigably devoted himself to the amelioration of the different races under his charge, and to the upholding of British prestige in the Straits of Malacca.

Situated on the East side of that great and silent highway of the European trade to China and the far East known as the Strait of Malacca, the Malay Peninsula stretches from the borders of Siam in Lat.  $7^{\circ}30'N.$  to within a few miles of the line; its southern extremity is separated by a narrow Strait from our Settlement, of Singapore. The Peninsula is composed of several independent or semi-independent States, governed by Sultans or petty Rajahs. The countries on the West Coast only will be dealt with in the following remarks, as being at present more particularly identified with British interests; those on the East Coast are under the protection of Siam,\* and soon, the advance of French influence in the East will oblige us to take all these States under our protection. Though Siamese influence has generally had beneficial effect, European civilization alone can do justice to the great natural resources of these countries and with an enlightened and firm Government they would, instead of being as at present comparative wastes of unknown jungle, develop rapidly, for the sustenance of a large population. Already the attention of several European explorers has been engaged with regard to the rich mineral treasures existing in Pahang, Kalantan and Tringano. On the West Coast, the maritime States of Kedah, Perak, Salengor,

\* Since 1883 Pahang has been placed under direct British Protection with a Resident.



Sungei Ujong and Johore, together with a confederation of small inland territories called the Negri Sambalang or Nine Countries (which formed part of the ancient Empire of Malacca) have, (owing to our gradual acquisition of the Colony now known as the Straits Settlements), for the last hundred years, been more or less politically connected with the British Government.

In the year 1786 Pulo Penang, officially known as Prince of Wales Island, was ceded by the then Rajah of Keddah to Capt. Light an officer of H.E.I. Co.'s service, and but a few years elapsed before,—as has so often been the case in the history of British Colonial enterprise,—it was found necessary, for the protection of our increasing interests, to induce the further cession of a strip of land (now called Province Wellesley) on the opposite mainland of Keddah—then a mountainous jungle and mangrove swamp, the haunt of the tiger, alligator, and the more cruel Malay pirate, but now richly cultivated with sugar, spices and other products, with a contented and prosperous population of some 200,000 Malays and Chinese.

These acquisitions gave us our first footing in the Peninsula, and necessarily involved us in the affairs of the neighbouring States of Keddah and Perak. Having captured Malacca from the Dutch in 1795 the British held possession of the Port and territory till 1818—when it was returned to Holland, but ceded to us by treaty in 1824. By this cession, while we gave up all claim to interference in Sumatra and the rest of the Malay Archipelago, we were brought into contact with Salengor, Sungei Ujong, and also with Rambau and the other states of the Negri Sambalang.

In 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles fixed on the small Island of Singapore, as a suitable spot on which to form an emporium for British trade, and a centre from which we could exercise a beneficial influence on the Malay States of the Peninsula. Johore, to which State the Island belonged, though reduced to an insignificant condition at the

time of cession, formerly enjoyed supremacy over all the neighbouring Malay Chiefs, and Singapore was the seat of Empire. In 1819 however, the Island was covered with jungle and deserted, except by a few pirates and fishermen. The magic of British influence was soon apparent; the enterprising Chinese, and Bugis traders from all parts of the Archipelago, resorted to a place free from the illiberal restrictions of the Dutch, and in 1827, the Exports and Imports amounted to Rs. 27,502,855 or say at a low estimate, £2,500,000. In 1881—the year of the last census of which we have statistics,—the population of Singapore was 140,000; and the total trade then was £39,885,945; in 1893 this total has reached £46,486,145. These results have been achieved by the enterprise of British and Chinese merchants, and the prestige of our Flag. There has been no grasping conquest; each Settlement has either been purchased, or acquired by Treaty in exchange for undoubted rights in other parts of the Archipelago.

Though at the end of the great war with France we were in possession of the whole of the enormous Netherlands Indian Empire, we with unparalleled generosity surrendered to Holland her former possessions; contenting ourselves with Penang, Malacca, and the small Island of Singapore, as stations for the protection of our route to China, and for the security of British interests political and commercial, on the Eastern side of Bengal.—Although we injured our interests and those of the natives, by giving up the Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea to the Dutch, besides ultimately providing a weapon for Germany or France with which to cripple our trade,—the influence of Britain has never been more astonishingly manifested than in the present prosperous condition of the Straits Settlements. British liberality and justice have attracted to the Straits Settlements an heterogeneous population of some 350,000 Asiatics, turbulent Chinese, and natives of every country in Asia and the Indian Islands, who by their

industry have assisted to develop a trade, which amounts in value to nearly a quarter of the whole Home, Colonial, and Foreign trade of Holland. Indeed, a great part of this trade is from the Dutch Islands ; the opening of free Ports and the introduction of more liberal measures by the Netherlands Indian Govt. have never been able to attract the natives from their preference to our rule and commercial system. It is also worthy of note, that of the Three Settlements Malacca, containing the largest geographical area and internal resources, having suffered from the stunting influence of a long occupation by the Portuguese and the Dutch, is the only Settlement which lags behind in the march of prosperity.

It was hoped by Sir Stamford Raffles when establishing the Settlement at Singapore, that our influence in the Malay Peninsula would in some degree compensate for the surrender of our great opportunities in Java and other Islands in the Pacific. In the paper I now quote, he says,

"The whole of the population at least on the Malay Peninsula have imbibed a taste for Indian and European manufactures, and the demand is only limited by their means. Artificial impediments may for a time check their means ; but in countries where, independent of the cultivation, the treasures of the mines seem inexhaustible, and the raw produce of its forests has in all ages, been in equal demand, it is not easy to fix limits to the extension of these means."

The mineral and other resources of the Peninsula can scarcely be exaggerated, but the Western Coast is especially favoured by nature. Sheltered by the range of mountains which runs down the centre, it is not subject to the strength of the North-East Monsoon which renders navigation difficult on the East Coast for six months of the year. Magnificent rivers, while furnishing water-carriage for their products, irrigate the fertile lands of all the States ; the Coast is studded with Islands furnishing natural harbours, and the sea is almost perpetually calm, only ruffled by occasional squalls, or soft breezes which cool the air and render these regions perhaps more healthy than any tropical countries in the world. Gutta-percha, india-rubber, with various valuable gums, and kinds of timber, are found in the virgin forests ; while minerals, especially Tin, abound

to a wonderful degree. In Perak and Salengor, every stream literally is lined with tin-sand; the alluvial soil is rich in staniferous deposits, the matrix of which is found in the adjacent hills. In the valleys and lowlands, the soil is peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of rice, sugar, gambir and pepper; while the proper soil and temperature can be found in the ranges of low hills, suitable for Tea, Coffee, Tobacco and Cinchona.

With these great natural advantages, and with the short experience of Singapore's prosperity vouchsafed to Sir Stamford Raffles before his death, he no doubt expected from the Malayan Countries a near future of brilliant development. These anticipations for many years were not realised. After being borne on a wave of conquest to a successful peace in 1815, there came, as is common with England, a reactionary desire to avoid any further extension of responsibility.

From this period till 1867, (when the Straits Settlements were made a Crown Colony) the Indian Officials in charge, did from time to time make commercial treaties with the Rajahs of the Malay States, and officials made spasmodic visits to those countries in order to enquire into grievances; but every attempt to interfere actively was discouraged by both parties, though a shadowy suzerainty was acknowledged. Our Chinese subjects encouraged by the mineral riches, invested their capital, and exercised their usual energy; tin, gutta percha and other products, contributed an inadequate share to the general prosperity of our Colony; yet in 1872 the condition of the Native States was faithfully described in a monster Petition presented by the Chinese merchants of the Straits to Sir Harry Ord the first Colonial Governor, at the expiration of his term of Government. After recounting the benefits of British rule, the Petition states

“Nearly the whole of the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula from Malacca to Province Wellesley may be said to be in a state of anarchy, and anything like regular trade is entirely at an end. The result of this is, that the richest part of the Peninsula is in the hands of the turbulent; only in those States dependent in a manner on Siam,

is order preserved ; while—with the exception of Johore—those whose relations with Great Britain are confirmed by longstanding treaties, and who have hitherto been considered as subject to her influence and counsel, are conspicuous for the absence of that peace, progress and comparative prosperity, which characterises all countries and places recognising British rule, or inspired by British ideas.”

In the despatch forwarding this Petition to the Secretary of State, Sir Harry Ord fully endorses the justice of the complaints made by the Petitioners ; he says

“ In Quedah which adjoins Province Wellesley on the North, and is under Siamese control, peace and order are maintained and the country though by no means a rich one, is making steady progress ; but when we pass to the South of Province Wellesley, the whole West Coast from thence to Malacca is as the petitioners remark, in such a state of anarchy and disturbance that all trade is at an end.”

The State of Johore which extends from Singapore to the boundaries of Malacca, was with Keddah an exception to the general anarchy, as the Chinese in their Petition further remark

“ As an example of what the moral influence of Great Britain can effect in a Native State, we would point to the neighbouring territory of Johore, whose prosperous and peaceful condition is due, as well to the liberality and foresight of its present Ruler, as to the English influences which have of late years (especially, during Your Excellency's residence amongst us) been brought to bear upon the Maharajah's rule.”

Sir Harry Ord had repeatedly brought the sad state of things to the notice of the Colonial Office, but “ the Home Government, while desiring to maintain intimate relations with the Native States who are bound by treaty obligations to this country, and being most anxious that peace should be maintained throughout the Peninsula, so that commerce might be promoted, had hitherto made it their practice to abstain as far as possible, from interference in the internal affairs of those States.” The Governor concluded therefore that, except an attack were made on our Settlements, the only course to be taken was abstention from Malay affairs, and in reply to the complaints the Chamber of Commerce said that

“ It is the policy of Government not to interfere in the affairs of these countries unless where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories ; and that if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is impossible for Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property.”

This answer was approved by the Home Government, but affairs soon arrived at such a state, that all the condi-

tions necessary for our interference in native affairs were brought into existence. The Chinese Petition arrived in England in August 1873; about that time Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed as successor to Sir Harry Ord and the reply to the Petition was accordingly addressed to him. In his Despatch the Secretary of State remarked

“The anarchy which prevails and appears to be increasing in parts of the Peninsula, and the consequent injury to trade and British interests generally, render it necessary to consider seriously whether any steps can be taken to improve their condition; Her Majesty’s Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States. But looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Settlements themselves, Her Majesty’s Government find it incumbent upon them to employ such influence as they possess with the Native Princes, to rescue if possible these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders remain unchecked.”

“I have to request that you will carefully ascertain as far as you are able the actual condition of affairs in each State, and that you will *report* to me, whether there are in your opinion any steps which can properly be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order, and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the Native territories.”

Sir Andrew Clarke therefore left England for his new appointment, with instructions to merely enquire into and report upon the state of matters, but still bound by the restrictions as to active interference, which had been imposed on his predecessor. On his arrival in the Straits in November 1873, the new Governor however found that affairs had arrived at a state when enquiry was needless, and that the only hope for any amelioration, lay in taking immediate and energetic steps on his own responsibility. The long *laissez-faire* policy had accomplished its natural results—not only had it ruined the Native States but it had also involved our Settlements in disaster.

The principal seat of disturbance was Larut, a district of the Kingdom of Perak, bordering on our territory of Province Wellesley. Some time about the year 1850 a Malay trader named Long Jaffir who farmed the local taxes on rice cultivation from Sultan Jaffir of Perak, discovered Tin in Larut and having invited Chinese capitalists from Penang, these introduced their countrymen, who opened mines and through the wealth gained by the revenue on the tin produce, Long Jaffir was enabled to

procure a grant for the district from the Sultan and was also appointed Mantri, one of the highest offices in the State. During Inchi Jaffir's life, the Chinese being few in number, do not seem to have caused much trouble; on his death, the grant was confirmed to his son Nga Ibrahim, who also succeeded to the office of Mantri; this was about the year 1862; but by this time the Chinese had greatly increased, and were divided into two rival factions, locally known as the Si-Kuans and the Go-Kuans. Each faction was supported by rich Chinese merchants in our Settlements, who advanced money for the mining operations, and having paid the revenue of one-tenth, to the Mantri, received the Tin, which gave them a handsome profit. To complicate matters more, each faction was united to a Chinese Secret Society in Penang; this added to commercial rivalry the bitterness of a political feud.

The Go-Kuans, though superior in having merchants of large capital on their side, were weak in their connection with the Hai-San Society, while the Si-Kuans whose financial supporters chiefly consisted of the Chinese artisans of Penang, were affiliated to the Ghi Hin Society, by far the most powerful in the Straits. The Mantri of Larut was soon a mere puppet in the hands of the Chinese, both parties of whom tried to get the monopoly of the mines. At first, Nga Ibrahim sided with the Go-Kuans, who attacking the other side, after a great slaughter, drove them out of the country.

Amongst the defeated Si-Kuans, were several British subjects; these made a claim against the Sultan of Perak for losses amounting to \$17,447. Our Government without much knowledge of the case, blockaded the coast and demanded satisfaction for this claim. The Sultan submitted, and Nga Ibrahim having provided the money, received as a reward, almost independent powers over Larut.

For some time after this, peace was restored, and both parties of Chinese worked together and increased in num-

bers, really governing themselves, and submitting to no other control than that of paying the duty on the Tin they exported from the country, to Penang.

At the close of 1871, the number of Chinese in Larut was estimated at 40,000 men, and the value of tin produced 1,276,518 dollars; that is to say the Mantri was receiving some 120,000 dollars, as his revenue; this enabled him to strengthen his position with the Government of Perak and to all intents and purposes,—excepting as far as ruling the Chinese—he was an independent Chief. By this time the Si-Kuans had become so powerful that the Mantri adapting himself to circumstances, allied himself to them, and for the consideration of an increased revenue, allowed them to attack the Go-Kuans, and with the usual slaughter drive them out of Larut, to seek refuge in our territories. These Go-Kuans however, being strongly supported by some of the richest Chinese merchants in Penang, and especially by those whose connection with the European merchants, gave them the ear of the European public, were little likely to submit to expulsion; accordingly, having purchased arms and chartered war-junks from China, they soon retaliated, and having defeated their enemies, took charge of the country and Mines; the Mantri with his usual policy, espousing their cause when victorious. About this time, the troubles were exaggerated by the death of Sultan Ali of Perak, and a disputed succession. The legitimate successor, or Rajah Muda Abdullah, having been by some intrigue, passed over, the Rajah Bandahara Ismail had been appointed Sultan. An appeal had been made to our Government which had received the usual reply, “that the Government would be glad to recognize the Sultan who had been elected by the universal choice of the country.” Mantri Ibrahim having been confirmed in his Government of Larut, identified himself with the *de facto* Sultan Ismail and the Go-Kuans, with all material advantages on his side. The Si-Kuans on the other hand advocated,



Abdullah and divine right. In May 1872 the Mantri held the mines, that is to say the Go-Kuans held the only working-mine in the country, but this was of very little advantage, as the Si-Kuans held the forts at the entrance of the Larut river, and several fortified positions near the coast. The last victory of the Go-Kuans had devastated the country; it was estimated that some 4,000 Si-Kuans had been slain, their women and children sold to the Malays or appropriated by the Mantri; hundreds of fugitives in forcing their way through the jungle to Province Wellesley had died, or been eaten by tigers, and 2,000 wounded were received into our Hospitals in Penang. In July 1872, Larut, which in 1871 had contained some 40,000 Chinese with towns and flourishing mines, was completely bare of all habitations, except the rival stockades, which contained some 8,000 fighting men.

The Ghi Hin Society in Penang, and the other Chinese who sympathised with the Si-Kuans, were of course much excited, and prepared for another struggle.

Besides the Si-Kuans, and Go-Kuans, who all came from the Canton Province, the coast of Larut was inhabited by fishermen from the Province of Hok-Kien, or Fuh-Kien, and these, while despising the Cantonese took the side of the Go-Kuans, because most of the Capitalists of that faction were Hok-Kiens. Another powerful race of Canton Chinese the Tay-Chews were engaged in cutting firewood on the numerous rivers and creeks of Larut and Perak, as all the fuel for domestic use in Penang and for the Sugar manufacturers of Province Wellesley is supplied from Perak and there is a great coasting trade in the article. The Hok-Kiens have the numerical superiority amongst the Chinese population of Penang, while the Tay-Chews preponderate in the Province, and the most influential man in the latter territory belonging to the Ghi Hins, his people all assisted the Si-Kuans. These combinations greatly increased the danger to the peace of our Colonies.

The Mantri having identified himself with the *de facto* Sultan, who had been recognized by our Government, was allowed every privilege in the way of shipping arms, provisions, etc., to his adherents the Go-Kuans; while the Si-Kuans received no encouragement, and consequently were put to straits.

In Aug. 1872 news having come to Singapore that Penang was in danger from riots on account of the Larut disturbances, Sir Harry Ord went there with H. M. Ships "Thalia" and "Midge." At that time the Si-Kuans had built long fast rowing-boats with 30 oars, and manned by 40-50 men; as they could not get provisions legally, they plundered the boats sent by the Mantri from Penang with provisions for his party; and being lawless Chinese, they soon turned their attention to all craft they met, and became audacious pirates. On Sir Harry Ord's arrival at Penang, of course the news quickly spread, and the piratical boats were hidden in the net-work of creeks on the coast, where they were secure from discovery. The "Thalia" and "Midge's" boats scoured the rivers, and visited the Si-Kuan forts at the mouth of the Larut river, where Capt. Grant of the "Midge" was most respectfully received—the head fighting-men anxiously enquiring when the British Government would put an end to the anarchy, and enforce a strong and impartial rule.

Indeed amongst all classes of Chinese, and Malays, the universal expression was—

"How can the English from Penang see this dreadful misery and slaughter, and yet not interfere, why does not the Government send some officers to arrange matters?"

Both parties of Chinese said—

"We could easily settle things by expelling the Malay Rulers, and then fight it out amongst ourselves, but the country is under British Protection, so if we rebel, they will punish us." "If only a bamboo with a British Flag were planted on Larut shore, we should be content, and would drop our quarrels and go to work at the mines sure of equal protection in our rights."

As it was the Go-Kuans fought for their own interests as partizans of the Sultan acknowledged by our Government, and the Si-Kuans were strong in the feeling that

their interests were identified with the Sultan "*de jure*," whom they were sure the British would ultimately support.

The wishes with regard to our interference were well known to Sir Harry Ord, but with his instructions from home he could do nothing but acknowledge the Mantri who produced documents to prove that he and the Go-Kuans were the rightful owners of the Larut mines, and that the Si-Kuans (having served his purposes) were a set of pirates and vagabonds.

On this the Governor in Council, issued a proclamation permitting the Mantri and his Chinese to export arms powder, provisions, etc., and placing an embargo on everything belonging to the Si-Kuans.

This soon brought on a crisis. During the presence of Sir Harry Ord and the men-of-war, for a few days, the Larut coast was freed from pirates, and the fishermen and wood-boats were able to carry on their traffic. The Governor returned to Singapore in the "*Thalia*" and it was announced in Council, that affairs had been settled. The "*Thalia*" and "*Midge*" were still kept on the lookout for the rowing-boats, and were even accompanied by the Mantri in his schooner, which flew his flag. Now the Rajah Mantri and the Go-Kuans had been recognised as the lawful party, and Capt. Speedy of Abyssinian fame had been allowed to throw up his post as Supt. of Police in Penang and to recruit some hundred Sikhs and Pathans in the Punjab, for service against the rebel Si-Kuans; these latter, by this time, had petitioned Government against the injustice they had received from the Malay Rajah; but had been told

"That the Government knew all about them, and that they neither deserve any help nor will get it."

There is no doubt, that at this time, the Chinese merchants who had advanced money to the Go-Kuan miners, made use of all the influence they had with the European Officials and merchants, and were determined by ruining the Si-Kuans, to get Larut entirely under their command

regardless of justice. The Si-Kuans, on their part, were determined not to give in; as they said:

“They were not fighting against the Governor, or British Government, but against the treacherous Mantri who had deceived the local Government of Penang, into recognising a party which was really illegitimate.”

On Capt. Grant's visit to the Larut Forts, the Si-Kuan Chiefs told him that,

“They would not dare to oppose the British Government, but that if the Mantri appeared or the Go-Kuans, they would fight to the death.”

Accordingly on the 13th Sep. while the men-of-war with their boats were off the Larut River, two Officers and some bluejackets approached the Stockades in the Mantri's Schooner with his flag flying, and the Si-Kuans opened fire wounding Sub-Lieuts. Lindsay and Cresswell, this drew on the Forts the whole strength of our force and of course the Chinese were soon beaten and with 4,000 men surrendered their position at the mouth of the River, and a stockade about 4 miles inland; these positions were handed over to the Mantri and Go-Kuans, who occupied them, thus leaving the Si-Kuans with two stockades, and enclosed between Capt. Speedy and his Sikhs inland, and the Mantri's force on the Coast. Hemmed in by their enemies, deprived of all chance of receiving provisions or ammunition from Penang, it was thought that the wretched Si-Kuans were completely defeated. This however proved far, from being the case. Their rowing-boats drawing scarcely any water, could still find refuge in the innumerable creeks intersecting the mangrove swamps on the coast; and although the men in the stockades were driven to cut down all the cocoa-nut trees to satisfy their hunger, and to live on a precarious diet of the crown of the palms, with shell-fish collected in the swamps, they determined to resist to the last. In Penang their adherents revenged themselves on the Mantri's house in that Settlement, and there was every probability of disturbances arising between the rival Secret Societies. The row-boats now driven to desperation, sallied out and attacked every junk or coasting vessel they came across, plundering them of provisions and

arms, and invariably killing the crews on the principle that "dead men tell no tales." They even attacked vessels in Penang Harbour, and threatened our Police Station in Province Wellesley. The commanders of our gunboats were obliged to confess themselves helpless, and had to stand by, and see trading junks attacked and their crews murdered, without being able to give any assistance. The firewood trade was at an end, and the Sugar manufacturers in Province Wellesley at a standstill for want of fuel. Large bands of Chinese were being recruited in our Province for service in Larut, and Penang was in a state of agitation.

On Sir A. Clarke's arrival at Penang on his way to Singapore such was the state of matters in Perak.

Salengor was the state which next to Perak, urgently demanded our interference.

This kingdom is divided from Perak by the Birnam River, and runs south to the River Lingi which separates it from our territory of Malacca.

Salengor from time immemorial, has been notorious as a haunt of pirates, the leaders of whom have generally been the petty Rajahs and relatives of the Sultans.

Mr. C. J. Irving, Auditor General, S. S., in a report on the Native States written in the beginning of 1874, says :

"The troubles of Perak are of a recent date, and of an exceptional character, and except at Larut where a large Chinese population has grown up, and outgrown the power of the Malay rulers, nothing seems necessary but a settlement of a very peculiar and exceptional question connected with the succession to the Sultanship to place Perak in the category of well-ordered States. But at Salengor misgovernment appears to have been the invariable rule for hundreds of years, from as long ago as anything is known of the country, from the time that the Bugis (people of Celebes) pirates who were the ancestors of the present dynasty first got possession of the country; and the consequence is, that the country is little better than a wilderness, while the scanty population is or was, miserably oppressed by a set of semi-savage Chiefs, who as long as they were in power, did not confine their misdeeds to those against their own subjects, but made their rivers, houses-of-call, for petty pirates, harboured our runaway convicts, and were in all respects the ill neighbours that such a set of men might be expected to be. Such was the state of Salengor when I first became acquainted with it, when I acted as Lieut.-Governor of Malacca in 1870, and from what I have seen and heard of the people, from the Sultan downwards, I can see not the slightest prospect of the country, in the event of its falling back into their hands, ever rising to any better condition.

About the year 1868, the present Sultan, gave his son-

in-law Tunku-Udin, a brother, of the Sultan of Keddah, power to act as Viceroy of Salengor with the hope that some order might be obtained, and that an increased revenue might accrue to him, from the valuable Tin mines of the country. These mines however met with little favour on the part of the Rajahs, and Tunku-Udin was thwarted and actively opposed by the Sultan's sons and relatives, notoriously, by a son Rajah Yacub, and two relatives Rajah Mahdi and Mahmoud. These Chiefs in 1871, had the hardihood to fire on one of our men-of-war the "Rinaldo," which vessel went to inquire into some outrage committed by the Chiefs, on British subjects; this rashness however met with immediate punishment, which had but a very temporary effect. Chinese miners had in small numbers, worked the mines in the District of Salengor, Klang, and Tukut, with varying prosperity, and subject to much oppression on the part of the Malays. At Klang however, the seat of Tunku Udin's Govt., a considerable number say 7,000 Chinese (belonging to a District in Canton Province named Kwei Shin) had under their energetic Capitan or head-man Yap-ah-loi, succeeded in establishing a well-built town, and in producing a large quantity of Tin, which was sent to the merchants of Malacca and Singapore. Capitan Yap-ah-Loi has indeed made the District of Klang, and by his influence kept the Chinese under his authority faithful to the cause of law and order as represented by Tunku Udin, though the quarrels of the Salengor chiefs during some years put almost an end to all mining industry, the Chinese spared neither money nor men to strengthen the hands of the man from whom alone could be hoped, any peace or good government.

The Rajahs Yakub (alias Tunku Alang) Mahdi and Mahmoud, continued to oppose Tunku Udin, and to keep the country in a state of confusion; continual complaints were made by the Malacca traders as to obstacles placed in the way of commerce, and of petty piracies committed on the local coasters. In November 1873, a most atrocious

case of piracy and murder took place at Langat in Salengor ; a Malacca trading-boat was boarded by some of Tunku Alang's followers and having murdered all the crew, excepting one person, they plundered the boat's cargo. About the same time, Rajah Mahmoud's followers attacked the light-house at Cape Rachado and wounded some of the light keepers. This culminated a series of outrages, and called for immediate interference on our part.

In Sungei Ujong the next state South of Salengor, Malay anarchy was complicated by the existence of factions amongst the Chinese miners. The Datu Klana recognised ruler of the State, was accused of assisting Rajahs Mahdi and Mahmoud against Tunku Udin ; besides this the country was in a state of war with Rambau, one of the Negri Sambilang as the river by which the Sungei Ujong Tin was transported to Malacca, passed through Rambau, and the Datu or Ruler of that State, in Malay fashion, had erected stockades, and forcibly levied illegal duties on all produce from Sungei Ujong. Several attempts on our part, had been made to arrange matters, but at the time of Sir A. Clarke's arrival in the Straits, nothing satisfactory had been arrived at, and the consequence was, that a lucrative Malacca trade was at a standstill.\* The rest of the States of the Negri Sambilang were in the usual Malay condition of impotent disorder, but as they were inland countries, without any trade of importance, they need no mention in this paper.

On his arrival in the Straits, Sir A. Clarke found great difficulties in his way, because though there was a vast mass of paper and correspondence, as to Native State Affairs, these papers had never been collated, and being in the greatest confusion, were almost useless as a guide towards a prompt solution of the pressing questions involved.

The month of December 1873 was chiefly spent by the Governor in making himself as far as possible, master of

\* Since 1883 a Resident has been stationed in the Negri Sambilang.—W. A. P.

what had been the past condition not only of the contending Chinese factions but also the difficulties of the disputed Malay succession, and the contentions arising amongst the Native Chiefs of Perak. In the study necessary for this purpose, Sir A. Clarke was greatly assisted by the knowledge and experience of the Attorney Genl. Mr. Braddell, the Auditor Genl. Mr. C. J. Irving, who together with Major McNair R.A. Colonial Engineer and Mr. Skinner Clerk of Councils, prepared most valuable Reports on the Malay aspect of the question. With regard to the Chinese quarrels, Capt. Dunlop R.A. Insp. Genl. of Police, and myself Chinese Interpreter to the Govt. were consulted.\*

On the 1st of January 1874 Sir A. Clarke commenced his policy of pacification by sending me on a mission to Penang, empowering me to open negotiations with the Head men of the Chinese as if acting on my own responsibility, for the purpose of ascertaining if the Chiefs of the two parties could not be brought to some settlement of their disputes. On my arrival at Penang I found that both parties were not quite so favourable to a settlement as they had been in Sept. 1873. The Si-Kuans said that "if British interference meant impartiality either by making peace, or by leaving the Chinese to themselves, they wished for immediate interference; but that if as had been the case for the last few months, our Govt. intended to drive them out of the country, and in spite of all justice, make the Mantri an independent Ruler, and establish the Go-Kuans in Larut, then they would prefer to fight it out; they said that the Ghi Hins, if allowed fair play, would soon be able to drive Capt. Speedy, his Sikhs and the men with the Go-Kuans, out of the country. The Go-Kuans

\* Mr. Pickering was up to that time the only European Officer ever in the service of the Straits Government, who could speak Chinese; by his knowledge of the character of the Chinese and their various dialects he had acquired great influence over all classes; besides this, having accompanied Sir H. Ord in the "Thalia" to Penang and Sarut he had become intimately acquainted with the fighting Chiefs of the two factions Si-Kuans and Go-Kuans, and with their adherents in the Secret Societies in Penang. Both parties had expressed to him the desire for peace and that the British Government would interfere with a strong hand to secure good order, and justice from the Malay Rulers.—*Editor* (See bluebook from which above passage is quoted).



on the other hand, having now the Lieut. Govr., the Police, and the rich capitalists of Penang on their side, and the assistance of our men-of-war, were content to be allowed to take Larut to themselves, and on the strength of continued British favour, they had advanced and borrowed large sums of money for the purchase of breach-loading guns, rifles, ammunition, provisions, etc.

Against these objections I could only assure the Head men, that whatever the new Governor's policy might be, it would be perfectly just and impartial, with the sole view of restoring peace to the country, and the protection of all classes of Chinese in their lawful pursuits.

On these conditions the Si-Kuans laid all their affairs in my hands and promised to give up their row-boats, stockades, arms, and men, to Sir Andrew Clarke in seven days; stipulating of course, that Capt. Speedy and the Go-Kuans, should be obliged to suspend hostilities too. The Go-Kuans were obliged to submit, as they knew very well that had our Govt. been perfectly impartial, they could ever have resisted the Si-Kuans and Ghi Hins.

On the 4th of Jany. I telegraphed to Singapore the result of my negotiations and received a reply that the terms were accepted by the Governor. About this time too, the Malay Chiefs of Perak had requested the Government to intervene in the settlement of their disputes, and that a Resident might be appointed to assist them, and advise them in the government of the country. On the receipt of the telegram from me Major McNair and Capt. Dunlop were sent in the chartered steamer "Johore," on a mission to Penang and Perak, to prepare for the surrender of the piratical boats and men, for the disarmament of the Chinese, and to call together all the Chiefs of Perak including the Mantri to meet Sir Andrew Clarke at Pulo Pangkor, one of the Dinding Islands off the Perak River, which some years before had been ceded to England.

The idea of the Si-Kuans voluntarily giving up their boats and fighting men to the British Government was

much derided in Penang, but the sequel proved the sincerity of their desire to obtain peace, and to be able to carry on their mining and other business in Larut.

Mr. Swettenham, a talented Malay scholar of the civil service of the Straits Settlements was sent to Perak to arrange with the Mantri, Capt. Speedy, and the Go-Kuans about an armistice, and to secure the attention of the Malay Rajahs at Pulo Pangkor.

On the 13th January Sir Andrew Clarke with several of his Executive Council, arrived at Pulo Pangkor in the Colonial steamer "Pluto," where he remained till the 20th, during this period, the following settlements were arrived at, which gave to Larut peace between the Chinese factions, and a prospect of lasting good order, which though occasionally disturbed by petty disturbances inseparable from a large population of Chinese, has never been seriously affected, up to the present moment.

On the 14th January the Chiefs of the Si-Kuans with their rowing-boats, men, and arms, appeared and surrendered themselves to Sir A. Clarke, on the sole condition that the cause of their troubles should be carefully enquired into; that the Malay Chiefs should be controlled in the Chinese part of Larut, by a British Official, who should be responsible for, and rule over the Chinese. The Go-Kuans headmen also came in, and agreed to a general disarmament, to give up their war-junks, and to raze their stockades, on the same conditions.

Both parties entered into a written bond of peace, and submitted all their claims to the arbitration of the British Government. A Commission consisting of Capt. Dunlop, Mr. Swettenham and myself was appointed to at once proceed to Larut, to demolish the Stockade Forts, disarm all the combatants, rescue the Si-Kuan women and children who had been sold to the Malays, and finally, to make a fair division of the mines between the two factions of Chinese.

Captain Speedy was appointed with the consent of the

Sultan and Mantri to act as Resident in Larut and to have control over the Chinese population. Both parties of Chinese complained bitterly that their quarrels had been chiefly caused by the rapacity, treachery and weakness of the Mantri, who for his own purposes, had set them against each other, and ultimately sold his country to the highest bidder.

As this Paper has run to a sufficient length I hope in a future number of the Review to continue my narrative of events ending in remarks on the present and prospective condition of affairs.

## A MODERN HINDU SAINT.

BY C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

A RECENT Bengali\* book gives us the sayings of the late Paramahansa Rám Krishṇa, a Hindu mystic of the present century. He was born in the year 1835 in the village of Kámárpukur near Jahánábád in the district of Hugli, and lived at the celebrated Rání Rásmaṇi's temple of Kálí on the bank of the Ganges at Dakshīṇeśvara, 6 miles north of Calcutta, in a room to the north-west of the twelve temples of Śiva. His place of religious contemplation (*sādhana*) was the grove of Panchavatí and the root of a *vilva*-tree. His place of departure (*tirobhāva*) was a garden house in Kaśipur, two miles north of Calcutta. He died at 1 a.m. on the 16th of August, 1886, and was cremated in the Varáhanagar Burning Ghat. A *vilva*-tree now marks the spot. Eighteen of his followers, intelligent and well-educated young men, have become ascetics, and are practising devotion not only in Varáhanagara, but in holy places (*tirtha*) all over India and in the Himálayas. It appears that the more ardent of his followers worship him as an incarnation of the Supreme Being. There can be no doubt that he has exercised a potent influence over the minds of the young men trained in our Bengal Colleges, and his teaching must count for an important factor in the present movement, which it is the fashion to call the Hindu revival. One of his most distinguished disciples is Svámí Vivekánanda, who met with such a hearty reception at Chicago, and in other parts of America, and was, on his return, welcomed by his countrymen in a meeting at the Town Hall of Calcutta. He also influenced the minds of Babu Keśav Chandra Sen and Babu P. C. Mozoomdar, the great leaders of the modern Brahmo movement. Writing of Rám Krishṇa some years before his death, Babu P. C. Mozoomdar thus characterizes the religion that he taught: "It is orthodox Hinduism, but Hinduism of a strange type. Rám Krishṇa Paramahansa, for that is the saint's name, is the worshipper of no particular Hindu god. He is not a Śivaite, he is not a Śákta, he is not a Vedantist. Yet he is all these. He worships Śiva, he worships Kálí, he worships Ráma, he worships Krishṇa, and is a confirmed advocate of Vedantist doctrines. He accepts all the doctrines, all the embodiments, usages, and devotional practices of every religious cult. Each is in turn infallible to him. He is an idolator, and yet a faithful and most devoted meditator of the perfections of the one formless infinite Deity, whom he terms *Akhaṇḍa Sachchhidánanda*." The same authority tells us that Rám Krishṇa worshipped Śiva as "the incarnation of contemplativeness and Yoga," and as "the ideal of all contemplative and self-absorbed men." Krishṇa he looked upon as "the incarnation of love," Kálí as "the incarnation of the

\* *Paramahansa Srímad Rám Krishṇer upadesa. Prathama bhāga. Srí Sures Chandra Datta dvārā sangrāhita. Calcutta. Printed at the Navavidhākar Press Mechchhná Bazar Road.*

Śakti, or power of God as displayed in the character and influence of women," and Rāma as "the dutiful son, the just and fatherly king, the staunch and affectionate friend." As a further proof of his catholicity we may take the following statement of Babu P. C. Mozoomdar : "Nor is his reverence confined within Hinduism. For long years he subjected himself to various disciplines to realize the Mahomedan idea of an all-powerful Allah. He let his beard grow, he fed himself on Moslem diet, he continually repeated sentences from the Koran. His reverence for Christ is also deep and genuine. He bows his head at the name of Jesus, honours the doctrine of his sonship, and we believe he once or twice attended Christian places of worship."

Accordingly we are not surprised to find that the second of the sayings recorded in the little pamphlet of which we are trying to give some account, runs as follows :

"As water, being one, in different countries bears different names such as *vāri*, *pāni*, *water*, *aqua*, in the same way one Being, who is existence, thought and joy (*Sachchhidānanda*), bears in various countries various names, such as *Allah*, God, Hari, Brahma." Rām Krishṇa is equally unprejudiced in his estimate of religion : "As various kinds of staircases and ladders enable us to go on to the roof of a house, so there are many methods of entering the kingdom of God ; each separate religion exhibits a different method." He goes on to illustrate this position by the story of two friends, who saw a chameleon in a garden. One said that the chameleon was red, the other said that it was blue. They both appealed to the gardener, who, of course, agreed with both. So God may be spoken of as formless and possessing form. He is approached by Faith (*viśvāsa*). No spiritual guide is necessary for the truly ardent worshipper, but for the generality of men a helper of this kind is often required.

Like a true mystic, Rām Krishṇa attached the highest importance to intent meditation. In this he was not above taking lessons from the fowler and the angler. A story is told of a devotee meeting a marriage procession crossing a plain, and seeing a fowler undisturbed gazing intently at his quarry : the saint bowed his head and hailed the fowler as his *guru* or spiritual guide. So too with the angler. "An angler was catching fish. A devotee went to him and said, 'My friend, which is the road to such and such a place?' At that moment a fish was pulling at the angler's float, so he concentrated all his attention on the fish, and when that business was over, he turned round and said, 'What did you say?' The devotee bowed his head and said, 'You are my spiritual guide (*guru*). When I meditate on the Supreme Being, I will imitate you in not turning my attention to anything else, until I have finished the business that I have in hand.'" Rām Krishṇa's sayings abound in homely illustrations of this kind. Paddybirds, cranes, kites, crows, mango-trees, and other every-day objects of life in Bengal are employed by him to point a moral. He compares the religious hero, struggling with the harassing temptations of worldly existence, to the locomotive dragging at a rapid rate a long line of carriages. Even the pernicious habit of *gānjā*-smoking is made to yield an edifying lesson. A true devotee seeks the

company of other devotees, as a gánjá-smoker derives no pleasure from smoking alone.

In one case the saint borrows an illustration from an article of European luxury : "A spring couch, when one sits upon it, gives way and when one rises up, resumes its previous position. So, when a worldly man hears a religious discourse, religious feeling gains power over his mind, but when he enters the world again, that feeling no longer continues." The following illustration will interest the folk-lorist : "As the magnet rock hidden in the depths of the sea suddenly draws from a ship its nails and other iron fittings, and causes it to go to pieces and sink, so, when true spiritual knowledge arises in the soul, filled as it is with selfishness and self-conceit, it sinks, like the ship, in the sea of God's love." It is well known that the *Imitation of Christ* is very generally read by the Bengalis educated in our schools and colleges, and it is perhaps possible to trace the influence of this book upon the mind of this latter-day Hindu sage. He urges his disciples to avoid contention, and subtle disputations, not to place too much reliance upon books, and to avoid too much familiarity with the female sex. He does not run directly counter to the prejudices of his countrymen, but rather rises above them. He holds that for a perfect man caste distinctions are absolutely non-existent, but for an ordinary man they are necessary. In the same way he does not consider the orange garb of the Sannyási to be an indispensable requisite, but the wearing of it produces a feeling conducive to devotion, as canvas shoes and torn garments are connected with the idea of humility, and boots and pantaloons with that of pride and self-conceit." The following extracts are specially characteristic : "As many men in this world have only heard of the object ice, but have never seen it with their eyes, so there are many preachers of religion who have only read in treatises of the nature of God, but have not seen him in their lives. Again as there are many who have seen ice, but never tasted it, so there are many preachers of religion who have caught a glimpse of God from a distance, but have never penetrated into the real essence of God. Only those who have tasted ice can describe its real properties, so only those who have communed with God in such ways as that of submissive service, can describe his true attributes."

"To teach people about God on the strength of having read about him in books is much the same as to teach people about Benares on the strength of having found that city on the map."

The following parable shows the necessity of perseverance in the religious life : "A certain person went to dig a tank. After he had dug two cubits deep, a person came and said to him, 'My friend, why do you spend your labour in vain? You will find no water underground here; you will find nothing but sand.' He immediately left that place, and began to turn up earth in another place. Then another person came to him and said, 'My friend, here there was formerly a tank; why do you fruitlessly weary yourself? If you go a little further on to the south, and then dig, it is probable that you will find excellent water.' The tank-digger immediately followed his advice. But in the next place another person came and discouraged him. In the same way, wherever he fancied a spot, someone came and

dissuaded him from going on with his digging, and induced him to leave it. The consequence was that his tank was never dug. In the same way many have become bankrupt in the way of religion. The man who has gained faith one day, loses it the next, when he falls into trials and temptations, and at the end it is possible that he may become a total atheist (*naṣṭika*); or at any rate he becomes convinced that it is impossible to become religious in this life."

It is interesting to observe that this short pamphlet contains some positively appalling etymologies used for the purpose of edification. Such a phenomenon is not altogether unknown in Europe. Whatever may be thought of the culture of the Saint Rām Kṛishṇa, it is impossible to read his sayings without conceiving a genuine respect for him. But the paramount importance of the work seems to us to consist in the fact, that it contains the ideas of a teacher who has profoundly influenced his educated fellow-countrymen. It must be remembered that it is written by an Indian for Indians, and is not an article prepared for European consumption. Such books should be literally translated into English. Probably more could be learnt from them with regard to the real feelings of seriously-minded Hindus, than from volumes of travels written by gentlemen who rush through India at railway speed, and associate only with European officials and Europeanized natives, of the "boot and pantaloons" type reprobated by this Bengali saint.

# THE INDIAN BRĀHMA ALPHABET.

BY C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

HOFRATH BÜHLER has published a pamphlet,\* which may be taken as an instalment of his forthcoming "Grundriss der Indischen Palæographie." He undertakes to prove the derivation from a Northern Semitic source of the alphabet in which the edicts of Aśoka are written, called by the Europeans Lāth, Southern, Indian Pali, Indian or Maurya, and by the Hindus *Brāhmī lipi*. About the source of the alphabet in which the Shābazarhi edict is written, (called by the Hindus *Kharoshthī lipi*) there has long been a general consensus among scholars. It is generally agreed that this script, which like Arabic and Hebrew proceeds from right to left, is derived from one of the later types of the North-Eastern Semitic alphabet. But about the origin of the Brāhma alphabet five distinct theories have been put forward by scholars of eminence, and supported by detailed arguments. These are thus summarised by Hofrath Bühler :

"(1) According to Sir A. Cunningham the Indian Pali or Brāhma alphabet is an Indian invention, and was based on a system of indigenous hieroglyphics.

"(2) According to Prof. Weber it is derived directly from the oldest Phœnician alphabet.

"(3) According to Dr. Deecke it is descended from the Assyrian cuneiform character, through an ancient Southern Semitic alphabet, which is also the parent of the Himyaritic.

"(4) According to Dr. Isaac Taylor it comes from an alphabet of Southern Arabia, the parent of the Himyaritic.

"(5) According to M. J. Halévy it is of a composite character, eight consonants having been taken directly from the Aramaic alphabet of the fourth century B.C., six consonants and two initial vowels, as well as the medial vowels together with the *Anusvāra* from the Ariano-Pali or *Kharoshthī*, and five consonants and three initial vowels either directly or indirectly from the Greek; and this mixture is alleged to have been concocted about 325 B.C."

It appears that Sir A. Cunningham abandoned his own theory before his death, and M. Halévy's somewhat fanciful view has not found much acceptance with Sanskritists. The remaining theories coincide in assigning a Semitic source to the ancient Indian characters. Hofrath Bühler's theory confirms in the main the conclusions of Prof. Weber, published many years ago. With characteristic modesty Hofrath Bühler ascribes the fact, that he has been able to carry the investigation into the origin of the Brāhma alphabet to a successful conclusion, to the assistance furnished by the labours of other scholars. Perfectly trustworthy impressions and *facsimiles* of the oldest Indian inscriptions are now before the world,

\* *Indian Studies* by George Bühler Wirkh. Mitglied der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften. No. III. *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet (with a Table)*: Wien, 1895.



"thanks to the unwearied labours of Messrs. Burgess, Fleet, Führer, Hultzsch, Rice, and Senart. Really good *facsimiles* of all the versions of the edicts of Aśoka have been prepared and mostly published, as well as faithful reproductions of the closely allied, quite or nearly contemporaneous inscriptions in Daśaratha's caves, on the Bharhut or Bharaut and Sanchi Stūpas, on the Ghasundi slab, in the Hathigumpha Nānāghat and Pabhosa caves. Moreover, the palæographic store has been unexpectedly enriched by Mr. Rea's discoveries in the Bhaṭṭiprah Stūpa, which have brought to light a new type of Brāhma characters, showing a certain independence and, as it would seem to me, on further consideration, at least some very archaic forms. The explanation of these documents too has so far advanced as is requisite for the palæographic enquiry." Moreover, Hofrath Bühler conceives himself to be now in a more favourable position for the enquiry, than Prof. Weber enjoyed, when he published his conclusions, owing "to the numerous discoveries in Semitic epigraphy, which have been made during the last thirty-nine years. Mesa's stone, the oldest Sindjirli inscription and the inscription on the Assyrian weights, which are datable more or less accurately, each furnishes something valuable. And these discoveries make it also possible to adhere strictly to the general rule, to be observed in such inquiries, that only the signs of one period should be chosen for comparison."

An important link between the Semitic and Brāhma writing has been furnished by Sir A. Cunningham, who has published a coin from Eran, in which the characters run from right to left, as in some early Greek inscriptions. It is possible that the discovery of this coin may have contributed to shake his belief in his early theory.

We do not propose to follow Hofrath Bühler into the detailed comparison, which he institutes between the letters of the Brāhma alphabet, and the North-Semitic signs, from which its elements were derived. Readers who wish to examine the question carefully, will no doubt consult the original paper and the comparative table at the end of it. Suffice it to say that in our opinion the problem may now be considered to be, speaking broadly, finally solved.

Hofrath Bühler is of opinion that the prototypes of the Brāhma characters were introduced into India between 890 and 750 B.C. This appears probable from the date of the Semitic inscriptions, viz., those on Mesa's stone, and the Assyrian weights. They were probably brought by traders, for there is evidence in the Pali Jātakas to show that the merchants of Western India undertook trading voyages to the shores of the Persian Gulf, in the fifth, perhaps even in the sixth century B.C., just as in our days. The inference is probable that their trade existed in much earlier times. Numerous Vedic hymns refer to sea voyages, and the later Vedic literature contains a few evidently Semitic legends. But the highly technical and complicated character of the alphabet makes it probable that it has been elaborated by Brāhmans acquainted with phonetic and grammatical theories. Moreover, Hofrath Bühler shows from the practical knowledge of modern India which he acquired when employed in that country under the British Government, that there is good reason for thinking that an alphabet used by Indian traders and men

of business generally, would never have possessed a single medial vowel. The present use of medial vowels by the class referred to, is simply the result of English education, having been introduced in the course of the last fifty years. The Brāhmans of India do not seem to have felt the necessity of writing so early as the men of business owing to their system of oral instruction; but it is probable that they committed their scientific compositions at any rate to writing, using the MSS., no doubt, "esoterically, as auxiliaries for composition and for the preservation of the texts."

It may seem to some of our readers that this theory postulates a surprisingly early date for the introduction of writing into India. For on this point there has been some difference of opinion, which may remind Homeric students of the fierce battle that has raged, and is even now raging, over the *θύμοφθόρα πολλὰ* of Grecian legend. But Hofrath Bühler shows that there is good reason for supposing that the Hindus used the art of writing extensively about three centuries before the date of Aśoka. This part of his investigation is especially interesting, as his proofs are principally derived from heterodox writings, and in great measure from the Pali *Jātakas*,\* which contain a vivid picture of Indian national life before the invasion of Alexander.

In the *Jātakas* "private and official correspondence is referred to again and again as something quite common." In the *Kaṭādhaka jātaka* we are told how *Kaṭādhaka*, a slave of the Sheth or great banker and merchant of Benares, by means of a forged letter passed himself off as the son of his master, and obtained the daughter of the Sheth of another town. Letters are mentioned in many other *Jātakas*. One of them emanating from a king is called *sāsana*, literally an order, and recalls the Sanskrit *Śāsana*, the technical term for land-grants. In the *Asadisa Jātaka*, the William Tell or Robin Hood of India is represented as cutting on an arrow the following letters: "I, prince Asadisa, have come and shall destroy with one arrow the lives of all of you: let those fly who wish to live." He enforced his threat, striking with his arrow the knob of the golden dinner vessel of the seven besieging kings. This recalls the feat of Aster; but the results were less tragic; for the kings, who were thus disturbed in their meal, took the hint and at once raised the siege. "The *Jātakas* also contain a passage mentioning the use of writing for legal purposes. In the *Ruru Jātaka* a debtor invites his creditor to come with the bonds, which he had given them, to the banks of the Ganges, in order to receive payment. The same *Jātaka* mentions further the custom of inscribing particular important records or compositions on gold plates." In the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* and the *Tesakuna Jātaka* we read that valuable moral maxims were engraved on gold plates.

In the *Vinaya-piṭaka* there is mention of writing (*lekhā*) and writers (*lekhaka*). "In the *Pārājika* section a curious practice is forbidden to the Buddhist monks in which writing plays an important part." It appears

\* Five volumes of the text have been published in the Roman character by Professor Fausbøll. The work is being translated by a "guild" of scholars under the superintendence of Professor Cowell. The first volume by Mr. Chalmers has already appeared, and is a model of vigorous English. Independently of the interest which the *Jātakas* possess as a picture of the life of ancient India, they probably form the oldest collection of folk-lore extant.

that, like some philosophers of the Western world, Indian religious teachers were in the habit of recommending suicide to their pupils. They even went so far as to incite their lay-hearers to commit suicide by the promise of rewards in the next birth, and "they distributed tablets of wood or bamboo with inscriptions specifying the manner of the death and the rewards to be gained." Hofrath Bühler points out that not only was the practice of religious suicide common in ancient India, and approved in certain cases by Hindu and Jain teachers, but it has occurred quite lately in the last thirty or forty years. At any rate the fact that written exhortations to suicide used to be distributed is a notable proof that writing was extensively used in ancient India.

The period, to which the testimony of the *Pārājika* refers, is fixed by Hofrath Bühler as the fifth and probably the sixth century B.C., as Prof. Oldenberg has given good reasons for believing that it was composed before the year 400 B.C. In order to prove the early date of the *Jātakas*, he enters into a very interesting disquisition. Many of the *Jātakas*, as is well known, are represented in the Sanchi and Bharahut Stūpas, and therefore cannot be later than the third century B.C. But there are many reasons for thinking them to be much older. They represent India mainly as it was in pre-Buddhistic times. They evidently belong to the period before the rise of the great Eastern dynasties of the Nandas and the Mauryas, when Pāṭaliputra had become the capital of India. They depict India, when it was broken up into a number of small states, and they know nothing of great empires like that of Aśoka. The great university of India appears to have been Takṣhasilā, in Gandhāra, the capital of Taxiles the ally of Alexander. This is especially interesting, as Pāṇini the great Indian grammarian was a native of Gandhāra, which was therefore probably a stronghold of Brahmanical learning in the fourth and fifth centuries. For the religious atmosphere of the *Jātakas* is Brahmanical or rather, perhaps, purely Indian. "The prevalent religion of the period described in the *Jātakas* is that of the Path of Works (*karma-mārga*) with its ceremonies and sacrifices. Side by side with these appear popular festivals, with general merrymakings and copious libations of Surā, as well as the worship of demons and trees." Even the palaces of kings are represented as made of wood, and the civilization is in various other respects primitive.

It will be evident that this pamphlet possesses an abiding interest for the student of the social development of India, independently of its principal object, which is the solution of the most important problem of Indian palæography, a study, which, as Hofrath Bühler regretfully remarks, has been somewhat "neglected on account of unfavourable circumstances." Indeed to the general reader the dissertations on the social and political condition of India in ancient times, and the light which the writer is enabled to throw on them by his familiarity with the present life of the Indian people, will perhaps prove more attractive than the main palæographical investigation.

As the paper is written in English, it is to be hoped that it will attract the attention of Indian scholars, who have of late years begun to take a lively interest in the scientific study of the antiquities of their native land.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BNÊ-ISRAEL.\*

BY PROF. DR. E. MONTET.

WHENCE did the Israelites originally proceed? From what country came those tribes of the Bnê-Israel who, invading Palestine, ended by settling in it as indisputable masters? This is the question which I purpose to examine in this paper.

On this problem the Old Testament gives us only one piece of information; and besides, the fact which it relates with reference to this subject regards only the antiquity of the nation, pushed back to a very distant date, but not to its first origin. It tells us (Gen. xi. 28, xv. 7, compared with Neh. ix. 7), that the Israelitic tribes started in a North-Eastern direction from Ur-Kasdim, where they had dwelt for some time.

Ur, as shown by the adjunct Kasdim, was in Chaldea; and Schrader was the first to identify it with the Uru of the cuneiform inscriptions—El Mughair of our time,—an identification which seems to me to be solidly established. For Eupolemus, a Jewish historian of the II<sup>d</sup>. Century B.C., cited by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* ix. 17) tells us that Abraham was born in the Babylonian town of Καμαρίνη or Οὐρίη, which (he says) means Πόλις χαλδαίων, and this agrees with the text of Genesis. The name Καμαρίνη can only be derived from the Arabic قمر = moon; and we know that the Uru of the cuneiform inscriptions, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates between Babylon and the Persian Gulf, was the seat of a moon worship, in the person of the god Sin. The first historical traces, therefore, which we find of the Bnê-Israel are in the south of Babylonia, and only a little distance from the Persian Gulf; and (no insignificant detail) on the right bank of the Euphrates, that is on the bank which was most easily accessible to people coming from Arabia. Ur of the Chaldeans is most certainly not the place of the origin of the Bnê Israel, but only the most ancient station that we know of, where they staid for a time.

A first important point to be here noticed is that, according to oriental tradition, the Israelites are not the only people which, at the beginning of their migrations as recorded in history, have started from the south of Babylonia. According to their tradition, southern Chaldea and the regions near the Persian Gulf were,—at a very remote period, before the year 2000 B.C., that is to say about the date which can be assigned to the first migrations of the Bnê-Israel—the centre of a great movement of peoples,—a movement which pushed them on and caused them to advance from the South towards the North-East. The Phœnicians, if we are to believe their traditions as related to us by Herodotus and Trogus Pompeius, came from the Persian Gulf. This information, derived from such ancient sources, which would corroborate one of the etymologies advanced for

\* Translated from the French by J. P. V. D'Eremao, D.D.

their name, (—that derived from the country of *Phun*, *Pun*, *Punt*, mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions\*—) might perhaps be verified, if the Phœnicians were Semites. But, notwithstanding the indication given by their language which so closely approaches the Hebrew, they seem rather to belong to the great Chanaanitic family, as is, moreover, stated in the genealogical table in Gen. x. 17-20.

Though we may consider the Phœnician traditions as fabulous or at least incapable of verification, one fact still remains certain, (as stated by Pietschmann in his *History of the Phœnicians* published in 1889), that this people, far from being autochthonous, came from the south. Now as this southern region cannot have been Arabia, the country of the Semites, much less Egyptian Africa or Central Asia, we are compelled to admit, that this southern land whence the Phœnicians started must be sought in the plains watered by the Euphrates.

Thus the south of Chaldea (Ur Kasdim), Babylonia or Mesopotamia, that is to say (using a geographical term less restricted and more definite), the regions lying to the East of Arabia, were those which witnessed, in remote ages, the migrations of people towards the North-East. These peoples, or at least the Israelites, most certainly had not their origin in this region, in which they had only sojourned for a time, and which had already, from time immemorial, been inhabited by the Chaldeans, a race absolutely different from theirs.

The Arab traditions, which establish a very strict relationship between the Arabs and the Aramaeans, or, to speak in a more general way, between the various Semitic groups, throw some light on the problem which I am attempting to solve.

I do not intend, in this short article, to reproduce the genealogy of the original races of Arabia, as given by the historians of that nation, or to repeat, for this purpose, the labours of Caussin de Perceval, and other learned men who have specially studied the subject. One or two instances will suffice to establish my proposition. Thus among the most ancient races that have dwelt in Arabia, the Moutéakkhara are descended from Sem, through 'Abir, the Eber of the Bible, whose name has been given to the Hebrew people. Thus, too, the 'Ariba, the first inhabitants of Arabia, whence also came the 'Amâlica (Amalekites), the Adites, *etc.*, are all descendants of Aram and of Lud, the son of Sem, *etc.* In other words, all who belong to the Semitic race,—Arabs, Hebrews, Aramaeans, *etc.*,—are of Arabic origin.

These traditions establish, in the second place, the fact that the Adites, an important branch of the 'Ariba, invaded Irak, India and Egypt, which implies that their first migrations took them to Babylonia, or Chaldea, more than 2000 years B.C. These traditions are summarized by Abulfeda in his *Pre-Islamitic History*, where he says (Edit. Fleischer, p. 13):—"When the children of Noah separated, there fell to the portion of the sons of Sem, Irak, Persia and all [the land] that lies beyond, as far as India." An echo of these same remote records he collects at p. 20 in

\* The country of Punt extended from the Persian Gulf to the Somali coast.

these words : "Some relate that Abraham was born in the region of El-Ahwaz ; others in Babylonia or Irak."

Doubtless these traditions are far from possessing all the clearness and precision which could be desired ; but is it not the very nature of tradition to be only the means of a confused handing down of a truth,—the feeble reflexion of a light which at one time shone with brilliance? Such as it is, we should make use of tradition and we should be only too glad to have the information which even this feeble ray furnishes. In our case, this tradition teaches us the common origin of the Semitic peoples,—their common cradle in Arabia,—their first migrations (common to them all) towards the East, towards Chaldea. The first and third of the facts which it records are both confirmed by the Old Testament, that is to say, by the tradition of the Bnê-Israel themselves.

A last set of considerations tends also to establish the proposition which I advance :—on the one hand, the strict relationship between the various Semitic dialects, and on the other, the antiquity of the Arabic language.

It is unnecessary, in a Review especially dedicated to Oriental Studies, to prove the first of these statements, and Renan's famous "*Histoire des Langues Semitiques*," and the lamented Dr. Wright's remarkable essay on the "Comparative grammar of the Semitic Languages," demonstrate the fact too clearly, to render further proof necessary. The relationship is indeed so close, that at the VIII. International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm, it was under consideration to work out a Grammar and a Vocabulary of the original Semitic language, whence proceeded the different dialects, as from a common source.

As to the antiquity of the Arabic language, that too is quite incontestible. Its prodigious richness, and the perfection of its grammatical periods, which render it at once one of the most beautiful and one of the most difficult among the languages of the world are evidences of a long course of development, a high evolution, a progressive advancement, achieved step by step, leading us back to a very remote epoch as that of the origin of the Arabic language.

It is not a less striking fact, that the Arabic has preserved, better than the other Semitic dialects, certain traces of ancient grammatical forms ; so that we very frequently have to recur to it for the solution of linguistic difficulties which are encountered in the sister languages : and this compels us to assign to it a very high antiquity. But if the Arabic is a very ancient language, that does not imply that the Hebrew or the Aramaic are [comparatively] younger. Now it is precisely here that Semitic Epigraphy on the one side and Arab Tradition on the other enter into our discussion and bring us back to the problem which we are trying to solve.

The ancient inscriptions brought from Arabia by Doughty, Huber, Euting, Halévy, *etc.*, prove that a close relationship exists between ancient Aramaic and ancient Arabic. Such is this relationship, that Renan, in his "*Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*" (t. I. p. 10) has advanced a statement which seems to me to be [somewhat] exaggerated : "All that comes from Arabia in the shape of inscriptions, is Aramaic." This very important fact is confirmed in the most remarkable manner by Arabic tradition. Abulfeda, re-

lating the ancient remains of pre-Islamite times, wrote (p. 16): "Among the children of Sem, there was one, Aram, the son of Sem, and Aram had several sons . . . and the language of the children of Aram was the Arabic." Thus Epigraphy bears witness to the somewhat Aramaic character of ancient Arabic, while tradition attests the somewhat, or entirely, Arabic character of the ancient Aramaic language. From these facts it follows that the cradle of the Semitic languages was certainly in Arabia; and from this to the conclusion that the people also, who spoke these languages had their cradle in Arabia, there is only one step, which everything induces us to take.

The demonstration which I have tried to give of my proposition may seem to the reader incomplete or insignificant; and it may be said that each argument should have been developed in detail. If I have not done so, it is of set purpose; and, besides, there is no necessity in this place for entering into minute details of the Arabic genealogical traditions, or of questions of comparative philology. The object pursued in this article is to give briefly the elements of the problem and of its solution. In matters of science, method is everything; the path to follow is that of a methodic grouping of facts in their necessary and logical order, for the purpose of arriving at the knowledge of other facts which flow thence as corollaries: this is the essential point. I have tried to apply exactly this method of investigation to the solution of the problem I had set myself, being certain that any new facts which may hereafter be noted, will serve only to confirm the method I have followed and the proposition I have advanced.

TENTH REVIEW ON THE  
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.  
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

SACRED LAWS OF THE ĀRYAS. PART II. VASISHTHA  
 AND BAUDHĀYANA, TRANSLATED BY GEORG BÜHLER.

(VOL. XIV.)

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

THE volume now before us contains two more of the Manuals of Hindu religious precepts the first two of which were reviewed in the October number of this Journal. Composed originally, as the learned translator points out, "not for the benefit of Aryans in general, but in order to regulate the conduct of particular sections of the Brāhmanical Community" these Manuals exhibit in great detail the elaborate network of prohibitions, restrictions, and duties by which the daily life of members of the sacred caste was "cabined, cribbed, confined," till it seems almost impossible for human beings to have existed under such intolerable bondage. And yet like plants in pots, or birds in cages, they did live and not only bore the burden but even in the course of ages grew to like it and be proud of it, wearing their chains not as badges of slavery but as honourable distinctions. Through the long ages in which the Greek was winning for humanity the priceless possession of individual liberty graced by art and science, and the Roman was laying deep and firm the principles of law and order, the Indian was busily forging the chains which he fondly hoped would bind the human race to the feet of a proud sacerdotal caste, distinguished only by a disdainful rejection of nearly everything that could minister to the well-being of humanity. What resulted from this system, the history of India only too clearly shows.

The first of the two *Sūtras* in this volume bears the name of the famous Rishi Vasishtha, either because it was considered to have been promulgated by him, or more probably because it contained the essence of the doctrines attributed to him by tradition. In the Introduction this question, as well as those of the probable date and position in sacred literature of the treatise are fully discussed, and may be studied by those interested in such obscure questions. To the general reader the contents of the work will probably be more attractive, than dry speculations as to its age and authenticity. It opens with general rules. "The sacred law has been settled by the revealed texts and by the tradition of the sages." If on any point there is no such rule, then the practice of learned and virtuous men is to be the guide, provided that no worldly motive for them is perceptible. For in order completely to stop the mouth of all cavillers, and to drive common sense out of the field, it is laid down that "Acts sanctioned by the sacred law are those for which no worldly cause is perceptible." This law prevails throughout Aryāvarttā, the sacred land of the Hindu, the limits



of which are defined in various ways. According to one view this holy land is bounded on the west by the region where the Saraswati disappears in the sands of Patiala, on the south by the Vindhya range, on the north by the Himalayas and on the west by the "Black Forest," that is the far-spreading tangled mass of hills and jungle, the haunted ill-famed Jharkhand of Indian legend which stretches from the south of Behar through Chutia Nagpur and Midnapore to the plains of Orissa. Others extend it to the whole country between Himalaya and Vindhya from sea to sea, while others again adhere to the simple old poetical definition of it as "the land where the black antelope grazes." The fundamental idea of all Brahmanism is clearly laid down at the outset. "The three lower castes shall live according to the teaching of the Brahman. The Brahman shall declare their duties. And the King shall govern them accordingly. But a King who rules in accordance with the sacred law may take a sixth part of the wealth of his subjects. Except from Brahmans." No earthly King is the Brahman's master. He is not to be made a source of subsistence.

The lawful occupations of a Brahman are six—Studying the Veda, teaching, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, giving orders, and accepting gifts. Those of a Kshatriya are three—studying, sacrificing for himself and giving gifts and his peculiar duty is to protect the people by his weapons. Those of the Vaisya are the same as the Kshatriya, but his peculiar duty is agriculture trading, tending cattle and lending money at interest. Finally the simple business of the Sudra is to serve the superior castes. To these is added the general rule that those who are unable to live by their own lawful occupation may adopt that of the next inferior caste, but never that of a higher caste.

Very interesting as containing the germs rather than the developed principles of the caste-system of later times are the provisions regarding purification, impurity, lawful and forbidden food and penances. The chapter on legal procedure also is curious, though too brief and concise to be of much value as a picture of real life. Oral and documentary evidence are both mentioned, the one to be controlled by the other. Terrible are the fulminations against giving false evidence but like many other terrible threats their effect has not been so great as the lawgiver expected. Men, he says, may speak an untruth where ladies are concerned; as Shakespeare puts it "men were deceivers ever," or where their lives are in danger or the loss of their whole property is involved or for the sake of a Brahman. But the man who gives false evidence in a judicial proceeding for the sake of a relative or for money "deprives the ancestors both of his spiritual and natural families of their place in heaven." This consideration does not apparently vex the mind of the modern Indian witness much.

In the chapter on "rules of conduct" there is a great deal that is curious. Matters of importance are here mixed up with infinite pettinesses. Side by side with lofty moral precepts regarding the subjugation of the senses, liberality, truthfulness and purity we find it solemnly laid down that a Brahman must not make his joints or his nails crack, nor gather fruit by throwing a brickbat at it nor by throwing another fruit at it; while in the very next verse he is warned against becoming a hypocrite, and forbidden

to learn a language spoken by barbarians! Very characteristic is the prohibition against being "uselessly active." One does not often see the native of India unnecessarily industrious. Still more remarkable is the concluding verse of the whole chapter; "he is a true Brahman regarding whom no one knows if he be good or bad, if he be ignorant or deeply learned, if he be of good or bad conduct."

Baudháyana's work is more fragmentary in character than the others. It is apparently one of the oldest Manuals based on the Black Yajur Veda, and was written in Southern India. Ruder in style and less methodical in arrangement than later works, it is interesting rather to the scholar than to the general reader. Much of its contents has already been noticed in the former manuals.

It is striking however to note that in Baudháyana's time there was a dispute regarding certain practices between the Brahmans of the north and those of the south. The Southernns held it lawful to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, or of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt. All which things were unlawful to the Northernns. They however might deal in wool, drink rum, sell animals which have teeth in both jaws, follow the profession of arms and go to sea. The Southernns might do none of these things.

Some sages settled the dispute by saying that for each of these customs the practice of the country was the authority, an act not lawful in the north was lawful in the south and vice versâ. But the severe Gautama condemned the whole of them. Baudháyana himself does not decide which of these two views is right, though he inclines to the Southern view, and defines the limits of Aryavarttâ in the same words as Vasishtha and gives a long list of other countries whose inhabitants he says are of mixed or degraded origin and whose practices therefore should not be imitated. Of the first or mixed class are they of Avanti (Ujain) Anga (Bhâgalpur) Magadha (South Bihar) Surâshtra (South Kathiawâr), the Dakhin (vulgò Deccan) and Sindh, also two unknown tribes the Sauvîras (probably in the Panjab) and Upâvrits. Of the second or degraded class are the Ârattas (the modern district of Gujrat in the Panjab), Pundras (Northern Bengal), Vangas (Eastern Bengal) and Kalingas (between Orissa and the Krishna river). The Sauviras come in here also and probably indicate forest tribes inhabiting the Vindhya from Orissa to Gujarat. The Kâraskaras and Prânúnas do not seem to be known.

In this as in previous reviews all that can be done is to point out the principal features of interest in the works reviewed. To do justice to those countless points worthy of notice either as throwing light on the development of Brahmanism, or as illustrating modern Indian customs and modes of thought would occupy many pages. Enough has perhaps been written to give an idea of the profound and varied interest of these attractive works which is so admirably brought out by the masterly translation and editorial skill of one of the leading Sanskrit scholars of our time.

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## KASHMIR.\*

BY WALTER R. LAWRENCE, C.I.E.

WHEN I was asked to give a lecture on Kashmir I had to consider the subjects which might prove interesting, and I have decided to look upon you as about to proceed to the beautiful Valley and shall mention a few of the things which may be worth your notice. I will not distract you with figures and statistics. These can be obtained from books. I will only mention that the Valley of Kashmir is cradled in the Himalayas at an average height of 6,000 ft. above the sea, that it is about 84 miles in length, and 20 to 25 miles in breadth. North, East and West range after range of mountains guard the Valley from the outer world, while on the South it is cut off from the Punjab by rocky barriers 50 to 75 miles in width. Away from the world, away even from the moonsoon rains of India one might have expected that Kashmir would have been left to itself, but its beauty and rumoured wealth allured the Moghals, and from the end of the 16th century the Kashmiri people have groaned under a foreign yoke. New masters introduced new manners, but there is a passive resistance about the Kashmiri which gently baffles all suggested changes, and from the first the people have looked upon their Moghal, Pathan and Sikh rulers as institutions not come to stay. Their customs and ideas have therefore not been greatly affected by foreign influence, and the Kashmiris are now very much what they were in the old days of Hindu rule. But at last there came the English with their assignees the Dogras and their Pax Britannica, and I think the Kashmiri is beginning to grasp the idea that there is a permanency in this newest phase of their history. I believe that the ideas and customs of the people will change, and I admit that in some directions change is desirable. It is of the highest importance that the people of Kashmir should have some permanent solid fact to cling to. It was pathetic to see a whole nation absolutely incredulous of any permanence of institutions or of the existence of good in man or in nature. Tyrant after tyrant tortured and degraded them, while as awful interludes came fires, floods, earthquakes famines, and cholera. If you go as I hope you will to Kashmir, on your way to the Capital—Srinagar—you will pass a place named Pattan where you will see two stately temples of the 9th century—injured alas! by the push of an earthquake. In Pattan there is a population of about 165 families. In 1885 seventy persons perished in the earthquake. In 1892 55 persons were carried off by cholera. Picture this happening in an English village. I think the survivors would be unhinged—apt to question the truth that all is ordered for the best. It is sad to listen to a man recounting in a simple matter of fact way how some of his relatives perished in the famine of 1877-79, how others were crushed to death in the earthquake of 1885, and how the few survivors dropped like

\* This paper was delivered as a Lecture before the East India Association on the 13th ultimo. For discussion thereon see "Proceedings" elsewhere in this Review.—Ed.

flies in the cholera of 1892. I have been a witness of the horrors of the cholera, and of the ruin of the floods, while of famine and earthquake there are many silent though vivid mementoes. One sees in the courtyard of the house a wigwam made of branches—it is a retreat for the family when the earth begins to shake. One talks to a villager on any subject and the famine like King Charles the First in Mr. Dick's Memorial is at once dragged in, and with a sigh he quotes the old sad proverb: "Drāg tsalih tah dag tsalih na,"—the famine has gone but its stains remain. I think that much that is to be regretted in the disposition of the Kashmiris arises from the constant fears and doubts which they feel regarding the terrible forces of nature. The Valley is full of superstitions, which the religions of the country foster and accentuate; the administrations of the past have shaken all faith in the honesty and benevolence of rulers, and when on the top of this calamities recur again and again, which make men lose all confidence in the order of the universe, we have a chain of circumstances not conducive to the formation of a vigorous and reliant national character. Superstition has made the Kashmiri timid. Tyranny has made him a liar, while physical disasters have made him selfish and incredulous of the existence of good. Fires, famines, floods and cholera can all be prevented, and the consideration that efforts devoted to the removal of these evils will eventually result in the moral amelioration of the much abused and little pitied inhabitant of Kashmir, should excite the State to grapple with them regardless of cost and labour.

I have dwelt on this subject because it has been the fashion to abuse the Kashmiri, to scoff at his cowardice, and to pillory him as a liar. No one made allowances for his unfortunate surroundings, and the officials in order to justify a system of government which was cruel and wrong, urged adroitly that the Kashmiri was a peculiar person who required peculiar treatment. The officials used to tell me more in sorrow than in anger that the cultivators of the Valley were lazy, dishonest and treacherous. They were lazy because the simple proposition "Yus karih gonglu sui karih krao"—"he who ploughs shall reap" was ignored at harvest time, and the tax collector took what he liked; they were lazy because they were seized for forced labour at a time when the rice fields required their close attention day and night; they were dishonest for their masters were dishonest, and I doubt whether in Kashmir honesty was the best policy under the old régime; they were treacherous for a terrible system had been introduced of espionage and blackmailing—a system which has had a sad effect on the national character. Every man distrusts his neighbour as being a potential spy. A curious result of this espionage is the absence of crime. Out of an agricultural population of 671,000 only 40 find their way to prison in a year. Criminal pursuits become unpopular when one's neighbours are all members of a very efficient Criminal Investigation Department. I will not go into the question of the hateful corvée which has been abolished but I can never forget that common and saddest of sights in Kashmir—the large group of men sitting on the ground awaiting in anxious doubt the orders of the Pressgang. Their faces would have furnished studies of fear, hate, hopelessness and shame. A great change

has come. So far as agriculture is concerned the Kashmiris are no longer lazy. No man can work harder or more efficiently than the Kashmiri when he has the will. I have seen them perform prodigies of effort and strength when restoring some old shrine under the leadership of the abbot. I have seen them carrying loads for the repair of an irrigation work which would astonish an Englishman, and I have seen rice fields and vegetable gardens cultivated in a manner which could not be surpassed by an English agriculturist. I think that the rampant and widespread dishonesty of old is passing away, and that if the officials deal fairly by the people they will respond. At any rate they now pay their revenue, and feel some shame when detected in a lie. Confidence has been won and hope has been awakened.

I will not weary you by details of the abuses which existed and of the reforms which have been introduced. I have only alluded to the disadvantages under which the Kashmiris have lived in order that those of you who may visit the Valley may not accept at once the proposition "that every prospect pleases and only man is vile." If you will make allowances for their past history and think of the old system of Government, and if you will talk to the people in their villages away from the artificial and corrupting influence of Srinagar you will find a clever witty, gentle and charming folk, living quiet useful and honest lives. In their domestic relations they are admirable—one never hears of scandals. All they ask for is to be left alone in their lovely valleys and their simple prayer is one which happily finds no place in our English Litany "*Hākīm tah Hākīm*," from "the ruler and the doctor good Lord deliver us." They believe in an hereditary curse, but I am glad to say that an idea has now sprung up that the curse came to an end with the flood of 1893.

If you go by the mail you can reach Kashmir in 3 weeks, and at Baramula where the great river—the Hydaspes of the ancients—leaves the valley you will find a boat awaiting you in which you spread your bed and set up your table. Your boat will cost you about £1 a month, and one of the clever crew will board you for a shilling a day. He will give you excellent mutton and fowls, fish of the river, the best of fruit and good vegetables, but you must eschew beef for Mussalman Kashmir is under the rule of a Hindu Chief. The crew will tow you up the river, and if you are wise you will walk along the bank, treading as you go the blue iris and enjoying the music of a thousand larks. As the river winds you look on some new snow peak rising into the turquoise sky over the deeper blue of the mountains. Then when lunch time comes you will be glad in June to sit under the shade of the most perfect tree in the world—the Oriental Plane—the Chenar. This Royal tree was introduced by those grand Moghals who loved, appreciated and embellished the beautiful valley. If as you ought you arrive in Spring you will find Kashmir alight with the pink and white promise of the orchards, and if you are lucky you will see a wonder of colour in the almond blooms. You will I hope pay a visit to the hop-gardens where we have grown good hops for the great Indian brewery, and have made a handsome profit. Soon after this you will reach the entrance to the great lake—the Wular, a corruption of the Sanskrit Ullola, the lake

with the "high going waves." This covers an area of 78 square miles, and produces the Singhara nut—or water chestnut. Its kernel which is white and mealy is either ground into flour, or parched and eaten as porridge. One pound is sufficient for a day's food. The Wular is much dreaded by the boatmen and if there is a sign of wind the lake with the "high going waves" is left severely to itself. Once when time was pressing I insisted on crossing, but before we had gone far I saw the folly of my order. The boats are flat bottomed and their thatch roof places one at the mercy of the wind. My boatmen gave up paddling and fell to their prayers, and the father of the crew solemnly informed me that he thought it time to tie the legs of his 3 sons together. When I asked the object of this extraordinary proceeding he said it would facilitate the recovery of their corpses. Once Maharaja Gulab Singh—the Dogra Chief to whom the English assigned Kashmir—was caught in a storm. At the advice of a Brahmin Minister he doffed his turban in acknowledgment of the superior power of the King of the Lake. The storm of course then ceased.

After pleasant windings, passing on your way picturesque villages, screened by willows and alive with rosy-faced pretty children you will come to the City of the Sun, Srinagar, to my mind in spite of its confusion and squalor the most beautiful and interesting place I have ever seen. As you proceed up the river now running hard between the cedarn bridges which knit the river-banks into one, little barks laden with curios dart out from the banks, and plausible fluent English speaking pirates step jauntily on your boat and announce that your Honour is going to bank with them. Silver, copper, brass, papier-maché, wood-carving, and exquisite stuffs of shawl wool fine as silk are poured out on your deck, while for six shillings you may buy a suit of homespun. The neighbourhood of Srinagar is delightful, and there is no more beautiful spot in the world than the Dal Lake, around which cluster memories of the splendid Moghal times. The beautiful gardens of Shalamar and Nishat, pleasure haunts of Selim and Naurmahal—the breezy park of Planes, dotted with the white tents of the English visitors who bathe and fish and sail, and enjoy a holiday of shooting, cricket, polo and golf such as no other country can give—these will not disappoint the most exacting. I can quite understand the feelings of the Emperor Jehangir, when he was asked on his death bed if he wanted anything, he replied: "Only Kashmir;"—Only Kashmir!—only exquisite scenery—snow-capped mountains, infinitely varied in form and colour such as an artist might picture in his dreams,—grand forests through which fall mountain streams white with foam, passing in their course through pools of the purest cobalt. Below the forests are the brighter woodlands, and the banks of the streams are ablaze with clematis, honeysuckle, jasmine, and wild roses. Then the green smooth turf of the woodland glades like a well kept lawn dotted with clumps of hawthorn and other beautiful trees and bushes.

Only Kashmir! only a perfect and varied climate where delicate English people and pale children grow strong and well, thanks to the pure clear air and the healthy outdoor life in the boats and tents.

Only sport of every kind and excellent, mountains for the mountaineers,

flowers for the botanist—a vast field for the geologist and magnificent ruins for the archæologist, and above all the kindest of welcomes from the ruler of the country and his officials. Maharaja Gulab Singh once said that the British Subaltern was in his eyes equal to a King, and this sentiment still prevails. The official will stop his work and devote his whole energies to providing for the comfort of an English visitor. To him the most valued of possessions is a scrawl in pencil to the effect that he gave satisfaction to some English visitor. I remember once an old official for whom I entertained great respect and affection showing me when we were at work together on an irrigation channel a pencil note from a British Subaltern. It ran: "Mirza Fateullah is an excellent official. He turned out beaters for me at an hour's notice. He deserves promotion and would make an admirable Governor." Mirza Fateullah will never be Governor of Kashmir, but he is very proud of the Subaltern's certificate, and it was touching to see the care with which the old gentleman replaced the note in his pocket-book among many other ancient yellow documents of a similar nature. When you are camping in the park of Planes on the Dal Lake you might care to see Raghonathpura where we reel the silk of Kashmir, and having seen this you may desire to see the district where the silkworms are reared. To do this you would go by boat to Islamabad or Anantnag "the place of the countless springs." On your way up the river you might stop at Pampur to see the saffron fields, for the saffron of Kashmir is renowned for its bouquet and colour. It is a costly substance, and the Hindus of Kashmir are beginning to substitute cheaper pigments for their "Tikas," or forehead marks. But the rigid Hindu will stint himself in other luxuries in order to daub his brow with the saffron. The mark gives him a Mephistophilean look. From Pampur you might visit the sulphur springs of Weean. The water strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen is nevertheless most pleasant to drink. Higher up the river you will come to Bijbehara, and I hope you will alight to see the modern Temple where my good friend Gobind Ram is high priest. He has a taste for architecture and landscape gardening, and we have made many an alteration together, always on the outside of the Temple. A tolerant, charming Hindu with something of the Buddhist about him. Then you come to Anantnag and as your boat draws under the bank a delightful man with a benignant face not unlike a Roman Catholic Priest bids you welcome. This is Lassu Kotwāl, as charming a man as the world has ever produced. He has volumes of letters from Englishmen, and he shows with great pride a correspondence with an English Duke, which speaks well for Lassu and well for his correspondent. Lassu takes you to a lovely orchard past the grassy banks of which the Hydaspes river flows swift. Here your crew pitch your tents under the apple-trees. At evening the local art vendors will pay you a visit, and marvellous song birds will sing for you in their cages. Up in the morning—such a morning! fresh, sunny and clear. You walk or ride up over a bluff and see the marvel of Kashmir—the Temple of the Sun—Martand—"precious specimen of ancient art, deserving a foremost place among the remains of antiquity." Here is a description of it by one who knew it well:



"Cunningham thinks that the erection of this Sun-temple was suggested by the magnificent sunny prospect which its position commands. It overlooks the finest view in Kashmir, and perhaps in the known world. Beneath it lies the paradise of the east, with its sacred streams and glens its orchards and green fields, surrounded on all sides by vast snowy mountains, whose lofty peaks seem to smile upon the beautiful valley below. The vast extent of the scene makes it sublime, for its magnificent view of Kashmir is no petty peer in a half-mile glen, but the full display of a valley 60 miles in breadth and upwards of 100 miles in length, the whole of which lies beneath the 'ken of the wonderful Martand.'" You will stay some time at Martand—and then walking through deep crops of millet, amaranth and buckwheat, you will descend into a valley green with the lush rice plant and cross over to Achabal. There out of a hill covered with Deodars gurgles a spring the like of which I have never seen. You pass into a cool terraced garden and pitch your tents under a shady Plane tree. Then comes the good gardener—bearing delicious white-heart cherries, or later peaches, with asparagus and watercress, and he like Lassu makes you welcome, and shows you volumes of letters from English visitors. If you have friends at court you may walk up the hill covered with lovely roses and have a shot at a bear, or as winter draws on you may find the grand stag of Kashmir—the Bára Singh. You will linger at Achabal and wander over the Summer Palace which Emperor Jehangir loved so well. Then you go up the valley where the silk-worms are fattening on the endless store of mulberry leaves. It is a wonderful thing: this wealth of mulberries. We do not allow anyone to fell a mulberry-tree. The luscious fruit feeds men, cattle, sheep, and even dogs, and the State has wisely clung to the idea that there is a future for sericulture. *There is a grand future.* By adopting Pasteur's system we have raised healthy silk-worm eggs, we have mulberry leaves at discretion. We have in the ordinary Kashmir houses potential "magnaneries," and we have a class of people known as the Kirm Kash, or worm destroyers, who thoroughly understand the business of rearing silkworms. Our silk has been highly praised by European experts, and all that is wanted to make silk in Kashmir a great and remunerative industry is the introduction of British capital. We have shown that silk can be produced, but we want the energy and supervision which private enterprise can alone give. As it is in silk so it is in wine and hops. I ought to have told you that the vineyards on the Dal Lake produce a Medoc and Barsac sound and excellent, and few of the visitors to Kashmir think it necessary to import wines from India. I ought also to have told you that one year I made cider which was highly esteemed by men of Devonshire. Mr. Knight in his book "Where three Empires meet" speaks kindly of my cider and as during his stay with me in camp he drank nothing else I know that his praise was like all else of his—genuine.

You must enter the ordinary Kashmiri cottage where the silkworms spin their priceless fibre. The house is airy, but it can be made very warm. When the silkworms are feeding it is kept very clean. You hear a curious munching sound like a fat whisper, and men are watching anxiously and

hoping that Pebrine or Flaccherie are not about to spoil the rich promise of the season.

From Kotahar we go back past Achabal, take another look at Martand and drop down to shady Báwan in the Liddar valley. Here at Báwan is a spring most sacred to the Hindus and here too is a fane where the Sikh priest reads the holy Granth. For you must know that over 4,000 of the Kashmiris are Sikhs. You must not angle here for the fish are sacred and it is quite possible that the carp into which the late Maharaja is supposed to have entered may have found his way hither.

Up the lovely Liddar Valley you ascend gradually under shady elms and walnut trees to the castle like shrine at Aish Makám. This is the famous shrine of Zain Shah a disciple of Kashmir's great national Saint—Shekh hur Din—a saint more revered in the villages than any of your foreign Saiyads. The men of the shrine wear a peculiar headdress, with zig-zag bars of colour. Once on a time one of the servants of the shrine who had been sent out by Zain Shah for some work was seized by the officials for forced labour. Zain Shah in his anger caused the Liddar river to dry up thereby inflicting great loss on the rice crops. The King of Kashmir on hearing of this proceeded to Aish Makám, and in order to prevent similar mistakes occurring in the future suggested that Zain Shah's followers should wear a distinctive headdress. The shrine is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmir. Hither they bring their children and cut off their first locks of hair. If this were done elsewhere the child would die or become blind. The votive offering of the boatmen is a fat ram with brow gaily bedecked with the lids of tändstickor match boxes.

Talk to the Abbott of the shrine and he will tell you many stirring tales. The whole valley is rich in superstitions and there is not a mountain, river or spring which has not some quaint legend attached to it. On the great mountains are demons in the form of fair women who sing sweet songs before they crush the passing traveller with an avalanche. On the Zogi-la pass offerings are still made to these cruel sirens.

In the crest of Haramak the grim mountain that guards the Sind valley there is a vein of emerald which renders innocuous the most poisonous of snakes within its sight. In the deep silent weird green lakes which are found on the top of the high ranges there are dragons breathing fire, and strange tales are told of Konsa Nág where monsters seize the unwary traveller and drown him in the depths of the lake.

Sitting night after night by the camp fire, listening to these tales and hearing from intelligent and trustworthy men their own experiences of incidents miraculous and supernatural I sometimes used to realize with uncanny sensations that there might be more things in Kashmir than were dreamt of in my philosophy.

Everyone believes in the Rozlu spring and its divining power. When the throes of divination come on the water of the spring is violently agitated for two days and finally disappears giving place to a muddy bed. On this bed if war is imminent swords and guns are seen. If famine is approaching shapes of winnows, handmills and rice huskers are clearly shown, and when cholera is near the form of graves and spades appears. Not many

years ago great excitement was caused by the appearance of tents and helmets, and the late Maharaja had horsemen posted along the road to report whether these signs again appeared.

Often it happens that one of the sacred springs of the Hindus turns colour. If the water is of a violet colour—all is well. But if it turns to black beware of cholera and famine.

There are half mad soothsayers, to whom great respect is shown by all classes. I once visited the most renowned of these and found him when the fit was on him. He waved me away, but roared out excellent advice as I left his mountain retreat somewhat crestfallen. He shouted "Go home and read your books."

This unpleasant old man when he condescended to mundane affairs was an extremely sharp and business-like person and holds more land than he has any real title to. It is impossible to live six years among a people believing absolutely in supernatural agencies—to work with clever educated men steeped in old world tales and superstitions and to dismiss the whole question with a laugh.

From Aish Makám you must go up to Pahlgám. Your tents will be pitched in a lovely pine forest at the head of the Liddar valley. There you are close to the glaciers and you may chance to fall in with the great pilgrimage to the cave of Amarnáth. Pilgrims from all parts of India and Kashmir toil wearily up the rough mountain track to worship this solid dome-shaped mass of ice formed by frozen springs inside the cave. Before they enter men and women discard their clothes and covering their nakedness with strips of birch bark call on Śiva to appear. If the God is propitious pigeons flutter out from the cave.

From Pahlgám you can walk over snow bridges and strike the Sind valley—in short you can travel for months with grand or lovely scenery meeting you on every march.

I have perhaps told you enough of the scenery and may be less tedious if I tell you something of the people. My relations with them were very pleasant. They did not treat me as an official, and after two years they threw off much of their reserve and talked to me freely. They are a clever somewhat cynical people, with a decided turn for humour. One old man followed me with a petition and when I had given orders thrice on his case I told him that he would be made over to the authorities if he appeared again. Long after as I sat one evening listening to the music and songs of some minstrels, the old man appeared with a paper in his hand. I at once ordered him to be stopped, but he said "this is not a petition, but a poem." He then read out his poem which recited the old grievance.

Once as I was hearing petitions I noticed an elderly Hindu standing for at least five minutes on his head. No one took any notice of him. At last fearing that the old man might injure himself I had him placed on his feet. When questioned as to his attitude he said that thanks to my arrangements his affairs were so confused that he did not know whether he was standing on his head or his heels.

They are a people of symbols. Formerly it was no doubt necessary to attract the attention of their rulers by some striking demonstration. Men

who have a grievance will fling off their clothes and smear themselves with wet mud. The nakedness implies destitution : the mud signifies that they are reduced to the condition of a clod. Many a time I have seen a procession—one man wears a shirt of matting, another has a straw rope round his neck with a brick pendant—another carries a pan of hot embers on his head while in the rear comes a woman bearing a number of broken earthen pots. This was bad, but more inconvenient was the practice of casting a plough under my horse's feet as I rode along in order to emphasise the fact that agriculture no longer possessed charms for the proprietor of the plough.

A man once came to me carrying the corpse of a child which to my horror he placed in my arms and alleged that his enemies would not allow him even burying ground. He had a land suit in his village and he wished to strengthen his case by arousing my indignation. Once a man appeared at Nágmarǵa a place some 9,000 feet high. He was stark naked and said that his uncle had turned him empty into the world. It was bitterly cold and night had fallen. So I gave him a suit of old clothes, and by way of jest said that as he was now dressed as an Englishman he should assert his rights. He shambled down the mountains holding up with difficulty his new garment and next day the uncle came into my camp charging the nephew with an aggravated assault, and offering in his shattered appearance convincing proof. It is always dangerous to jest with Kashmiris.

For some time until it became common-place and painful much of the daily life of the villager in Kashmir recalled scenes from "Alice in Wonderland." Everyone seemed to be acting on his own account regardless of authority or of the rules of ordinary conduct, and everyone was rushing about aimlessly trying to find some remnant of his property or invoking justice very loudly, but very uselessly. As I travelled through the villages I would suddenly meet a man—perhaps some old soldier who was explaining to an excited suspicious crowd that he was the collector of a new tax of which no one had ever heard—a tax on violets perhaps—or on some of the thousand medicinal herbs in which Kashmir abounds. I would ask for his written authority—He had none. I would ask for what official he was collecting—He would rather not say. Eventually the indignant crowd would hustle him out of the village and the old soldier would disappear from the fiscal system.

It was a common thing to see villagers on the mountains far distant from their homes anxiously trying to find their sheep which they annually entrust to the Chaupán or shepherd. The professional shepherd is a great rogue and usually steals a few sheep from each client producing the skin, and alleging that the sheep was taken by a panther or bear. It is useless to expect redress on the mountains for the saying is true

"Koh kotwál, yár subahdár"

the mountain is the magistrate and the pine the policeman, and both are deaf to the villager's complaint.

I remember one incident that illustrates the extraordinary want of sym-

pathy which too often characterizes the native official. I was inspecting a village in company with the cultivators and their chief man. I had been lecturing the headman on his reputation as a tyrant and he had cheerfully assented, saying "I daresay I am somewhat of an elephant, and they the villagers are certainly chicken." As we conversed a man drew near and whispered something to the headman. We walked on over the fields examining the soil and the crops and I noticed that my companion seemed preoccupied and confused. Suddenly he said "Would you mind my returning to my house? My wife has just been killed by the fall of the hill-side." I expressed my sympathy and sent him off. As he was going the village watchman bawled out "Don't you bury her till I return as we must have an official inquest." This was the official view of a village tragedy, and it struck none of the villagers as unfeeling.

The Musalmáns of Kashmir who represent 93 per cent. of the population are not a very religious people if one were to accept the opinion of their priests. "They are religious enough in cholera time," said an old Mullah to me, "but in fair weather they neglect their duties to God." The fact is that the so-called Mussalmáns of Kashmir are at heart Hindus and their forcible conversion to Islám did not eradicate the old ideas. They are well named the "Pír parast" or saint worshippers and all that is reverent in their nature is reserved for the shrine where the saint lies buried. As a Kashmiri approaches the holy spot he dismounts from his pony and with lowly obeisance smears his forehead with the dust of the shrine portals.

The shrines are associated with legends of self-denial and good works: They are pleasant places of meeting at fair time, and the natural beauty of their position and surroundings may have an effect on the artistic temperament of the Kashmiri which the squalid mosques have not. A crystal spring beneath noble brotherhoods of venerable trees in some sequestered glen was sure to attract one of the recluses of old time who led blameless lives and taught simple homely morality. The style of the shrine building is always the same, and it owes its pagoda like appearance to Chinese influence. For it must be remembered that Kashmir is on the high road to China and many facts point to the conclusion that in ancient days there was a close connection between the happy valley and the Celestial Empire.

The Kashmiri holds strongly the belief that "Saints will aid if men will call." Sick men will regain health, women will be vouchsafed children, and the litigant will win his suit if a pilgrimage is paid to the shrine.

The traveller in Kashmir can discover interesting traces of the foreign influences under which the valley has from time to time fallen. Buddhists from Ladákh still regard as sacred the site on which the great mosque of Srinagar stands. Scarcely a village but contains some spot most sacred to the Hindus and Kashmir is a veritable Holy Land to the people of India. Then clearly to be noted is the influence of the Mughal Emperors and their courtiers who vied with their royal masters in the construction of stately gardens and summer seats. The influence of the Pathan from Kabul and of the Sikh from Lahore was destructive rather than constructive. The Pathans have left their execrable memories in gruesome tales of torture

and brutality while with one exception the Sikh rulers are remembered with loathing or contempt.

I trust and believe that a happier era has dawned for the Kashmiris, but they are a timid and sceptical people, and the slightest relapse into confusion and injustice would render them again the same hopeless, desperate wanderers as they were a few short years ago.

Confidence and capital would make Kashmir the wonder and envy of the world. With a soil and climate suited to the production of all the staples that are to be found in a temperate clime : with water power and water carriage everywhere available : with a people cunning in agriculture and unrivalled as dexterous artizans—surely there is a great future for this delectable country.

Not long ago the inhabitants spoke of the valley as a “Box” from which escape was impossible and great snow mountains suggested nothing to them beyond the hopelessness of flight from tyranny. Let us hope that the description of the valley in the old Sanskrit chronicle will in future be more justly applied. “It is a country where the sun shines mildly being the place created by Kashayapa as if for his glory. High school houses, the saffron, iced water, and grapes which are rare even in Heaven are common here. Kailásá is the best place in the three worlds : Himalaya the best part of Kailasa and Kashmir the best place in Himalaya.”

If you will go to “Cachemire the Paradise of the Indies” as it was styled by old Bernier you will see that the Sanskrit chronicler Kalhana was right and that Kashmir is not only the best place in the Himalaya but the best place in the world.

## "THE WILD WA—A HEAD-HUNTING RACE."

By J. GEORGE SCOTT, C.I.E.

THE annexation of Upper Burma gave us the Shan States. The Shans are a people very interesting in themselves. Like the Burmese, they came from the teeming North and pressed, or were pressed, towards the sea, where they became the fore-fathers of the Siamese. At one time they were very powerful, furnished Kings to Northern Burma, and held Ta-li-fu as the capital of one of their strongest clans. The nature of their country, a mass of hills, rolling like the billows of a stormy sea, prevented them from acting together as a nation. Communications were difficult at all times and almost impossible in the rainy season so that they broke up more and more into tribes and were thus the more easily subdued in detail by the Burmese and Chinese, so that the Kingdom of Siam is the only remaining symbol of their former power.

Nevertheless they are still very widely spread. Shan communities are found scattered across Indo China from the borders of Assam into Tongking and even Kwangsi, whilst the outer fringe of the province of Yünnan is almost entirely peopled by Shans. Still the bulk of them, apart of course from the Siamese, are found in the hill country between the Irrawaddy and the Mèkhong rivers and are therefore British subjects. Their language, history, traditions and customs are well worth study before it is too late.

But even more interesting are the remnants of aboriginal tribes settled amongst them. In north and north-east Shan land are found a mixture of tribes and a multitude of distinct languages such as are not to be found in any other part of the world, certainly not in the same area. Of these the Chingpaw or Kachins, Tasoru or Palaungs, Akha or Kaw, La'hu or Muhsö, the Yao, Kwi, Yang Lam and Yang Sek, the Kwi, the Panna and the Wa, are the most prominent, but there are many others, possibly clans of these tribes, known to their neighbours under different names. Hitherto these peoples have been so isolated by the insecurity which prevailed as long as the Shan States were under Burmese rule and by the difficulties of communication that the very existence of many of them was not even known. Now however that peace has been established and that roads are being made and even a railway commenced across the Shan States, there is a danger that these aboriginal tribes, small as they are in numbers and widely scattered, will become assimilated to their Chinese and Shan neighbours and that their languages and institutions will be lost through their contact with the outer world. It will at any rate yearly become more difficult for the philologist, or ethnologist to fix their position and relationships in the human family. Little can be done by British officers hurrying from place to place and overwhelmed with administrative work, but no opportunity of making enquiries and notes should be lost.

Of these tribes the most attractive by their conspicuous savagery are the Wa. They are head-hunters; they are firmly believed by all their neigh-

bours to be cannibals; they are also said on the same authority to go about *vêtus du climat*

"All unabashed, unhaberdashed, unheeding."

Such attributes naturally attract especial interest, which is accentuated by the fact that gold is found in considerable quantities in their hills. This is unfortunate, for it suggests that the exploiter and the digger will get at them in advance of the ethnologist and the student of folk lore and that their head hunting will be stopped and their bodies clothed before Wa institutions and peculiarities can be most profitably studied.

They live in a compact block of country, south of the Kun Lông ferry on the Salween, extending for about one hundred miles along the east bank of that river and for perhaps half that distance inland. Within this area there are almost none but Wa. The few villages there are of Shans, Hui Hui, Chinese Mahomedans and La'hu, only serve to accentuate the fact. Here they have been settled for a time beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary and none of their neighbours have been able to get on terms of acquaintanceship with them or even to penetrate with any degree of freedom into their country. The Burmese sent an army to get the gold from the Shwe 'Thamin Chaung, the Stream of the Golden Deer, but the men all perished and got none of the gold. The Chinese have several times sent expeditions to exact reparation for heads carried off, which only served to furnish more heads for Wa village avenues. One British party has passed through the heart of the Wild Wa country and they are perhaps the only strangers who have ever done so. It is possible that the journey may not be repeated for some time, for the Wild Wa, apart from their foible for collecting human heads, are by no means bad neighbours and are especially free from the habit indulged in by most of the other mountaineers of stealing cattle and property from the villages down in the valleys and straths. Life is comparatively little regarded in the hills, and the payment of the regular blood money usually absolves the murderer; but the thief, and especially the confirmed cattle lifter, is shot or crucified with precision. The Wa are not thieves. Mere property has no attraction for them. They would throw away a bag of rubies if this would enable them to carry another skull. The heads they get are usually those of casual pedlars, or roving wastrels, and the Shan or Chinese man of substance looks upon such incidents as not worth making a fuss over. It is no doubt also true that the punishing of a Wa village would require a strong force of determined men, and the presence of artillery. Neither of these are to be found either in borderland China or in the Shan States.

Moreover the Wild Wa, at any rate on the Western or British side are separated by a fringe of "tame" Wa, who do not professionally go in for head hunting. They use the heads of malefactors, or buy skulls from over crowded collections in the hunting districts. It is through these "tame" Wa that we must endeavour to wean the head hunters from their practices, if necessary by large consignments of composition skulls from Birmingham.

The origin of the Wa is very obscure. They are certainly distinct from the Shans, the Burmese and the Chinese and probably from all their other neighbours. The Shans distinguish between the La and the Wa, but the



difference appears to be purely visionary or at best an attempt to label the Tame and the Wild with different names. The Burmese call them Lawa, but no one is able to say where they came from, or whether they ever had a more extended country than that in which they are now situated.

The Wa themselves claim to be autochthones, and like most of their neighbours, have a fantastic tale as to their origin. All the Indo-Chinese races have a predilection for eccentric birth-stories. Some claim to be sprung from eggs, some from dogs, some from reptiles. The Wa claim tadpoles for their rude forefathers. The primaeval Wa were called Pu Htoi and Ya Htoi. As tadpoles they spent their first years in Nawng Hkeo, a mysterious lake on the top of a hill range, seven thousand feet high, in the centre of the Head-cutting country. When they turned into frogs they lived on a hill called Nam Tao and progressing in the scale of life, they became ogres and established themselves in a cave, Pakkatè, about thirty miles south of the mountain lake and on the western slope of the range. From this cave they made sallies in all directions in search of food and at first were content with deer, wild pig, goats and cattle. As long as this was their only diet, they had no young. But all Hpi Hpai in the end come to eat human beings. It is their most distinguishing characteristic, after the fact of their having red eyes and casting no shadow. One day Pu Htoi and Ya Htoi went exceptionally far afield and came to a country inhabited by men. They caught one and ate him and carried off his skull to the Pakkatè cave. After this they had many young ogrelets, all of whom however appeared in human form. The parents therefore placed the human skull on a post and worshipped it. There were nine sons, who established themselves in the nine Wa glens, mostly in the West and they bred and mustered rapidly. The ten daughters settled on the fells and were even more prolific. Their descendants are the most thorough in head hunting and the skulls are always men's. The language the new race spoke was at first that of the frog, a sort of Brekkekkekkex, but this was elaborated in time into modern Wa.

Pu Htoi and Ya Htoi enjoined on their children the necessity of always having a human skull in their settlements. Without this they could not have any peace, plenty, prosperity, comfort, or enjoyment, and this injunction has always been piously obeyed. When the venerable ogres died, they summoned all their progeny together and gave an account of their origin and said that they, Pu Htoi and Ya Htoi, were to be worshipped as the Father and Mother spirits. Other spirits there were, but they were bad and malevolent. Pu Htoi and Ya Htoi alone were genial and benignant and the most seemly offering to them was a snowwhite grinning skull. The ordinary sacrifices on special occasions however were to be buffaloes, bullocks, pigs and fowls, with plentiful libations of rice spirit. The special occasions were marriage, the commencement of a war, death and the putting up of a human skull. In addition to these meat offerings a human skull was always desirable under exceptional circumstances, or for special objects. Thus when a new village was founded, a skull was an imperative necessity. If there were a drought, which threatened a failure of the crops, no means would be so successful in bringing rain as the dedi-

cation of a skull. If disease swept away many victims a skull alone would stay the pestilence. But the good old parental ogres expressly said that it was not necessary that the villagers should slay a man in order to get his head. They might get the skull by purchase or barter.

It is noticeable that the present descendants of the nine first boys mostly buy their skulls, or utilize the heads of men who have been executed for crimes. The hill-dwelling issue of the ten ogre maidens sally out to lop off heads for themselves. Perhaps this is because it is men's heads that are wanted, not women's. It is at any rate significant of woman's will, a much discussed subject nowadays.

It is however certain that the Wa are not cannibals, at least not habitual cannibals. The assertion is however so universally made by all their neighbours Chinese, Burmese, Shans, Lem and La 'Hu and is so firmly believed, that it seems probable that on special occasions, possibly at the annual harvest feast, human flesh may be eaten as a religious function, a sort of pious remembrance of the diet which made the Wa first ancestors fecund, and produced the race. The Wa themselves, however, even the Wa Pwi, who are the most thorough paced supporters of rules and regulations, deny it, not indeed with scorn, or horror, or indignation, or any well-regulated sentiment, but with a placid, well-fed chuckle as who should say: Why should we eat men's flesh, when the regular posting up of men's heads will ensure us plenty of dogs, plenty of maize and buckwheat and plenty of spirits? Certainly headless corpses are left lying about the roads as if they were of no value to anybody. We are therefore forced to abandon belief in the attractively graphic story of the good wife putting "the kettle on the fire" when the men of the village go out head hunting. The Shans still firmly believe that the Wa eat their parents. When they become old and feeble, so it is said, the children tenderly and lovingly help them to climb into the branches of a tree. Then they shake the boughs until the old people fall down. "The fruit is ripe: let us eat it" they say, and proceed to do so. This prepossessing old story seems to be true only of the Battak of Sumatra, who find no grave so suitable and honourable for the authors of their being as their own insides.

But as to the head-hunting there is no manner of doubt. It is true that the Wa are not mere collectors. They do not accumulate heads as one collects stamps, or botanical specimens, or matchbox labels, from the pure pleasure of possession and an eclectic gratification in difference of size, shape, or in the perfect condition of the teeth, and the well marked definition of the sutures. No individual Wa has a private collection, nor does it appear that success in the accumulation of heads ensures the favours of the fair. They do not mount their heads, fresh lopped off, on posts as the people of the Mambwe country, south of Lake Tanganyika do, in the belief that such exhibits are pleasing and impressive; nor do they regard them as tokens of individual prowess as the Dyaks do, or as the American Indians used to glory in the scalps they carried about them. The Wa regards his skulls as a protection against the spirits of evil, much the same as holy water, or the sign of the cross; or like texts at a meeting house, or Bibles on the dressing-table at a temperance hotel, or Hallelujahs

at a Salvation Army service. Without a skull his crops would fail ; without a skull his kine might die ; without a skull the Father and Mother spirits would be shamed and might be enraged ; if there were no protecting skull the other spirits, who are all malignant, might gain entrance and kill the inhabitants, or drink all the liquor.

The Wa country is a series of mountain ranges, running north and south and shelving rapidly down to narrow valleys from two to five thousand feet deep. The villages are all on the slopes, some in a hollow just sheltered by the crest of the ridge, some lower down where a spur offers a little flat ground. The industrious cultivation of years has cleared away the jungle, which is so universal elsewhere in the Shan hills and the villages stand out conspicuously as yellowish brown blotches on the hill sides. A Shan village is always embowered in bamboos and fruit or flowering trees ; Kachin villages straggle about among the peaks with primæval forest all around ; Akha, Kwi and La 'Hu hide away their settlements in gullies, or secluded hollows ; but a Wa village is visible for miles, the houses all within one enclosure and the gray of the thatched roofs hardly distinguishable from the litter of cattle and pigs which covers inches deep all the ground within the fence.

But outside every village, every village at any rate in the Wild Wa country, there is a grove of trees, usually stretching along the ridge, or a convenient *col*. It is usually fairly broad and is made up of huge trees, with heavy undergrowth, strips of the forest which, years and years ago, covered the whole country. From a distance it looks like an avenue, sometimes little over one hundred yards long, sometimes stretching for long distances from village to village. This is the avenue of skulls. It is not necessarily, and as often as not is not, the usual mode of approach to the village. Occasionally however the skulls actually line the main road and are practically out in the open. This appears to be the case rather with the more recently established villages and the avenue, sombre with the shade of high over arching trees, is certainly the more usual.

Here there is a row of stout posts, about three and a half feet high and five or six feet apart. In each of these, a little below the top, is cut a hole with a ledge on which the skull is placed. Sometimes the niche is on the side facing the path, so that the whole skull is in full view of the passer by ; sometimes it is inserted from behind and grins at him through a triangular hole. As a rule the posts are perfectly plain with nothing but the bark stripped off, but here and there they are fashioned into slabs with rude carvings, or primitive designs in red and black paint, by way of adornment, but this seems to be the case on the outer fringe rather than in the heart of the downright business-doing head-hunter's country. The posts stand on one side of the road only, not on both sides, and there appears to be no rule as to the direction, either of the grove or of the line of skulls, north or south, east or west. Most villages count their heads by tens or twenties, but some of them run to hundreds, especially when the grove lies between several villages, who combine or perhaps run their collections with one another.

The skulls are in all stages of preservation, some of them glistening white

and perfect in every detail, some discoloured with the green mould of one or more rains, some patched over with lichens, or shaggy with moss, some falling to pieces, the teeth gone, the jaws crumbling away, the sutures yawning wide ; sometimes the skull has vanished with age and the post even is mouldering to decay.

No doubt a Wild Wa never misses a chance of taking a head, when an opportunity presents itself. The skulls are looked upon as a safeguard against and a propitiation of the evil spirits. The ghost of the dead man hangs about his skull and resents the approach of other spirits, not from any good will for the villages, for all spirits are mischievous and truculent, but because he resents trespassing on his coverts. For this reason the skulls of strangers are always the most valuable, for the ghost does not know his way about the country and cannot possibly wander away from his earthly remains. He also all the more resents the intrusion of vagrant ghosts on his policies. They cramp his movements and a ghost wants plenty of elbow room. An unprotected stranger is therefore pretty sure to lose his head, if he wanders among the Wild Was, no matter what the time of the year may be. The more eminent he is the better, for the Wa are quite of the opinion of the tribes farther to the north, that an eminent man will make a puissant, brabbling ghost, who will dominate the country side, and secure his owners sleep of nights.

But though heads are thus taken in an eclectic, dilettante way whenever chance offers, there is a proper authorized season for the accumulation of them. Legitimate head-cutting opens in March and lasts through April. The old skulls will ensure peace for the village, but at least one new one is wanted, if there is not to be risk of failure of the crops, the opium, the maize and the rice. In these months journeying is exciting in the hills. A Wa must go out with the same reflection as a self-respecting dog, who never takes a stroll without the conviction that he is more likely than not to have a fight before he comes home again. Nevertheless there are rules of the game ; lines of conduct to be observed, which assume the dignity of customary law. Naturally the Wa never take the heads of their fellow-villagers. The elements of political economy forbid that. It would be a very urgent necessity, a raging pestilence, a phenomenal drought, or a murrain among their cattle which would justify the immolation of a man from an adjoining village. To behead a man from a community even on the same range of hills is looked upon as unneighbourly and slothful. The enterprise should be carried out on the next range, east or west, at any rate at a distance, the farther the more satisfactory from the point of view of results—agricultural results. When the head is secured the party returns immediately travelling night and day without halt. It is not necessary to have more than one head, but naturally the more heads there are, the less danger there is of agricultural depression. They may therefore take several heads at their first stoop, and if they meet with a favourable opportunity on the way home, a party of misguided pedlars unable to defend themselves, or a footsore, or fever-stricken straggler from a Chinese caravan, they promptly end his wanderings.

The hunting-party is never large, usually about a dozen. Villages are

therefore never attacked. That would be too much like slaughter, or civil war, which is not at all what is intended. The act is simply one of religious observance, or the carrying on of a historical tradition. It does not appear that the neighbours of the victims harbour any particular animosity against the successful sportsmen. No doubt they go questing the following year by preference in that direction, but they apparently never think of exacting immediate vengeance.

Further, the Wa never seem to make raids beyond the limits of their own country, or at any rate of country which they have not regarded as their own in the past, or consider as likely to become theirs at some future time. There is no case on record of a Wa raid across the Salween, into Shan territory to collect heads, nor have they ever invaded the Chinese Shan States on the north. The Shans of Mōng Lem to the south-east do indeed complain that certain roads, which, they say, are in their state, are very unsafe when the Wa hill fields are being got ready for planting, but it is only the roads that are unsafe. Shan villages are so open that disappointed hunters might very well creep in at night to get the heads which they have failed to secure in the open country, but it does not appear that this has ever been done. It is probably this discrimination on the part of the head hunters which, as much as anything else, has restrained the neighbouring people from combining to put an end to the Wild Wa, or at any rate to their accumulation of skulls.

The head hunting party usually goes out quietly enough. There has probably been some consulting of sacrificial bones, or some scrutiny of the direction in which feather-light plant down floats, but there is no blessing of the questing party or any demonstration on the part of those who stay behind. Not even the women and children go to see them beyond the village gate. It is as much a matter of course every year as the sowing of the fields.

Sometimes they are out for a long time, for naturally every one, whether stranger, or native of the country, is very much on the alert during the head-cutting season. Occasionally two search parties come across one another. There is as much feinting and dodging and beguiling then, as between two wrestlers trying for the grip. The Hsan Htung head hunters actually did thus waylay a party from Yawng Maw, north of the Nawng Hkeo lake in 1893 and took three heads from the party of ten. This was legitimate sport, for the Yawng Maw men were in the Hsan Htung limits and presumably after Hsan Htung heads. Ordinarily however Wa heads are not taken. The vulture does not prey on the kite.

There is a tariff for heads. The skulls of the unwarlike Lem come lowest. They can sometimes be had for two rupees. La 'Hu heads can be had for about three times as much, for the La 'Hu are stalwart men of their hands and use poisoned arrows in their crossbows. Other Shans than the Lem are more rarely found, for they usually go, if they go at all, in large parties. Burmese heads have not been available for nearly a generation and Chinamen's heads run to about fifty rupees, for they are dangerous game. European heads have not come on the market. There are no quotations. Wa skulls, probably from motives of delicacy, are

not appraised. They probably fetch the average price, about ten rupees, according to the successful nature of the season and the number of semi-civilized Wa villages who are buying.

When the head, or heads, are brought home, there is great rejoicing. The big wooden gong is frantically beaten. All the bamboos of rice spirit in the village are tapped, the women and children dance and sing and the men become most furiously drunk. The head is not put up as it is. It requires preparation; for it is only the cleaned skull that is mounted outside the village.

At one end of the village, usually the upper end, for all the villages are built on a slope, stands the spirit house, a small shed, fenced round with stakes and roughly thatched over. In the centre of this stands the village drum, a huge log of wood with narrow slits along the length of it, through which the interior has been laboriously hollowed out. These drums are sometimes six feet long and three or three and a half feet thick. They are beaten with wooden mallets and give out deep vibrating notes which travel very long distances. This gong is sounded at all crises, and moments of importance to the village, but chiefly when heads are brought home, or when sacrifices are being made, or when a village council is to be held. Outside this spirit-house the sacrifices to the spirits are made, the buffaloes, pigs, dogs, fowls are killed and their blood smeared on the posts, and rafters, and thatching, and their bones hang in clusters round the eaves.

Here the head is taken. It is wrapped up in thatch, or grass, or plantain leaves and slung in a rattan or bamboo basket and is then hung up in a dark corner to ripen and bleach against the time when it is to be mounted in the avenue. This is the commonest practice, but some villages seem to prefer to hoist the head, slung in its rattan cage, on the top of a tall bamboo fixed in the centre of the village. This seems to savour of ostentation. Others hang the heads in aged, heavy foliated trees, just within the village fence, but the spirit house seems to be the more regular place. Wherever the skull is seasoned it remains until it is cleaned of all flesh and sinews and blanched to the proper colour. Then it is mounted in the avenue. What the ceremonial then is, does not very clearly appear. None but a Wa has ever seen it. There seems however to be much slaughtering of buffaloes, pigs and fowls, much chanting of spells by the village wise men, but above all much drinking of spirits by everybody. This last item no doubt accounts for the meagreness of the information on the subject. Apparently however the elders of the village carry out the skull with glad song and uplifting of voices, accompanied by every one who is in a condition to walk, and some traditional invocation or doxology is intoned before the skull is inducted in its niche. Those who are sober for this function do not long remain so. The service throughout seems to be corybantic rather than devotional.

It is noticeable that no offerings are made in the avenue of skulls. The skulls are offering, altar and basilikon in themselves. The sacrifices are all made at the spirit house in the village and the bones, skins, horns, hoofs, feathers are deposited there or in individual houses, not in the calvary.

A Wa village is a very formidable place, except for civilized weapons of offence. Against all the arms which any of their neighbours possess it is impregnable and it could not be carried by direct attack except by a very determined enemy, prepared to suffer very considerable loss. All the villages are perched high up on the slope of their hills, usually on a knoll or spine-like spur, or in a narrow ravine near the crest of the ridge. Thus all of them are commanded by some neighbouring height, which could however only be used by a force provided with arms of precision.

Round each village is carried an earthen rampart, six to eight feet high and as many thick and this is overgrown with a dense covering of shrubs, thin bushes and cactuses so as to be quite impenetrable. Outside this, at a varying distance from the wall, is dug a deep ditch or fosse, which would effectually stop a rush, though it is seldom so broad that an active man could not jump it. The depth however is usually very formidable, and anyone falling in, could hardly fail to break a limb, even if his neck escaped. This chasm is very carefully concealed and must be a very effectual safeguard against night attacks.

The only entrance to the village is through a long tunnel. There is usually only one, though sometimes there are two at opposite sides of the village. It is built in the shape of a casemate, most often of posts and slabs of wood, at the sides and on the top, but not uncommonly of earth overgrown with shrubs, specially chosen for the purpose, whose branches intertwine and weave themselves into one another so as to form a densely reticulated roof. This tunnelled way is not much higher than a Wa, that is to say a few inches over five feet and not quite so much wide, so that two persons cannot pass freely in it, and it winds slightly so that nothing can be fired up it. None of them are less than thirty yards long and some are as much as one hundred paces. The inner end is closed by a door formed of one, or sometimes two, heavy slabs of wood, fastened by a thick wooden bolt. A Wa village is therefore by no means easy to enter without the approval, or permission of its inhabitants and as some of them lie right across the main tracks in the country, travelling is by no means easy and the visitor who feels himself strong enough to protect his head is fain to admit that there are other discouragements nearly as weighty. Consequently there is exceedingly little moving about in the head-hunting country. A few Shans, tolerated as middlemen and resident in the Tame Wa country and some sturdy Hui Hui, Chinese Mahomedans from the borders of Yunnan, come up yearly with salt and a little rice and perhaps a few cloths and go back again with loads of opium, but everything has to be carried on the backs of men, for no loaded animal can pass through the narrow village adits. There is very little trade naturally under such circumstances and the number of those free of the hills is very limited. Salt however must be had and the opium from the Wa hills turns over a heavy profit in China and the Shan country.

Inside the fence the houses stand about without any semblance of order. The broken character of the ground would prevent this even if the Wa had any desire to lay out streets which there is nothing to show that they have. The houses stand on piles and the floor is frequently so high

that it is possible to stand erect underneath. They are substantially built of timber and wattled bamboo, much more substantially built than the average Shan house, or indeed the houses of any other hillmen but the Yao-Jen and the Miaotsu, and they are fairly roomy. In shape they are rather more oblong than square, but they have no verandah such as is always found in a Shan house and the heavy thatch roof comes down on all four sides to about three feet from the ground. No doubt this is a safeguard against hurricanes and wind-squalls in the hills, but it very effectually excludes all light. A few houses have a sort of small skylight, little lids in the thatch which can be lifted up, but these serve rather as a means of letting out the smoke from the wood fire than as a convenience for illumination. To enter the house one has to stoop low to get under the eaves and then scramble up a somewhat inadequate bamboo ladder, or a still more inadequate sloping post with notches cut in it to serve for foothold. Inside it is almost impossible to see anything either of the furniture or of the inhabitants. In the centre of the main room is a platform of bamboo covered with earth for the fireplace. There are a few stools, about a hand's breadth high, to sit on, a luxury which the Shan denies himself. He either sits on his heels or lies down. Besides this there is nothing unless it be the householder's gun, if he has one, or more probably his sheaf of spears, made of simple lengths of split bamboo, sharpened at both ends and hardened in the fire. In the sleeping rooms, narrow strips under the slope of the roof, there is nothing but a mat or two and a squalid pillow made of raw cotton, or perhaps of a block of bamboo. Stuck in the thatch of the roof are scores of bones, mostly of chickens, which have been used for spying out the future, or ascertaining a lucky day. These are usually so grimed over with smoke that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from the thatch.

Each house stands apart on its own plot of uneven ground and is usually enclosed within a slight fence. Inside this is the record of the number of buffaloes the owner has sacrificed to the spirits. For each beast he puts up a forked stick, in shape like the letter Y, or the frame of a catapult. These are planted in rows and stand ordinarily from seven to ten feet high, though some are smaller. Some houses have rows of these which represent whole herds of buffaloes. No one is so poor but that he has three or four of them. Here and there the more important men of the village have them of huge size, as high as gallows trees and not unlike them in appearance. Sometimes they are painted black and red with rude attempts at ghouls' heads, but ordinarily they are the simple wood, seamed and roughened and split by the rain and scorched and corrugated by the heat of the sun. The heads of the buffaloes with the horns are usually piled up in a heap at one end of the house as a further guarantee of good faith.

Below the house live the pigs and dogs and fowls. These are often allowed to fend for themselves, but frequently the pigs have slab houses built for them and live in holes dug for their accommodation in the ground into or out of which they dive with startling abruptness. Baskets filled with straw are often hung round the houses for the hens to lay in.



The dogs do as they please and live where they like. The Wa eats them regularly, but does not appear to fatten them for the table as the Tongkinese do. The Wa dog is apparently a distinct species. He does not in the least resemble the Chow dog of Kwang-Tung, nor the black stock of Tong King and appears to be in fact simply a dwarf species of the common Pariah dog of India, yellow, or light-brown short-haired, about the size of a black and tan, but not so long in the leg and with a head not so foxy as that of the Pariah. Dogs are not offered as sacrifices, they simply supply the Wa table.

The house of the *Kraw* or headman of the village is distinguished by the prolongation of the rafters of the gable end of the house into a fork, or species of St. Andrew's Cross. This is sometimes gaily painted or even rudely carved in fantastic fashion, but Wa art is not conspicuous, or rather is thoroughly inconspicuous. Except that it is usually, but not necessarily, larger than its neighbours, the headman's house does not otherwise differ in any respect. Naturally however he has a very large forest of forked sticks indicating the sacrifice of buffaloes. Nevertheless he has not by any means necessarily the largest collection in the village.

The Wa are very heavy drinkers and always have a large supply of rice spirit. But this appears never to be stored actually in the owner's house. It is characteristic of the hill tribes to believe in the general honesty of mankind. Most of them are not civilized enough to be thieves. The Akha habitually store their paddy, the whole produce of their rice-fields and the main staple of their food for the year, in granaries by the side of public roads and often a mile or more away from their villages. They have no means of fastening the doors of these flimsy sheds, better than a bit of twisted rattan so that any one can go in and the paddy is piled loose in large split bamboo bins. The reason they give is that the rice so stored is less exposed to destruction by fire. That any one should think of carrying it off never appears to occur to them. The Wa are not quite so confiding, or perhaps they think that the temptation of liquor is greater. But though they do not keep their liquor cellar outside of the limits of the village, they never appear to have it in the immediate neighbourhood of their dwelling houses. Round the skirts of the village and usually at the upper end, just inside the earthen circumvallation, each householder builds himself a small hut, about the size of an average hen-house. This stands on piles and is reached by a ladder and so much confidence is shown that even this ladder does not appear to be removed, even at night. Here the Wa liquor is stowed in long bamboo stoups of considerable girth, piled up on the rafters, or on cross-beams put up for the purpose. These bamboos contain twice as much as the largest Rehoboam and there are few houses that have not their dozens of them. The Wa has no fancy to run short in his liquor supply.

The rice they grow is used entirely for making liquor. They eat none of it and indeed frequently have to buy more rice so that they may not run out of drink. The spirit is very strong and by no means pleasant in flavour, apart altogether from the fact that it is usually flavoured with stramonium, a little of which is always grown for the purpose. Besides the rice spirit,

they also make a beverage out of fermented maize and are particularly fond of eating the barm from which the liquor has been strained off.

Water is always very scarce in Wa villages. Like many of the hill tribes they believe that the neighbourhood of water produces fever. Accordingly the village is never built on, or even near, a stream. What water is wanted the women go and fetch in bamboos slung on the back. But occasionally when the water is very distant they build bamboo aqueducts and bring it into the village from considerable distances. Bamboos are split in halves to serve as runnels and these are propped up on wooden struts. The bamboo channels lie loose, overlapping one another at the ends. The advantage of this is that the water can be obtained as long as it is wanted and can be turned off as far from the village as is desirable, by simply lifting off one of the lengths of bamboo. Considerable engineering skill is sometimes shown in winding, or zigzagging this aqueduct about, when the water is brought from some height above the village, so that the supply of water may not come in with too much violence, as it would if the slope were considerable.

The Wa villages are always of a very remarkable size for mountain settlements, far beyond those of any other hill race in the Shan States. Doubtless this is intended for safety and self-protection. If a village consisted of only a few houses it might offer irresistible temptation to attack. Moreover the formidable works necessary for defence could not easily be executed by a small number. In the Wild Wa country therefore there are very few villages with less than one hundred households and many have double or treble this number. If a settlement is very large it usually has a whole section of a hill range to itself, or at any rate one side of the slope for its crops. Frequently however three or four villages cluster together, but though they acknowledge a common chief, each village has its separate headman, its separate fields, distinct from those of its neighbours, and usually on isolated spurs, or on opposite sides of the slope, and they have their separate feasts. On the outer fringe among the Tame Wa this is not so, the villages are much smaller, they are united in large numbers under one chief and they are defended by fences no more formidable than are essential to keep out wild animals, or wandering cattle. In the Wild country the two most powerful chieftains are Sung Ramang and Ho Hka, in the south and in the north respectively. They are said to rule over a large number of villages, but the tie seems to be rather that of a federation than of a Government. Haunches of buffalo and pig and bamboos of liquor are sent at feast times and the quarrel of any one village would be taken up by the whole under the leadership of the chief, but any closer form of sovereignty does not appear to exist. The Wa really form a series of village communities, for the greater part autonomous and independent of one another, but with certain indefinite alliances and agreements for the mutual respect of heads, and possible recognitions of superiority in material strength, with a vague understanding that all shall unite against a common enemy. The chief of Pakkatè, the legendary seat of the race, though possessed of a big village, does not claim and is not admitted to have, any influence beyond his village fields.

It is near his village that the gold mines, famed among the Burmese and Shans, are said to exist. These mines however seem to be rather imaginary. They are not worked and never have been systematically worked. They probably do not amount to more than haphazard holes dug by enterprising visitors, or at the most to rough open cast workings made by a succession of prospectors to the same place. As to the richness of the gold deposit however there seems to be no reason to have doubts. Every now and then a handful of gold dust is collected, or a few nuggets brought up for barter, but such events do not occur often, for the gold is of no use to the Wa and traders are few and far between. Nevertheless the gold is so easily got that the appearance of a man with a sack full of it would create no excitement. It occurs both in the form of grains in the bed of the rivers and in that of nuggets which are dug out of the soil of the river banks. There has of course been great exaggeration, but the exaggeration has taken the form of bodying forth the shapes of huge serpents of many coils and enormous length, formed of pure gold, or of counterfeit semblances of stags in the same metal. The latter legend is permanently preserved in the name of the Shwe Thamin Chaung, the Stream of the Golden Deer. As a matter of fact the gold seems to be easily washed out of the deposit of all the streams in the region, which unite to form the Nam Hka. All of them have very narrow valleys, mere five thousand feet gashes in hills rising to seven thousand feet. The Wa however object even to washing the gold grains out of the river bed and digging for nuggets is a perilous undertaking which few are bold enough to venture on. This probably accounts for the absence of gold ornaments in the country round about, which otherwise one would have expected as a matter of course in a gold tract. The Shans and La 'Hu account for the indifference of the Wa to the attractions of gold in a variety of ways. They connect it with their legendary ogre ancestors; they are unable to extract the gold, or to make it into ornaments when they have got it; ornaments of any kind are of no use to a people who do not wear any clothes, or so remarkably little in the way of clothing that its existence may be neglected.

The Wa are certainly not an enterprising, or an ambitious race. Even the Tame Wa, the Wa Hsap Tai, as the Shans call them, those who border on the Shan States, do not do anything beyond cultivating their fields. They do not trade; they do not keep shops; they have no markets of their own, though they sometimes go to those of their Shan neighbours; they never travel beyond their own limits from motives of curiosity, or any other sentiment; the Wild Wa do so in order to get heads, but for no other object. Hundreds of them never leave the range on which they were born. They remain there for all their lives, and probably there are many women whose knowledge of the world is limited to at the most a ten mile radius.

They are however very good agriculturists. The clearing and cultivation of their steep hill sides implies a life of toil. No field can be reached without a climb up or down the steep mountain side. The buckwheat and maize is never a certain crop and it is all they have to live on besides

their dogs and pigs and fowls. The rice they grow to make their liquor, very often is planted three thousand feet or more below the village and it needs constant attention all through its existence. But their chief crop is the poppy. The hill tops for miles and miles are white with the blossoms in February and March. One can make several days' journey through nothing but opium fields. This is essentially a crop which demands constant attention. The fields have to be carefully cleared and constantly weeded and when the harvest time comes round the capsules have to be scored with the three-bladed knife at sunset and the sap collected on leaves at daybreak the next morning. The enormous amount of opium produced shows that the Wa are not a lazy people. Indeed they are an exceedingly well-behaved, industrious and estimable race, were it not for the one foible of cutting strangers' heads off and neglecting ever to wash themselves.

In appearance they are not altogether attractive. They have short sturdy figures, perhaps a little too broad for perfect proportion, but many of the men are models of athletic build, and the women, like most of the women of the hill tribes, have very substantial charms and marvellously developed legs. In complexion they are much darker than any of the hill people of this part of Indo-China, even if allowance be made for dirt, for they never wash. They are considerably darker even than the swarthy Akha, who otherwise are the darkest tribe in the hills. The Akha however are a totally distinct race and are remarkable for their size, among races who as a rule are short, while the Wa are smaller even than the Shans. In features the Wa are bullet-headed with square faces and exceedingly heavy jaws. The nose is very broad at the nostrils, but otherwise is much more prominent than that of the Shan who cannot be said to have a bridge to his nose at all. The eyes are round and well opened and though the brows are by no means low, they are rounded rather than straight. The Tame Wa allow their hair to grow long enough to form a mop of shaggy unkemptness, for they never seem to run even their fingers through it. This gives them a much wilder appearance than the real Wild Wa who crop their hair short. Heavy eyebrows do not improve the type of face, but on the whole it is not a degraded type and gives no suggestion of the savagery of the head-hunter.

Their dress is soon described. In the hot weather neither men nor women wear anything at all, or only on ceremonial occasions. At other seasons the men wear a strip of coarse cotton cloth about three fingers' broad. This is passed between the legs, tied round the waist, and the ends which are tasseled, hang down in front. Viewed as an ornament which seems to be the latter day, ultracivilized object of clothing, it is inconspicuous, or rather conspicuously ineffective. Regarded as a means of protecting or concealing the body, which may be supposed to have been the first duty of garments it is absolutely inadequate. In the cold weather they throw a coarse home-woven coverlet—their bed in fact—over their shoulders and throw it off when the sun gets well up.

The women would do well perhaps to adhere constantly to their hot weather dress, a few bead necklaces. They do not however. For the greater part of the year they think it necessary to wear a petticoat if that

can be called a petticoat which is about the size of a napkin and is only about a foot broad. This they twist round the waist, fastening it with a half hitch so that it is open in front. As mere drapery it does not hang gracefully and as a means of concealing the person, it is startlingly obtrusive in its failure. Wa feminine notions as to what is expedient or becoming in this regard are as much at variance with the views of strangers, as the principles of their husbands in respect of strangers' heads are shocking.

Polyandry is not known. Polygamy is permissible, but is not much practised. Wives are bought, for a few bullocks if the girls are very handsome or of a family of standing; or for a few dogs, if their attractions, which are as easily appraised as those of a horse or a cow, are not so great, or if they are of lower rank. The first child belongs to the parents of the wife, but can be bought by the father and mother if they want it.

They are a very interesting race and it is a pity that more is not known of them. Investigation of their manners and customs however is not to be lightly undertaken and could not be prosecuted even by the most enthusiastic student of folklore, without many jars to his finer feelings and possibly qualms for his personal safety.

Nevertheless they cannot long remain shut up in their hills and their head-hunting will probaby be stopped before the end of the century. The railway from Mandalay to the Kun Lōng ferry will land the tourist within a few marches of the Nawng Hkeo lake, in the centre of the head-cutting country. This gloomy mere, situated at the highest point of a range seven thousand feet high, without a fish in its waters and with tangled forest growth covering the whole cup in which it lies, down to the edge of its waters, may yet become a show place and an avenue of skulls figure as a scene in a Savoy comic opera. But it may be hoped that the manners and customs of the Was will have been conscientiously recorded for us by a competent student before then.

## SLAVERY, ETC., IN KABUL.\*

BY JAMSHÊD, THE SIAH PÔSH KÂFIR.

ALL the domestics, male and female (including concubines) in the houses of the chiefs of Kabul (Khwanin) are bought with money (zerkharid). They are brought from Chitral, Ghilgit, Kabul-Hazara, Panjshehr, Shibburghán, Maimana. The Mirs of these places sell their subjects, fixing a certain quota on each house or village. They are brought to the Serai Madeia Vezir (a great caravanserai built by the mother of Mahommed Akbar Khan, elder brother of Amir Shere Ali, the present ruler of Kabul), and then sold to the Amir of Kabul and other Sirdars. The slaves are brought against their will, but it is no use, and would be dangerous for them to show reluctance. I have myself been sent by the Amir of Kabul to get twenty-nine men from Ibrahim, Bey of Hazara, who gave me orders on the Teykedars (contractors, farmers of the revenue, etc.) of certain villages. When parents have to part with their children they submit to the order, but the slaves generally weep for some days, and are sometimes very severely beaten if they resist. The slaves are generally of the Shiah (or heretical Persian form of Mahommedanism), but the Mir of Maimana sells the orthodox Sunni also. Hindus and Jews are never sold, because they are supposed to be "muti' Islâm," or "obedient to Mahommedans"—*i.e.*, they are a quiet set of people who allow themselves to be trampled on. The slaves are distributed for work in the harems, or to outdoor work, or are made to serve as soldiers, etc., in regiments. Every month slaves come in by hundreds, twenties or forties at a time. Many of course bolt. From Koshk, five days' journey from Herat, many slaves come. The place is like a huge prison filled with captives from the Hazareh Jamshedi Loghri, Bale Murghab, and Herat (the Shiahs in that district are two-thirds of the population). The men I brought in were a portion of the revenue of the Amir, as also are contributions in kind (cloth, grain, etc.). These are also sent as presents to the Amir. The Hazara Shere Ali sells many men, sending out his horsemen through the vast district, and bringing in hundreds at a time.

The Amir Sahib also has sold men. For instance, he sold two girls and two youths to Sultan Muhammed Khan, the nephew of Dost Muhammed.

In Badakhshan there are two Serais for the slaves, and when I was at Bokhara there were numerous Serais almost overstocked with people for sale.† Also at Karshi, where I have been, there is a slave mart. It is a very big place, bigger than Lahore.

I have never heard of any slave being emancipated by the Afghans. All the old slaves of the father of the Amir are still filling their houses.

\* This statement, although referring to the time of Amir Sher Ali, applies *mutatis mutandis* to the present state of things, at all events as regards slavery. The "Adventures of Jamshêd," a nephew of the famous General Feramorz, are of great interest and throw much light on recent Afghan history and topography. They will, I hope, be published in the next "Asiatic Quarterly Review."—THE TRANSLATOR.

† Slavery has since been abolished in Bokhara by Russia.—*Ed.*

When slaves intermarry their children are also slaves. Baisún, near the Amu Daria, a place as large as Rawalpindi, is also a mart. It is three days from Karshi, on the other side of the Oxus, Kakarda, where the Uzbeks sell largely. Sherabad (under Bokhara), a large town and fort, with many traders with slaves, etc. Kolab is the same. Ghazniák, also a large city, two days' march from Kolab. Kermina and Karakúl are also large slave-marts (they are under Bokhara). At Khanabad, which belongs to the Amir Shere Ali, Kunduz, Tashkurghan (where there is a serai called "Serai Hindu"), there is very large slave dealing. Also at Akhchalaripul (where there is a great deal of this business), and Andkoi. In the above places Afghan merchants sell largely. Kandahar is well-known as a slave mart. I may incidentally mention that when once a slave becomes a member of a household he is well treated as long as he obeys. At Ferrah many Seistanis come bringing Khajars (Persian Shiah) for sale. Slaves are only killed when they behave very grossly, such as for committing adultery, treachery. For theft, etc., they are beaten or again sold. Boys are bought for immoral purposes *inter alia*. Runaway slaves, who are caught, have the tendons of their instep cut. Slaves have often fields assigned to them for cultivation. When I was at Bokhara, sent with Mir Akhor to bring a present of an elephant, and a few maidens from the Amir Shere Ali to Shah Muzaffur Khan Tora, as an act of gratitude for Bokhara not interfering with the Amir's attempts on Turkistan, I saw hundreds of men sitting with tied hands in a row on the Registan or place of execution, where there are lots of shops, slaughtered as if they were sheep by a number of appointed executioners. The scenes of blood surpass every description. Men were killed for theft or for drinking wine or any similar act of "infidelity," according to the Mahomedan religion, whilst the Shah himself used to get the handsomest boys and girls offered to him by his subjects. The Panjsheris are chiefly guilty in surprising Kafir lads whilst they are tending their flocks and carrying them off into slavery; but the Kafir chiefs never sell their own people, as the ruler of Chitrál does. Nor are the Panjsheris subjects of the Amir. One, Ghazi Khan, was specially independent, and would not come in to the Amir, in spite of the latter's protestations of friendship. He is very wealthy, and organizes predatory parties, carrying off whole villages into captivity, and selling them into Kabul, where they are well-paid for, and the captors get dresses of honour, etc. In fact, the Amir's rule is of the faintest description.\* For instance, he once ordered that no one should wear a weapon. At once there was a popular tumult, and the order fell through. At another time he ordered that written petitions should take the place of personal applications, by which he was wont to be besieged. One day I drove away an Afghan, who at once seized hold of the Amir. The petitioner was beaten, but he insulted the Amir grossly, and the consequence was that, being a Ghilzai, his tribe killed a number of Kabulis and others travelling in various directions. Finally, the Amir had to buy them off, beg their pardon, etc. The Ghilzai chiefs, of whom Asratulla Khan is the greatest, do what they like. The authority of the Amir is set at nought in the hilly country less

\* This is not the case now. The Amir is all-powerful.—*Ed.*

than a day's march from Kabul. The Amir is detested by the Sirdars, and above all hated by Yakub Khan, who is dispossessed of his right of succession in favour of Abdulla Jan, whose mother is the ruler of the Amir. But Yakub Khan is brave, and is not so treacherous as his father, the Amir, who often has invited chiefs to visit him and then has thrown them into prison and slaughtered them. I have killed eleven by the order of the Amir, the sin being on him whose command I had to obey. Whilst they were carried off at midnight to slaughter, and the orderlies dug their graves before them, they would ask permission to offer up prayer, but as the Amir had forbidden us to allow such a concession, we killed them at once, laying them in their graves and cutting their throats, after lifting their beards. I remember especially a very fine man, Ahmad Ali Khan, a Loghari chief, who was thus entrapped by an invitation, and then despatched. He put his beard aside with his own hand, as he laid on the ground, and would not have his hands tied, which concession we made him, as we saw that he was a brave man. His only fault was that he had expostulated with the Amir about the confiscation of some property, whilst the Amir had laughingly listened to what he said, but the chief had never expected such an end to his visit. This conduct makes the Sirdars distrust the Amir, who has no friend.

The Kafirs live in a corner of the world, and only want to be let alone, but the Mussulmans make raids upon them, and kidnap their children. The consequence is that the Kafirs kill every Mahommedan they can find, but do not plunder them. They have other means of living, principally large flocks of sheep and goats. Were the kidnapping stopped, there would be an end to the insecurity of the roads. The enemies of the Kafirs are the Punjsheris, the Kohistanis, Lughmanis, Tagows, and in more distant parts the Chitralis and Shignanis.

The Nimcha Kafirs about Petsh, Chagharsarai, etc., are, as their name implies, half Mahommedans, as are also the Bashgali Kafirs under Chitrál rule, and in order to live at peace with their Mahommedan neighbours or masters, they resign a few men to slavery annually. I have no doubt that the Kafirs will be eventually subdued or exterminated, although they have hitherto resisted with success, because they are surrounded by a belt of Mahommedans, and if these combine and bring up large armies with guns, etc., what can the Kafirs do with their arrows? The Amir hates the Kafirs, and even the Kizzalbashes, and the men of Chindawul, who are as one man in an emergency. He never moves half a mile without being surrounded by two or three companies of soldiers (Khan Chinn Khan is the head of the Chindawul men). Is a ruler who has to take such precautions a real king? He once asked Naib Tura, a Kafir, to submit on promise of great rewards, but when the Kafir replied that he wished to remain poor and a fairy of the mountain, whilst the Amir should be king and wealthy in his own country, an expedition was organised against Katár, the result of which I do not know, as I then left Kabul.\*

\* A TRAGIC EPISODE.

Katár has since been taken, and what is left of its inhabitants, most of whom have been exterminated or carried into slavery to Kabul, have become Muhammadans. As an instance, how hateful this is to Káfirs, the following tragic episode may be narrated :



As for the Russians, I am afraid of letting you know my opinion but as you order me, I must say that I think the money given by the British to be utter waste, because relations with the Russians are maintained through Mahommed Alam Khan, the Governor of Turkistan, the Amir being wise enough not to let any direct correspondence come to Kabul, where there is a newswriter from the British. The Amir is exceedingly wealthy, and all the money which he gets from the Indian Government is lodged in his treasury, none of it finding its way to the troops or for the good of the people.\* The Russians need not take Kabul. It is theirs already, for they have troops. They will not earn a bad name by annexing Kabul but at a hint of theirs, Yakub Khan can march on Kabul, whilst in the meanwhile they are sure of Shere Ali. When I was at Herat where Yakub Khan keeps much money and has much influence, an emissary who was sent to the Russian Governor, who was only four days' march distant, told us that they were men indeed. The British give money and rather lose 1,000 rupees than one man, but the Russians do not care about sacrificing men, and therefore they can do as they like. I have often heard the Amir extol the Russians, and say he was willing to be their subject. He was only waiting to see how the balance inclined, for, said he, when the English fought the Russians they called in the Turks, Germans, and French, and some other races for help, but the Russians were single-handed. "I am," he said, "a calf wanting milk, and the English are the cow which gives it." The Amir says many clever things when he is drunk and alone with his intimates. The Amir has presented me with three wives and much property, but when he, in his drunken state, ordered me to take one or the other of his concubines, I refused, saying that I was their slave. What he has now done with my property and family I do not know. I have no children. When General Feramorz died, the Amir divided his wives among his soldiers, for an Afghan has no faith and no gratitude, or, as the Khajars called them "Allhwán" in contempt. The Russians will take Herat and Kandahar and instal Yakub Khan in Kabul. As for Turkistan, the roads are many and easy, for instance, from Kilip to Kirkee,

About 30 years ago, in the reign of Amir Shah Nizamuddin, the former independent ruler of Badakhshan now incorporated into Afghanistan, an expedition of 1,000 men were sent into the Hindukush to conquer the Kafirs. The army succeeded in capturing two fortified villages, but at the siege of the third Kafir Fort, the defenders, finding resistance hopeless, set fire to themselves on an immense pyre rather than become Muhammadans or slaves to Muhammadans, and were reduced to ashes. The victors, however, were overtaken by a heavy fall of snow which lasted three days and under cover of which the neighbouring Kafir tribes had time to assemble and surround the Mussulmans, who were nearly all killed, the remainder escaping into the hills where they perished from cold. Only 7 men, badly frost-bitten, at last found their way back to Badakhshan, on which Nizamuddin gave up his intention to conquer the Kafirs. His successor, Jehandár Shah, the friend of the present Amir Abdurrahman, also sent an army into the Kafir country, taking a few "forts" and besieging others, but, finally, retired after concluding a Treaty with the Kafirs, who, after this, used to send Envoys into Badakhshan receiving Khilats and other presents from Jehandár Shah. When this chivalrous prince was expelled by the Afghan faction under Mahmud Shah, the Treaty with the Kafirs was abrogated and we are now on the eve of another expedition from Badakhshan into Kafiristan, other Afghan armies advancing from the South and West of that unhappy country.—

*Translator.*

\* This is not the case now.—*Ed.*

Khoja Saleh, a first-rate ferry, Ghazniak, the Kolab ferry, the Regi ferry on the Shabberghan and Andkôï roads, all easy for artillery, it being all plain, not even encumbered with stones or vegetation. When the English suggested to the Amir to build entrenchments at Dezra, opposite to Kerabad, he asked his councillors what to do, and they said that it was absurd to pretend to match oneself against the Russians, who could cross at so many points, but that the English might be told that something was being done to keep them in good humour. Kirkee is 3 kôs from Andkôï.

As for the Amir putting down slavery, he will promise anything, but can do nothing. The tribes of Afghans on those roads are numerous and independent. Unless the English, or even the Russians sit down in the country—which would almost equally please the people, who are so oppressed by their own rulers—nothing can be done. Should the English take Kabul, the Kafirs will feel raised, but in the meanwhile there is little hope for them. If the Russians came to Kirkee, the Uzbeks would themselves deliver over Mohammad Alam Khan, for many of the leading families who have been decimated by Afghan treachery and cruelty.

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The following extracts from works just published show that the Kafirs are as much kidnapped for purposes of slavery in Kabul in 1895 as they have been from time immemorial. It will also appear from a matter-of-fact paragraph in the semi-official *Pioneer* newspaper of Allahabad that, as the result of the present Afghan expeditions consequent on our boundary demarcations under the Durand Treaty Kafiristan will no longer exist as an independent State, or rather congeries of independent tribes, within a year:

“The Kafirs are likely before long to feel the last turn of the screw which the Amir of Kabul is applying to them. The Sipah Salar has a small army encamped at Birkot, thirty miles below Drosh, and in Badakhshan on the north and Kohistan on the west other columns are ready to move into Kafiristan. The Amir is bent upon subjugating the country, but whether he will order a winter campaign is doubtful. His troops have been busy improving the roads so as to facilitate their march hereafter, and the final advance may be delayed until the spring. The Kafirs are doomed, for although they may stubbornly defend the difficult passes and defiles that lead to the cultivated valleys the Afghans are certain to be successful in the long run. They are far better armed than the tribesmen and their mountain artillery gives them a further advantage. Kafiristan will cease to exist as an independent State within a year.”

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IN MR. H. C. THOMSON'S “CHITRÁL CAMPAIGN” he refers as follows to the Kafirs, whom he met about the Lavarai Pass. *Chapter xxi., p. 283*: “They are called ‘Kafirs’ or idolaters by their Muhammadan neighbours, for whom they cherish an implacable hatred; not without just cause, for they (the Muhammadans) are continually making forays into their country and carrying off their women and children. The women are said to be very beautiful; indeed the Afghans have a saying that the most valuable possessions a man can have are a Baluch mare and a Kafiristani slave girl.

The Kafirs naturally retaliate, but they are handicapped for want of proper weapons. They have only bows and arrows, which they use with great precision and daggers."

In his "AT THE COURT OF THE AMIR," a narrative, just published, Dr. J. A. GRAY, late Surgeon to the Amir of Afghanistan often refers incidentally to slavery in Kabul and Kafir slaves. Indeed he was offered one himself (page 489). "One day the Prince presented me with a slave boy. . . . Of what use was a small slave boy to me? True, I could sell him, or give him away, but my principles were not in accordance with that line of conduct." He speaks elsewhere of another "page boy, taken in war who had a singularly pretty face . . . weary and mournful." In another place Dr. Gray is asked: "Why do you not buy a little Kafir girl with a white skin and make her your wife?" Dr. Gray's references to slavery in Kabul in general are contained in the following extracts:

*Chapter xii., page 193:* "The slaves of Kabul are those who have been kidnapped from Kaffiristan, or who are prisoners of war, taken when some tribe breaks out in rebellion against the Amir."

*Chapter xiii., page 210:* "Just now the majority of slaves in Afghanistan are Hazaras, probably because they have lately been fighting against the Amir. . . .

There are also children and women taken prisoners from other rebellious tribes, and Kaffir slaves kidnapped as children from Kaffiristan."

*Page 211:* "As regards the treatment of the slaves in Kabul, it is simply a question of property; a man has the power to sell, kill, or do as he pleases with his slave, but speaking generally, the slaves are well treated especially among the upper classes."

"The price of slaves varies according to their quality; ordinarily it is thirty rupees the span."

*Page 212:* "This is roughly about a foot, so that a baby that length would cost thirty rupees. However, in Kabul a short time ago a Hazara baby was bought for half a crown, the purchaser got the mother for fifteen shillings and a little boy of six for five shillings. This woman with her children were the family of a Hazara of wealth and position. Unfortunately the tribe rebelled, the men were mostly killed and the women and children became a glut in the market."\*

*Chapter xv., page 263:* "One of the Amir's favourites had fever. He was a slave from Kaffiristan, about fourteen, named Malek. He was fair-skinned and quite like an English boy in face, though he wore two large emeralds looped in each ear by a ring of gold."

"I took the opportunity of also prescribing for the favourite page, Malek. He was a nice lad and I had a chat with him. He seemed to be quite proud that he was not a Muhammadan in religion, though he couldn't quite tell me what he was. He remembered only a few words of his native language.

\* No doubt, a year hence Kafir boys and girls will similarly become a glut in the Kabul slave-market, unless it is pointed out to the Amir that it is not to his real interests to offend the Anti-slavery feeling of the British nation.—*Ed.*

"Afterwards he became a very good friend to me. He had infinite tact, and if I wished to call the attention of His Highness to any matter without making a formal report, Malek was always ready to choose the fitting moment in which to speak to His Highness."

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NOTE.

The Kafirs claim Greek descent and, therefore, call themselves "the brethren of the Europeans," and have ever trusted British protection and honor, not because they, with the British, are alike "Kafirs" or "infidels" in Muhammadan estimation. Indeed, the nucleus of the Kafirs is more truly ancient Greek than that of modern Hellas, and if the Philhellenes deserved the support of every man of culture in their attempts to free the Greeks from the Turkish yoke, the Kafirs also should not be allowed to perish by an educated world. The Macedonians under Alexander the Great recognized in them the descendants of a still older Greek colony, planted by Dionysus, with whom they amalgamated and spread, so that the descent from Alexander is claimed by the ex-ruling houses of Hunza-Nagyr, Chitrál, Badakhshan, Shignán, Wakhan and other neighbouring principalities. Muhammadan persecution added to Kafiristan Zoroastrian elements on the North and Hindu and Buddhist elements on the South and West. The classical pose and figures of the Kafirs inspired the Graeco-buddhistic sculptors in Swat and inscriptions in archaic Greek characters, yet to be decyphered, preceded those in Aryano-Pali. The Bacchic dance and hymns and innumerable Greek memories are still found in Kafiristan, but the former alone spread all over Dardistan. This invaluable classical inheritance has already been injured by our invasions of Chitrál and Hunza-Nagyr and will now be destroyed by the assimilation of pagan Kafiristan to the surrounding Muhammadanism. Dialects will perish with rites and even the combination of kindred tribes, hitherto living their own secluded history, will confound research, whilst their displacement from almost prehistoric *habitats* will efface local traditions that a civilized world ought to strain its utmost to preserve.—THE TRANSLATOR.

## THE EUGUBINE TABLES AND AN OSCAN INSCRIPTION.

BY DR. E. SCHNEIDER AND REMARKS THEREON BY BARON  
H. DE REUTER.

As a sequel to my paper on the inscriptions, in the Phrygian language, on the tomb of King Midas, of which you were good enough to insert, in the *Imperial and Asiatic Review* for January 1895, the interpretation that I had put forward, allow me to send you two new inscriptions interpreted with the same key, *i.e.*, the Albanian language.

I am glad to let you have the first publication of this work, in order to show my gratitude for the kindness with which you have been good enough to take an interest in my researches, which are destined, I trust, to reveal to us many things regarding prehistoric times, that are as yet quite unknown.

The first is an Umbrian inscription from the Eugubine Tables, marked I. a., the other, an Oscan inscription over a portico in Pompeii. I do not send you any comments on these inscriptions, as they would be too long for the space at my disposal. I wish merely to call attention to the fact that the two inscriptions are very closely related though they belong to widely distant dates.

I note that in the Eugubine Tables, scholars have interpreted *tutaper* by *Civitati* (to the town), just as they have interpreted the word *vereiiei* by *civitatem*, even while admitting that the words *veres* and *vereir* in the Eugubine Tables mean *the door*: you will see that I have rendered *tutaper* by the Tosque-Albanian *tutaper* or the Ghéque-Albanian *tu t'iapier*, which mean "*till one had given them.*" So too, the word *vereiiaei* on the Pompeian portico and the *veres* and *verier* of the Eugubine Tables always mean the summer season, or summers.

The word *ikuvina* in the Tables written in Etruscan characters, as also *iiuvina*, *iovina* in the Tables written in Latin characters do not here mean the town of *Igubium*, *Eugubio*, or *Iguvine*; they indicate *i-kuvina*,—*i-kufina*,—*ii-u-vina*,—*ii-u-fina*;—all of which mean limits, frontiers. The differences in spelling are signs of different epochs, the mixture of the Hellenic and Italiote-Pelagic languages, and finally the influence of the Latin language which was formed out of all these archaic tongues, including the Archaic Italian language which existed [there] before the Latin. Take an instance. The Italian, *i-confini*=the Umbrian *i-kuvina*=the Albanian *i-kufina*=the Latin *finis*,—all meaning limits. The original *i-ku* is transformed into *iis* in Latin,—*iiu* in Albanian, meaning the personal pronoun *their*. Hence *iiuvina*, *iiovina*,—*iiufina* will signify *their frontiers*, *their limits*, in a more definite sense than the primitive *i-kuvina* which meant simply *the limits*. This prefix *i*, the sign of the masculine gender in Albanian (—the prefix *e* being used for the feminine—) has been adopted by the Italians as an article.

At the Conference of the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople, I gave a lecture on these inscriptions: the text of that lecture, which treated the matter at great length, will, however, only appear in its "Annual Transactions"; hence if you kindly insert in your Review the summary of it which I now send, you will be the first to publish this research.

There is no need of calling your attention to the very slight difference existing between the text of these inscriptions and their Albanian translations, which I give.

In thanking Baron H. de Reuter for his remarks on the inscription on the tomb of Midas, I trust that these new discoveries will yet more confirm him in his belief that it is quite possible to decipher Etruscan and other inscriptions which still remain unread.

# THE EUGUBINE TABLES.

## A TRANSLATION AND AN INTERPRETATION OF THE TABLE I. A., BY MEANS OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE.

### TEXT OF TABLE I. A.

#### 1ST STROPHE.

1. *Iste : persklum : aves : anzeriales : enetu :*
2. *pernaies : pusnaes : preveres : treplanes :*
3. *iuve : krapuwi : trebuf : fetu : arvians-  
tentu :*
4. *vatuvaserine : fetu : heris : vinu :  
heripuni :*
5. *ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina :  
fetu : sevum :*
6. *kutef : pesnimuadepes : arves :*

#### 2ND STROPHE.

7. *Pusveres : treplanes : trefsisf : kumiah :  
fetu :*
8. *trebe : iuvie : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper :  
ikuvinu :*
9. *Supasumtu : arviansuentu : punifetu :*
10. *kutefpesnimu : adepes : arves :*

#### 3RD STROPHE.

11. *Presveres : tesenakes : trebuf : fetu :  
Marte : krapuwi :*
12. *fetu : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina :  
arviansuentu :*
13. *vatuvaserine : fetu : kutef : pesnimu :  
adepes : arves :*

#### 4TH STROPHE.

14. *Pusveres : tesenakes : tref : sisf : feliusf :  
fetu :*
15. *fisesaci : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : iku-  
vina :*
16. *puni : fetu : supa : sumtu : arvians-  
tentu : mefa :*
17. *vestica : ustetu : fiiuwi : fetu : ukriper :  
fisiu : fetu :*

### TRANSLATION INTO ALBANIAN.

*Este pershklum e-viat, Anzeriales e-njiltun  
per majiës, posht majiës. Prënvërës, Trë-  
plânës,  
Iuvë, Krapuwi, Trëbuf fitûn; aravë u  
shtântûn;  
vâthëvë fershina fitûn, ë rôiz vënît, ë rôiz  
Puni.  
U grë per fis tui tutaper i-kufina fitû : së  
vûm.  
Keta pësmimë ë dha pëz aravë.*

*Pas vërës, Trëplânës trëf Sifkumiah.  
Fitûn  
Trëbë Iuvë. U grë per fis tui tutaper  
i-kufina.  
Sûka shûmân; aravë u shtântûn; Puni fitûn.  
Keta pësmimë ë dha pëz aravë.*

*Prënvërës, Tësenakës, Trëbuf fitûn; Marte  
krapuwi  
fitûn. U grë per fis tui tutaper i-kufina.  
Aravë u shtântûn  
vâthëvë fershina fitûn; Puni fitûn. Keta  
pësmimë ë dha pëz aravë.*

*Pas vërës, Tësenakes trëf Sifëliuf : Fitûn  
fise Saçi.  
fise Saçi. U grë per fis tui tutaper i-  
kufina.  
Puni fitûn; sûka shûmân; aravë u shtân-  
tûn : miëft  
vështita u shiôte. Fis Iuvë fitûn. U grë  
per fis tui :*

18. <i>kapił : purtitaf : sakref : etraf : purti- taf : etraf :</i>	<i>Fitân Kapid gârtita, sakref : eł'rah gârtita eł'rah</i>
19. <i>Sakref : tutaper : ikuvina : kutef : pesnimu : ađepes : arves :</i>	<i>sakref tutaper i-kufina. Keta pëzmimë e dha pëz aravë.</i>
5TH STROPHE.	
20. <i>Preveres : vehiies : trebuf : kaleđuf : fetu : vufiune :</i>	<i>Prënvërës, Vëhiies Trëbuf kâl arzân, fitân Vufiune</i>
21. <i>krapuvi : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina :</i>	<i>krapuvi. U grë per fis tui tutaper i- kufina.</i>
22. <i>valuwa : ferine : fetu : heri : vinu : heri : puni :</i>	<i>Vâthëvë ferhina fitân, é rōiz vënit, é rōiz Puni ;</i>
23. <i>arvia : ustentu : kutef : pesnimu : ađepes : arves ;</i>	<i>aravë u shłântân. Keta pëzmimë é dha pëz aravë.</i>
6TH STROPHE.	
24. <i>Puveres : vehiies : tref : hapinaf : fetu : tefre : invie :</i>	<i>Pas vërës, Vëhiies trësfis habiina. Fitân Tefre Iuvie.</i>
25. <i>ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : puste : asiane : fetu : zeđef : fetu :</i>	<i>U grë per fis tui tutaper i-kufina posht asaian fitân ; Zërsef fitân ;</i>
26. <i>pelsana : fetu : arvia : ustentu : puni- fetu : taçes : pesnimu :</i>	<i>pylhs āna fitân ; aravë u shłântân ; Puni fitân. Keta pëzmimë</i>
27. <i>ađiper : arvis : api : habina : purtiis : suđum : pesuntru :</i>	<i>é dha pëz aravë. Api habit bura tui, s'urzân pëzuntrâm : fitân</i>
28. <i>fetu : esmik : vestiçam : preve : fiktu : tefri : invi : fetu : ukriper :</i>	<i>enmik, vështita parvë fiku ; Tefri Iuvi fitân. U grë per</i>
29. <i>fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : testruku : peđi : kapiđe : peđum : feituapi :</i>	<i>fis tui tutaper i-kufina, te strâku persi, Kapiđe perzâm ; fitoi</i>
30. <i>eđelpurtiis : enuk : suđum : pesun- trum : feitu : siasfi :</i>	<i>Api. Erađ bura tui, é nuk s'urzân : pëzuntrâm fitoi Siasfi</i>
31. <i>iuvesmik : vestiça : afiktu : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvinpa :</i>	<i>Iuve enmik ; vështita e fiku. U grë per fis tui tutaper i-kufina pâ.</i>
32. <i>feitunertru : peđi : kapiđe : peđum : feitu : puni : feitu :</i>	<i>Fitoi te strâku perâ Kapiđe perzâm ; fitoi Puni ; fitoi</i>
33. <i>api : suđusfupurtiis : enuk : hapinaru : erus : titu : zeđef :</i>	<i>Api. S'urzân bura te kti, é nuk apët më arâ erus te kti. Zërsef</i>
34. <i>kumultu : zeđef : kumats : pesnimu :</i>	<i>grâmultâ ; Zërsef kumatz pëzmimân.</i>

In giving this translation I have made no effort to give to each phrase the exact grammatical form required by the existing Albanian language ; and I have done so in order to show how closely this language, when reduced to its simplest elements, corresponds with the text. Besides, the Epic form which seems to have been adopted in the text, leaves many things to be understood, as in modern Albanian ;—as, *e.g.*, the auxiliary verbs *to have* and *to be*, which are nowhere to be found, while everywhere we find the verb in the tense of the *past participle*. So in modern Albanian (to take an instance), one would have to read the first Strophe as follows :—

*Este* (tui pas or tui) *pershkâm viat, Anzeriat*—(sit i-kishu) *njît* (préi) *majës* (malëvé) *n'rauz* (t'malëvé). *N'prënvër, Treplāna*—(sit) (kishiu) *fitâ Iuvën, Krapuvîn Trëbufîn ;* (Kishiu) *shłt art ;* (kishiu) *fitâ* (agraja per) *vâth, é roizh vëna-sit, é roizh Punîn. U grëshiu per fis t'vët, deri t'apin kufinat-e-fitâm, s'u vâm. Keta pëzmimë* (kishiu) *shkretnâ art.*—Unless these words are understood, the whole action seems to take place in the present time : hence the text also must have the same meaning.

*Pershkûm* = *traversing*; *tui*, or *tui pas pershkûm* = *having traversed*; — *fitûn* = *they gain*; *kishiu fitû* = *having gained*, are interchangeable.

With this remark, I give the following free translation of Table I. a:—

*1st Strophe.*—The Eques having passed the streams of water which formed the limits of their frontiers with the Anzeriates, the latter acted as their guides in crossing the crests of the mountains, down to the plain. During the course of the spring season, the Trojans who had established themselves in Latium, had conquered the people dwelling on the Capitoline, Palatine and Aventine hills—the Iuvé, Krapuvi and Trébuf. By means of these victories, these Trojans had increased the area of their cultivable lands and had acquired waste lands, where they could establish their preserves of animals. During the same season, the Trojans had vanquished the Aborigines and Carthaginians. All these races fought among themselves to secure a settlement of their territorial frontiers, which were not yet fixed. These dissensions left the cultivated lands to suffer.

*2nd Strophe.*—At the end of the summer season, the Tréplanes had lost the town of Sifkumiah. The inhabitants of Trébula, some Sabine tribes of Rhéate, vanquished the Iuvé of the Capitoline hill. They had fought for their races, till they had been given fixed limits. By their victories they had multiplied their localities for wood-cutting and had increased the extent of their cultivable lands. At times they had overcome also the Carthaginians. These agitations left the cultivated land to suffer.

*3rd Strophe.*—In the spring the Tésénakes had vanquished the Trébuf; they had overcome Martius of the Krapuvi (Martius Ancus). They had fought for their tribes till they had been given fixed limits. By their victories, they had increased the extent of their cultivable lands and had acquired waste lands for forming their preserves for animals. They had vanquished the Carthaginians. These dissensions left the cultivated lands to suffer.

*4th Strophe.*—During the course of the summer season, the Tésénakes had lost Siféliuf. The Sabine tribes had become the conquerors. These people had fought for their tribes till they had been granted fixed limits. The tribes of the Saçi (Sabines) had vanquished the Carthaginians; they had multiplied their places for wood-cutting; they had increased the extent of their cultivable land. During these times warlike cries had greatly increased. During the course of the same season, the tribes of the Iuvé had conquered; they had fought for their tribes; they had acquired the stony and marshy lands of the city of Gabii; and had held these stony and marshy lands, till they had been granted fixed limits. These dissensions left the cultivated lands to suffer.

*5th Strophe.*—During the course of the spring season the Véhlians had overthrown the fort of the Trébuf (the Janiculum); they had defeated Vofione of the tribe of the Krapuvi. They had fought for their tribes till they had been granted fixed limits. By their victories they had acquired waste lands which they could use as preserves for their animals, and vanquished the indigenous forces and Carthaginians, whilst they increased the extend of their cultivable lands. These dissensions left the cultivated lands to suffer.



6th *Strophe*.—During the course of the summer season, the Véhiians, being deceived, had suffered loss. The allies of the Iuvé in the valley of the Tiber, had conquered; they had fought for their races till they had been granted limits which they had seized in the maritime part of Latium. During the same season, they had taken the town of Circéii; they had seized the forest of Maesia; they had extended the area of their cultivable lands; they had vanquished the Carthaginians. These dissensions left the cultivated land to suffer.

During the same season the town of Apioles was victorious; it had deceived your brave men, who with rage in their hearts, saw themselves beaten; the warlike cries died away. They had vanquished the Tefri of the Iuvé; they had fought for their tribes till they had been granted the limits of the holdings in the stony and marshy territories of the Gabiians, who had been dispersed. Your brave men then returned to the charge and were not repulsed; with rage in his soul, Staffi had vanquished the enemies of the Iuvé, that is to say, the Apioles, whose warlike cries he had overcome. They had fought for their tribes till they had been granted limits. Staffi had seized the holdings of the stony and marshy territory of Gabii of which the inhabitants had been dispersed; they had defeated the Carthaginians and the Apioles; the brave men of this town had been destroyed; and it is impossible to forget the fall of these last. The town of Circeii presented nothing but a heap of ruins; its defenders, with trouble in their souls, had become weakened.

In a word, this epic seems to describe the wars in which the people of Latium were engaged for the settlement of their respective frontiers. Rome is just beginning; the Romans,—a foreign race, appear on three hills—the Capitoline, the Palatine and the Aventine. The first,—*the hill of the gods*—is inhabited by the *Iuvi*; the second—*the hill of the ravishers of the Sabines*—by the *Grabovi*; the third—the hill of *Cacus*, the personification of some *volcanic phenomenon*,—by the *Trébuf*, or the furious. Capitoline means a hill where the gods have their dwelling; Palatine, the hill of *forests*, and Aventine, the hill which *sends up smoke*.

#### AN OSCAN INSCRIPTION OVER A PORTICO AT POMPEII.

##### ORIGINAL TEXT.

1. *V. aadirans . v . eetitvam . paam .*
2. *vereiiaei . pompatiaiei . treistaa .*
3. *mentud . deded . eesai . eetitvad .*
4. *v . vienikies . mr . kvaeitur . pomp—*
5. *aiians . treicibom . ekak . komben .*
6. *niceis . tanginud . opsannam .*
7. *deded . eiseidum . proffatted .*

##### ALBANIAN TRANSLATION.

*Vé! hap dyr ams. Vé! é jiéta juvë pâm t*  
*Vëragjë Pompëi andë terh ishtan:*  
*Ment jyt dëhët e shak e jiéta juvet!*  
*Vé! vien i kësh t'nër gaisten Pompëi*  
*Ans: trë jiéta buint e qaq këndon*  
*Niis tan gjimvë, ep sën (më) nãm;*  
*Dëhët aji si dën, por fidhët!*

Latin scholars have translated this inscription as follows:—

V(ibius) Adrianus, V(ibius filius) pecuniam quam civitati Pompeianæ testamento dedit, hac pecunia, V(ibius) Vinicius M(aronis filius) quæsto Pompeianus porticum hanc senatus decreto operandum dedit, idem probavit.

Starting from the Albanian translation which I have put forward, I read it thus :

1. Pass on ! { wide open are the doors on both sides !  
                  { Let us see thy life and thy destiny !
2. The summers beyond Pompeii are dark.
3. The spirit is intoxicated and wretched is life.
4. Pass on ! and the joyful livers of Pompeii will take thee, laughingly, on their side.
5. Three lives wilt thou enjoy as much as be to your content
6. on leaving, all the people will give thee distinguished offerings ;
7. they will inebriate thee, such as they can, but with uprightness.

Such a sententious and symbolic inscription as I suggest is very suitable over a portico of so gay a town as Pompeii, where people willingly forgot the weariness of life by plunging into festivities. There is no need of any comment ; still this short inscription furnishes, from a linguistic standpoint, very rich material which I hope to work out in a pamphlet.

At any rate, my hypothesis of an autochthonous European race—the mother of European races,—which we call Pelasgic, and of a language of which the sole remnant is the Albanian, is more and more confirmed. I believe I shall be able to give good reasons for stating that the Indo-European hypothesis is insufficient for explaining the derivations of European races and languages.

I should say—but I fear I am repeating myself—that if we study the geology of Asia Minor, and take into consideration that all this Chersonesus (land on fire) was overturned by the volcanic action of the tertiary age, when man lived on the now engulfed continent of the Archipelago and Marmora, we shall understand that it was quite impossible for an Aryan emigration to take place to Europe, where, all the time, there already dwelt the Pelasgian who started the first religion of mankind, *Shamanism* or the worship of spirits, so variously personified by the genius of the Greeks in their mythology.

ED. SCHNEIDER.

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REMARKS BY BARON H. DE REUTER.

On forwarding the above communication to Baron Herbert de Reuter for opinion we received the following reply :

I beg to thank you for kindly sending me the highly interesting communication from Dr. Schneider, which I sincerely hope in the interests of students of ethnology and philology you will publish in the "*Asiatic Quarterly*." It would indeed be a loss to science were this hospitality denied to Dr. Schneider's original and suggestive contribution. For my part I can only regret that my ignorance of Albanian and want of leisure deprive me of the means of bestowing that attention on Dr. Schneider's hypothesis that it certainly deserves. I verily believe that he is on the right track in regard to the fundamental nature of the language engraved on the Eugubine Tables, for it may be taken for granted that pre-historic Italy was to a large extent peopled by the Pelasgic Race, and that the Umbrians in the North and the Oenotrians in the South both sprang from this stock, and

that the Etruscans had a similar origin. As regards the Etruscans, however, a difficulty presents itself in determining whether the Pelasgic stock were the conquerors of an original race or were themselves dominated by the Raetians. For my part I am inclined to believe that originally the Pelasgi peopled the whole of Italy, and that, whereas the Umbrians were largely influenced by the Gaulish Senones, the Pelasgi of Etruria were still more strongly affected by the Raetian invasion. I agree with Taylor's view as to the Altaic origin of the Raetians, and their sombre and sinister devil-worship bears a striking resemblance to Shamanism. These considerations, while accounting for the marked difference between the written characters of the Umbrians and the Etruscans, would nevertheless admit of their essential affinity.

On the other hand, it is difficult to follow Dr. Schneider in the application of his theory to the Oscan language, which apparently was totally distinct from the Umbrian and Etruscan; in fact so much did it resemble the Latin that Niebuhr affirmed that if we possessed a few more specimens of this tongue its affinity to Latin would enable us to decipher its meaning. Consequently hesitation in adopting Dr. Schneider's views concerning Oscan seems justified. However this is a matter for scholars to investigate and determine.

I beg to urge therefore that you will be rendering a great service to students in publishing Dr. Schneider's communication, and the fact that the "*Asiatic Quarterly*" has practically given the impulse to these researches by its publication of the acute speculations of the late Sir Patrick Colquhoun and Wassa Pacha imposes on its editor the duty of pursuing this question, if only as a pious tribute to the memory of these esteemed contributors.

HERBERT DE REUTER.

P.S. An illustration of the close relationship between the Latin and the Oscan is furnished by a comparison of the words "*familia*" and "*femel*," the latter Oscan word connoting an earlier stage of society than the legal status embraced in the word "*familia*," and jurists affirm that some passages of the Digest are not really intelligible unless the word "*familia*" be interpreted as embracing the social organization indicated by the Oscan "*femel*."

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

### A DEBATE ON JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE IN INDIA.

A MEETING of East India Association took place on December 3rd 1895 at their rooms 3 Victoria Street, Westminster, in order to hear Mr. Manomohun Ghose, Barrister-at-Law, open a Debate on the "NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY IN INDIA." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., was in the Chair, and the following, amongst others, were present :—Sir R. K. Wilson, Bart., Sir Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Dr. G. W. Leitner, Mr. M. M. Bhownaggee, M.P., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Lt.-Col. H. L. Evans, Mr. A. K. Connell, Messrs. R. W. Allan, H. S. Agarivala, Sheikh Asghar Ali, Zaffur Bahadoor, M. Bhagwanani, D. Chigmill, H. R. Cook, J. Dacosta, G. R. Dashtary, G. N. Dutt, J. S. Dobbin, T. T. Forbes, W. A. Ghaswalla, F. S. Gotla, B. L. Koul, N. Louis, Jihandar Mirza, B. C. Mitter, E. S. Morris, P. Pillai, L. Price, J. N. Stuart, Tahl Ram, N. Vaughan, J. K. Vakheria, A. H. Wilson, Mrs. S. Nightingale, Mrs. W. Hampton, Miss Orme, Miss Crawford and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, *Hon. Secretary*.

THE CHAIRMAN, in introducing Mr. Ghose, said it was an excellent opportunity of welcoming to the Association one of the most advanced of Indian reformers. Although the Association had no party objects it was pleased to welcome such an able representative of Indian reform. Mr. Ghose was one of the most distinguished lawyers in Bengal and a high authority on Criminal Law. Mr. Ghose (who was warmly cheered) then delivered the speech which will be found elsewhere in this Review.

At its conclusion SIR ROPER LETHBIDGE congratulated the Association on having obtained such a distinguished exponent of one side of this important question which had attracted much attention and been keenly discussed in the Indian press. He bore testimony to the fact that in questions attacked by that press there was much to be said on their side. Mr. Ghose had said that Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross had stated that it would be a valuable reform to separate Judicial from Executive functions, but that the difficulty was a financial one. That opinion would broadly commend itself to most people. Mr. Ghose, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and others however found that the financial question might be grappled with. Now, if ever, was the time when this matter should be settled, because there was now sitting a Royal Commission to investigate such financial questions as these, and, if competent evidence were given before them, that the reform could be carried out without financial stress, no doubt they would report in favour of the measure.

MR. DA COSTA said : The evil which Mr. Ghose has so clearly exposed, is one the magnitude of which can scarcely be overrated. The first duty of a Government is to protect the lives and property of its subjects ; that duty cannot be fulfilled, while the supremacy of the law and purity in its administration are considered as of secondary importance by the Government charged with maintaining them.

This is the first time, I believe, that the subject has been publicly discussed in England; and Englishmen, who are justly proud of the absolute independence of the Judicial Bench in their country, will doubtless be startled and grieved to hear that their own countrymen who form the Executive in India, acting under the control and with the sanction of a member of the British Cabinet, have destroyed Judicial independence in the tribunals of our Indian Empire, excepting the four High Courts established under an Act of Parliament, and have materially diminished the usefulness of the latter by obstructing appeals being heard in them from the subordinate Courts which Parliament intended the Chartered High Courts to control, guide and regulate.

The question concerns the welfare of two hundred millions of our fellow-creatures in India; it also concerns the interests of millions in this country—of working men and women who earn their livelihood by being employed in the manufacture of articles consumed in India; and it is appalling to contemplate what their condition may become any day, were calamitous events, like those of 1857 and 1858 to result from the present growing discontent and suffering of the people of India. The Indian markets for English goods would then be suddenly reduced, and perhaps entirely closed for a time; and large numbers, among the working classes in the United Kingdom, who now find employment in supplying those markets, would be thrown out of work, and bereft of their means of subsistence.

Thus, the question materially concerns the English people, and it is of the greatest importance, therefore, that it should be thoroughly understood by the British Constituencies. Let us hope that the example set by Mr. Ghose will be followed by others equally qualified to inform us on the subject, until the people of England realise the danger with which their material interests, as well as their good name, are threatened in the present state of our Indian administration.

MR. A. K. CONNELL thought that some points which it was necessary to bear in mind had been ignored by Mr. Ghose. With regard to the independence of the magistracy, you could not take the state of things in England, transplant it to India and expect the same result. The state of public opinion was to be considered, whether it was well informed, or such a public opinion as you might find, say, in Chitral? Next what was the condition of the press? Did it criticise without fear or favour? Then what was the state of Society? The truthfulness of witnesses also had to be considered. Were the judges men of independent character and position? If all these things were so, one had the conditions which were essential to the independence of the magistracy. Mr. Ghose had admitted that many of the lower magistrates were not independent in character. Supposing they were made independent of the executive magistrate would they still maintain a personal independence? It was said charges were made against the magistrates and not against District or High Court Judges. But did we in England never hear of charges against our police magistrates and J.P.'s? The reason why more charges were made against the lower magistracy was that they dealt with more cases and administered a more summary justice. He did not think the difficulties in the way of

reform were merely financial, but were difficulties inherent in the nature of the case.

MR. BHOWNAGREE, M.P., felt the greatest sympathy with Mr. Ghose in regard to the reasons he had given for parting the Administrative from the Judicial functions as far as possible but he did not share the opinions, of fright and terror which Mr. Da Costa had indulged in; nor could he see how it could affect the welfare of the Working Classes of England. He did not agree with a previous speaker as to the very serious considerations which lay in the way of trying to solve this much vexed problem. There were difficulties, no doubt: there might be more expense, but what was expense when the question of the purity of Justice was concerned? In introducing, as he had done, a Judicial system into a Native State he had realised the great inadvisability of combining Judicial with Executive functions. If the magistrates in the Mofussil towns could be set apart to perform only Judicial functions it would be a great gain to the cause of Justice in India. Let them be made answerable only to the High Court Judges. If that were done it would soon be found that, without increasing expenditure, increased efficiency had been obtained, and what was more, there would be popular confidence. He wished that Mr. Ghose had dealt more with the remedial side of the question. The great difficulty was to provide a cure for the evils complained of. It would be a blessing alike to the people and to the officers themselves if the Administrative and Judicial functions could be separated.

MR. PAUL PAKKIANADHAM PETER PILLAI contended that the reform recommended by Mr. Ghose was also necessary from an administrative point of view. He thought it would be to the advantage of the officials concerned if the Judicial and Administrative functions were separated. The argument that there might be a loss of prestige was he thought a poor one.

SIR ROLAND WILSON in his capacity of Reader in Indian Law for 14 years at Cambridge had had occasion to see to the preparation of young Indian Civil Service probationers and he complained of the inconvenience of having to prepare young men at the same time for two careers, so different as the Executive and the Judicial. If the two were separated, the preparation could be of a much more thorough character. For many reasons he would prefer that the Law should be studied entirely in the country in which it was to be administered. There were of course various objections to that—reasons as to climate for instance. Mr. Ghose had dealt with the importance of sending out Barrister Judges from England in order to secure the independence of the Judiciary. If that independence were secured in the manner proposed perhaps that would not be necessary, and on other grounds he would be rather glad to dispense with the class of Barrister Judges if an equally good class of men could be secured drawn specially for the Indian Service. Although the independence of the judiciary was a very important matter, it must be remembered that it was not desirable that they should be independent of the Legislature. He thought there was a tendency on the part of Barristers sent out from England to assume, unless the contrary was proved, that the law of India

must necessarily be the same as the law of England. That might have been so in the old days, but it was far from being so now. It had been stated that the decisions of the District Magistrates were constantly reversed by the High Court. No doubt that was so, but, in certain cases, the ignorance had not been entirely on the part of the subordinate Magistrates. In one case the High Court had finally come round to the view previously taken by the Lower Court which they had overruled.

MR. B. C. MITTER referred to the state of things in England in the 17th and 18th centuries when gross miscarriages of justice daily occurred and the Bench was abjectly dependent on the Crown. What was it that had led to the independence of the Judges of the present day? It was, to his mind, simply the fact that the judges now felt that they were thoroughly independent of the Crown, and because they knew that as long as they did their duty fearlessly there was no power in the United Kingdom to touch a hair of their heads.

MR. TAHL RAM vindicated the law-abiding character of the Punjabis. He called attention to the fact that the proposed separation of Executive and Judicial functions would much lighten the labours of the collectors and obviate the loss of health arising from overwork. With regard to the suggested financial difficulties he proposed that the Court fees should be raised about 8 or 9 per cent.

MR. J. LOUIS wished to echo everything that had been said by Mr. Ghose. He mentioned a case in which an accused person who had been condemned to several years of imprisonment had his sentence, on appeal to a Superior Court, increased to capital punishment and, before he had time to appeal to the Chief Court, owing to the distance of his home, was hanged!

MR. GHOSE in reply said he thought that Mr. Connell had misunderstood an important part of what he had said. Mr. Connell had supposed that the proposition was to put the Subordinate magistracy entirely independent of even appellate control. Nothing was further from Mr. Ghose's mind. What he suggested was that appeals from their decisions, instead of lying to an Executive officer, should lie to a purely Judicial authority such as the District Judge. There was a large body of Judicial Officers called Moonsiffs dispensing *Civil* justice. No one heard any complaints against them, and the reason was that they were not subordinate to an Executive Officer. As for the remarks that some parts of India were different to others, he had begun by pointing out that that was no answer to his argument. He had taken care to say that in some parts the proposed reform might be introduced experimentally. A previous speaker, who had not been in Bengal, had hit the nail on the head when he somewhat vaguely said there were some reasons why this reform could not be carried out. He went very near those reasons when he spoke of authority, prestige, and so forth. If you want to introduce the English system you must make those who administer justice independent. If, on the other hand, any State reasons required that you should not have the English system, then do not introduce it at all, but do not give a sham under the cloak of the English system. Sir Roland Wilson had said it was a mistake

to send out Barrister-Judges from England. That he could not agree with.

SIR ROLAND WILSON : I said under present circumstances.

MR. GHOSE : A time may come when you may dispense with sending judges from this country, but it is very far off yet. There is a decided advantage in having a fresh English mind to bear upon Indian questions, even as regards the interpretation of Indian law.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN had much pleasure in saying that with regard to the main point of Mr. Ghose's remarks he was entirely in accord with him and he thought that the reform advocated might, without any detriment to authority or prestige, be granted by the Government of India. He would like to see the Judicial office separated from the Executive as far as possible and he thought there would be no inconvenience in placing the whole of the subordinate magistrates under the Judge and not under the Magistrate of a district. Mr. Mitter with admirable sense in his historical parallel had very much strengthened that argument. Still the question might be pushed to an extreme and it would be a mistake to imagine that the separation of the executive and judiciary was a fundamental part of the English system of law. On the contrary, the mass of judicial work in England was done by unpaid magistrates who united executive and judicial functions. He did not imagine that there were any very mysterious or secret reasons for any opposition on the part of the Government of India to the reform advocated by Mr. Ghose. It was not, he thought, a question of prestige. There was in many parts of India a feeling that a Magistrate of a District, being responsible for law and order, should have control generally over the Criminal administration, and that the police should be subordinate to him. This was undoubtedly the case in the wilder border districts of the Punjab. It was more a question of convenience and expediency and expense than of prestige and the time he hoped would come when they would be able to see a complete separation ; and to the particular reform which Mr. Ghose had advocated he certainly gave his general adherence. He saw with pleasure a great many young men from India present and would be pleased if they came oftener to the meetings of the Association, and they would be gladly welcomed as members. He concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Ghose.

DR. LEITNER in seconding the proposal, said that Mr. Ghose, a leader, if not the founder of the Indian National Congress, had achieved a complete triumph on a common platform of the East India Association where he was delighted to meet him. He assured Mr. Ghose, however, that even in Chitrál the principles of justice were the same as all over the world, whilst in India nothing could exceed the keen and delicate discrimination of both Hindus and Muhammadans of the old school in matters of judicial decisions. So far from ignoring our prestige, the absolutely independent administration of justice would vastly increase it among the natives of India (Cheers). This was the result of hereditary culture, of which Mr. Ghose himself was an eminent example. This culture had permeated to the lowest peasant in India, making of him, in his sense of honour and of duty to his family and caste, the beau-ideal of the most perfect gentleman



in Europe (Cheers). The natives of that country, therefore, need not turn to England for the elements of judiciary independence; they had in their history, literature and religions an abundance of material and examples from which they, in common with Europe, would profit—all the natives need do was, was drawing deep from the fountains of their own Oriental learning, to turn to England and her law for purposes of comparison and of encouragement (Cheers). It was carried by acclamation.

MR. TAHL RAM proposed and Mr. Mitter seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the proceedings then terminated.

#### LECTURE ON KASHMIR BY MR. WALTER R. LAWRENCE, C.I.E.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, the 13th December 1895, at 4 p.m. The Rt. Hon. G. CURZON M.P. was in the chair and the following, among others, were present: Sir Juland Danvers, Sir H. Stokes, Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, Sir Henry and Lady Cunningham, Lady Hogg, Lady Wills, the Hon. Mrs. H. Denison; Generals Sir M. Biddulph, Sir N. Chamberlain; Major Generals Berkeley and Bushman; Surgeon Generals Cunningham and Muschamp, Deputy Surgeon General J. C. Penny; Cols. Boulderson, Gardner, C. H. Gardner, R. Tomlinson, Woodthorpe, H. Cooper; Majors Baines, Mallett, Baynes, Mansfold; Captains G. Biddulph, Gorman, A. B. King; the Rev. and Mrs. C. J. Robinson; Dr. and Mrs. Duka; Dr. Pasteur, Dr. and Mrs. Window; Mr. Justice Pinhey, Dr. G. W. Leitner, Prof. E. Hull, Mr. F. Arbuthnot, Mr. and Mrs. G. Burls, Messrs. W. N. Burne, H. R. Cooke, A. K. Connell, W. G. Cummins, H. Dunderdale, T. Edgcombe, A. W. Everest, T. C. Farrer, A. Guthrie, W. Hampton, Q. Hogg, J. W. Hughes, A. Michie, G. Macartney, E. S. Morris, T. C. Morton, Zaffer Bahadoor, B. L. Koul, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Lawrence, Mrs. W. R. Lawrence, Miss A. Lawrence, Mrs. E. Moon, Messrs. L. C. Probyn, H. Pasteur, J. O. Newman, A. Rogers, W. Stanford, T. Sheen, T. E. Spencer, A. R. C. Statfield, C. Tomlin, T. Ward, P. Williams, Wing, R. H. Wilson, Wingate; Mr. and Miss Rogers, Mrs. and Miss Townsend, Mrs. and Miss Jay; the Misses E. Allen, Currie, Ewart, Greig, James, B. Johnson, G. N. Phillips, Rogers, Webster; and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, the Honorary Secretary.

The Chairman in introducing the Lecturer, Mr. Walter R. Lawrence, C.I.E. said:—There is no man better fitted to read a paper on this subject than Mr. Lawrence. His is no fleeting or accidental connection with Kashmir. For five years he has lived in that country and has gone in and out amongst the people. Seventeen years since we were at Balliol together and he was one of the students who were sent up by the revered Master of that College, the late Professor Jowett, to join what is in my judgment the noblest, the most highly organised and the best equipped service in the world, namely, the Civil Service of India. It will always, I think, be amongst the foremost of the titles to respect of the late Master of Balliol that he devoted so much of his time and energy to the furtherance of the interests of that service. From Oxford, Mr. Lawrence went to India and there after considerable experience in the Official and Agricultural Depart-

ments of the Government, his services were lent for a period of five years as Settlement Officer to the Kashmir State. You all know here what settlement work is in India and you can understand how during the five years of his tenure of that post Mr. Lawrence was brought perhaps in closer contact, not merely with the rulers and the upper classes but with the zemindars, the peasants and all classes of the population of Kashmir than any Englishman has been for many years past. The result of his work is the now existing and new settlement of the Valley of Kashmir. Having been there myself and having heard of Mr. Lawrence's work on the spot from those familiar with his character I may say its results have been threefold. In the first place it has added largely to the area under cultivation; secondly, it has added to the revenues of the State and thirdly and perhaps more important of all it has increased very largely the prosperity and contentment of the people in the Valley of Kashmir. Mr. Lawrence's name is a household word. I believe he has done more than any Englishman of recent years, not merely to benefit the people but to establish the justice and beneficence of British Rule. I am proud to stand here with Mr. Lawrence this afternoon and I consider this audience ought to think themselves lucky in hearing a paper on Kashmir from Mr. Lawrence. (Applause.)

Mr. Walter R. Lawrence then proceeded to deliver the Lecture on Kashmir, which will be found in full elsewhere in this Review.

In the discussion that followed

General SIR MICHAEL BIDDULPH said that having been a visitor on many occasions to Kashmir he could confirm the feeling of admiration which the Lecturer had so ardently expressed. The Kashmiri were a most interesting people who had through long ages suffered great oppression and he could only hope that with the aid of the Settlement carried out by Mr. Lawrence and a more complete form of Government a bright future would dawn upon them.

PROFESSOR EDWARD HULL F.R.S. enquired whether the Lecturer could give any information as to the progress of the Government works for the improvement of the water supply of the capital of Kashmir?

SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN said that he had visited several of the spots mentioned by the Lecturer, but being a soldier had not mixed much with the people. He had no doubt that Mr. Lawrence's work would be an untold blessing to the district but at the same time he hoped that it would not in the end be followed by the dispossession of its present ruler.

SURGEON LIEUTENANT COLONEL J. INCE M.D. said that he had had the privilege of passing some three seasons in that lovely country which had been so eloquently described by the Lecturer and it was a great pleasure to be able to go back to what he might call "the old Kashmir" as distinguished from "the new Kashmir" represented by Mr. Lawrence. At the time he was there undoubtedly there was great need for a broom, but he did not agree that the Cholera was due to the want of brooms. He thought that sanitation and cholera had no more relation to each other than cheese had to the material of the moon. He had great pleasure in testifying to the accuracy of the descriptions given by Mr. Lawrence.

Dr. G. W. LEITNER wished to point out that it was evident that Mr. Lawrence was acquainted with the language of Kashmir. He, therefore, in addition to his own great qualities, possessed the secret of acquiring the sympathy and the confidence of the Kashmiris. That was a very important matter and he wished that there were more Englishmen who possessed a command of that interesting language. Their Chairman having taken part in the Oriental Congress of 1891 would sympathise with the view which could not be too often expressed that the secret of success in Kashmir as elsewhere was linguistic knowledge. Another important matter was sympathy and he would undertake to say that none of the writers on Kashmir had spoken so kindly of the very much abused Kashmiris who were a most versatile race full of imagination. While in many respects resembling the Bengalis in quickness of perception, they had not their imitativeness. If Mr. Lawrence's suggestion as to the employment of European capital for developing Kashmir industries could be carried out, many of the difficulties confronting the English in their own country, such as existed in Lancashire, would be solved. If some of the plant could be transferred to India, where labour was so cheap, it would at once solve the distress of the manufacturers, affect the exchange question and confer good on the country itself. With regard to the suggestion as to the development of the silk industry there were a number of handicraftsmen from different populations which might be settled in Kashmir, such as the Armenian silk-weavers of Brussa, Jewish and Mennonite emigrants and English Colonists—but he should not like them to go in and *supplant* the durable manufactures of Kashmir, but rather develop the country on indigenous lines, which were now, unfortunately, neglected. Whatever was done, the Kashmiri himself ought ever to be treated as the owner of the soil. Another point touched upon by the Lecturer was the absence of crime and vice among the Kashmiris, which showed they did not deserve the character which had been given them as one of the “three races to be avoided whenever there should be a scarcity of men.” As to the beauty of Kashmir they would all know the Persian lines: ‘If there is a Paradise on earth, it is here—it is here.’ The description of it in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century* and the graphic account given by Mr. Lawrence, were charming contributions to English literature, but it was with the practical suggestions in them that the Association was chiefly concerned. He concluded by tendering the Lecturer their heartfelt thanks for his paper and especially for the suggestiveness of his remarks. He trusted that others and, above all, the Chairman would conclude the discussion by making some observations upon the subject.

The CHAIRMAN, in compliance with Dr. Leitner's request, said that he had really no right to speak greater than that of anybody else in the room, namely, as having been a traveller, not for purposes of business or official employment but for pleasure and information, to Kashmir and he had no such claim as Mr. Lawrence to address them. He would like to join in the tribute of congratulation to Mr. Lawrence on the exceedingly happy and picturesque manner of his address. It was characterised not only by obvious familiarity with the subject but also by graces of style and lightness

of humour that were not always present in Lectures on such subjects. It was unnecessary for any subsequent speaker to enlarge on the æsthetic charms of Kashmir. Anyone who had ever entered the Valley from the South or after exploring the snowy regions to the North once again from the top of the pass got a sight of that enchanting vision of the happy Valley of Kashmir spread out before him must have felt that there he had perhaps more than in any other part of the world the best counterpart of the Elysian Fields. He could not quite follow Mr. Lawrence in his admiration of everything to be found in the Valley. Srinagar was considered extraordinarily beautiful. He (the Chairman) had found its beauty, such as it was, slatternly, tumble-down and decayed. Mr. Lawrence had talked with sympathy about the artistic manufactures of the country but remembering what they used to be, as could be seen in museums, he thought the present artistic manufacturers were declining. The old decoration of arms and leather had died out. The silks and enamels you could buy at the Army and Navy Stores much easier and rather cheaper than at Srinagar and for his own part he did not think they were particularly beautiful, but there was the most exquisite wooden panelling and he was surprised that it was not more introduced into English Houses for ceilings and walls and wainscoting and other purposes. The Chairman then continued as follows: There is another aspect in which Kashmir has an interest, though I do not agree it has to everyone. It is one of those places with which, according to the theories of some amiable persons, England as the ruling authority in India ought to have nothing to do. Kashmir lies outside and beyond the great Indian plains separated by an immense range of mountains from the bulk of India and just like Afghanistan, like Nepaul and Burmah, it might be said that this country lying outside the pale of the Indian system is one with which we have no particular connection and with which we did wrong to interfere. Again it might be said "There is a native Ruler, there is a native system of Government; native institutions and habits. Why should you intervene? Why should you interfere with these innocent people? Why should you introduce your foreign customs and methods of Government amongst them? Why should you acquaint them with the irrepressible features of Mr. Thomas Atkins?" I think there is a very good answer to all those queries. I should undoubtedly rank myself with those who hope that the native rule in Kashmir may continue. I do not think there is anything more unfortunate in Oriental countries than the substitution for the native rule, with all its picturesque interest and its facility of adaptation to the circumstances of the people and the Country, of the hard and fast and somewhat pedantic accuracy of the British system. I hope very much that that system will continue, but at the same time when I contrast Kashmir as it is now and Kashmir as I read of it in history I can only be thankful for the sake of Kashmir that that amount of interference which the British Government has put forward has taken place in that country. We hear from Mr. Lawrence that in the days of the Mogul Sovereigns the Valley of Kashmir was their playground and pleasure. True; but I suspect very much that where Kings sport subjects are not always at ease.

and whatever might have been the state of the Kashmiris in that time we know perfectly well that under the Pathan and Sikh rule oppression and crime and iniquity of every description was rampant in Kashmir and yet if we go there now and travel in that country we find peace and contentment; we find good Government under English auspices and work like that done by Mr. Lawrence himself in the country and to any of those amiable but as I think mistaken dogmatists who are always laying down the law that England ought not to interfere in countries that lie immediately outside the direct scope of its Government I would point to Kashmir and say: there is an instance where the happy compromise is struck between leaving native Government and native institutions alone and exercising that amount of interference and control which is required to bring justice and good government to the people. [Hear, hear.] There is another aspect in which we have done in Kashmir what no previous conqueror has ever attempted to do in it and I am brought to this point by the presence here of Sir Neville Chamberlain. I had the good fortune when in Kashmir to have as my fellow-traveller his distinguished nephew, Colonel Neville Chamberlain, the military Secretary, also an English officer lent by the Indian Government to the ruler of Kashmir. It is perfectly true that after Mr. Lawrence's description none of you would expect a Kashmiri to be a fighting man, nor is he, nor did Colonel Chamberlain expect ever to make him a fighting man. He is not of that kidney; but the Imperial Service Troops started in Kashmir as in other parts of India, under the system inaugurated during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin and supplied in the case of Kashmir by the Dogras who, as you have been told, form the ruling caste in the country and the Goorkhas who take service under Kashmir nearly as readily as they do under ourselves—the Imperial Service Troops of Kashmir organised and looked after by Colonel Neville Chamberlain, supply at this moment a body of troops almost equivalent to any we have in our British Service on the frontier, and a body of troops who during the recent campaign in Chitral have fought gallantly under British officers covering themselves with glory and not merely fighting for that which is their adopted country but fighting for the British Raj. I know nothing in my experience of India which is more creditable than the way in which these Imperial Service Troops under the guidance of British officers have been trained into a first-rate fighting force. I must have seen many hundreds of them during my journey up to Gilgit and on to Chitral and if no other justification were forthcoming of the British work and interference in Kashmir I would point to that and say there you have a first-rate and loyal and efficient safeguard constituted both for the British Empire and for the State itself whose subjects they are. [Applause.]

That brings me to the only other point on which I desire to say a word. Mr. Lawrence has devoted the bulk of his remarks to-night to a description of the physical features of the country and of the character of its inhabitants. He has spoken very much of Kashmir proper; that is to say the Valley and the Nullahs which open into it but we must remember that the political influence of Kashmir extends over a very much wider area. Kashmir exercises suzerain relations over an immense tract of territory to

the North and all the way from that Valley depicted on the map right up to the basin of the Oxus is a prodigious mountainous belt, 200 miles in width furrowed by glens, down which thunder impetuous streams, inhabited by wild and independent tribes all of whom at one time or another during the last 50 years have been brought under the Suzerainty of Kashmir. Here again I am confronted with the amiable theorist of whom I have been speaking—the class that say to me: “Why should you have anything to do with these interesting and independent communities? Why not leave them alone in their native valleys and glens? Why subject them to the British system?” Again I say you must go there to see what British influence means to give an answer to those who in this country either in the Press or on platforms decry the policy and attitude of the Indian Government as to what they think is a policy of annexation without knowing what the actual influence of British Government and British officers means as applied to these people. These people of whom I am speaking,—these interesting and ancient communities, most of them Aryan in origin, closely attached to their independence and who have immemorably lived in these glens, for the most part spend a life of internecine warfare and rapine and plunder and of theft. That has been the characteristic incident of life in the regions between the Himalayas and the Hindoo Koosh. One fine day they are brought within the radius of British Rule. An expedition takes place of which they may be for the moment the victims; but the victims of one year are the contented subjects of 5 years later and not merely the contented subjects but the loyal assistants and allies. We have only to remember that in 1891 we were fighting against the little states of Hunza and Nagyr and that in 1895, only the other day, it was very largely by their assistance we recovered our jeopardised position in Chitral. In those States extending from Hunza on the East to Chitral on the West, I believe the introduction of British influence has done wonders for those people. It is true that they were wild before, but they were not wild animals. They have in them a vigorous and splendid manhood—a manhood very improperly devoted to raids on each other, slave-hunting and to petty warfare to which they had always been accustomed. That manhood under British rule on our frontier is finding a proper outlet and for my own part although I may not carry any here with me in what I have been saying, I do sincerely and deliberately rejoice when one of these wild countries without any jeopardy to their native independence is brought within the area of British influence because I believe it does that good for them that has been already done to Kashmir and which work the reader of the paper this afternoon is so well qualified to push forward. [Cheers.]

The VOTE of THANKS to the Lecturer was carried amidst much applause.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr. LESLEY C. PROBYN, seconded by Dr. LEITNER, which was carried by acclamation, and terminated the proceedings.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

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 APPEAL BY, AND TO, SCHOLARS AND LEARNED SOCIETIES  
ON BEHALF OF THE KAFIRS.

The following Appeal on behalf of the Kafirs of the Hindukush, accompanied by our article on the subject, to representative Scholars and learned or philanthropic Societies, is now in course of circulation, with the view of obtaining their signatures to the Appeal or other expression of sympathy and support :

"We beg to invite your careful perusal of the enclosed pamphlet in the hope that it may induce your Society as an exponent of culture, to take some notice of the destruction of Aryan and Pre-Aryan landmarks in the countries of the Hindukush. 'The brethren of Europeans,' supposed by some to be descendants of a Macedonian colony planted by Alexander the Great, are threatened with enslavement or extermination, unless the voice of educated Europe is lifted against it. Even in the more settled parts of Dardistan has science already suffered by the wars and annexations that have lately taken place in that region.

We remain, yours very faithfully,

JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.S.

A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S.

COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secy. of the  
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery  
Society.

H. R. FOX BOURNE, Secretary of  
the Aborigenes Protection Society.

W. EVANS DARBY, L.L.D., Secretary  
of the Peace Society.

E. W. BRABROOK, President of the  
Anthropological Institute of Great  
Britain and Ireland.

G. W. LEITNER, PH.D., L.L.D.,  
D.O.L., President of the Oriental  
University Institute, Woking.

LÉON DE ROSNY.

W. WEDDERBURN, Bart., M.P.,  
Chairman of the British Com-  
mittee of the Indian National  
Congress.

The veteran Arabic Scholar, SIR WILLIAM MUIR, Principal of the Edinburgh University, writes as follows :

"Your article about the Kafirs is dictated by the highest principles of humanity and I trust will have the desired effect."

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We have received the following communications on the subject of the Kafirs :

"This betrayal of the poor Kafirs into the hands of their deadly enemies is nothing short of a national infamy. You can speak from your own personal knowledge of the good qualities of the Kafirs and their implicit trust in British honour. There is no man in Europe who knows so much about them as you do, and your voice would, consequently, carry authority.

T. C."

GENERAL SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN writes : "The Notification in the 'Times' of this day as to the position taken up by the Government in regard to the settlement of the Kafir question is indeed of a nature to sadden the mind of every one who has any knowledge of the unfortunate so-called 'Kafirs' and of the character of the ruler and the race to whom they have now been mercilessly made over by England. In this deed we have the first result arising out of the occupation of Chitrál."

A FRONTIER OFFICIAL looks forward to "the impending fall of prices in the Kabul slave market of kidnapped Kafir boys and girls from thirty to one Rupee a span, as the result of the Amir's conquest of Kafiristan. He has made the best of both worlds by sending the Kafirs a notice to surrender and become Muhammadans. Nizamuddán, the wily Mullah of Huda, the old enemy of British Kafirs, has thus instituted a JIHÁD or holy war *en règle* by which the extermination of the Kafirs of the Hindukush (or their enslavement as an act of grace) becomes lawful, should they refuse to embrace Islám. This they are not likely to do without a great final effort at resistance with their bows, arrows and daggers against 20,000 regular Afghan troops fully armed with every 'up to date' weapon of destruction. The great and touching trust of the Kafirs in British honour and protection, as that of wealthy to poorer kindred, has been cruelly deceived. The recent visit of Dr. Robertson to Kafiristan, which had resisted Muhammadan invasions for 1,000 years, has sounded their doom, as it did to the independence of Chilas, Chitrál and other States. The Missionaries on the Frontier had hoped for a successful field and now it is closed for ever against them. The impending displacement of tribes will also seriously affect research into the origin of a race that had such a strong claim on the sympathy and protection of Europe. By all means, let the Amir have an Afghan representative in London and let him in return leave the Kafirs alone, whose country has never been part of Afghanistan and is altogether out of the way of an invader of India."

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In a letter to us in which Major Raverty characterizes the reported application of the Swatis to be absorbed by our Government as the merest nonsense, that authority on the Frontier tribes also sends us a Pushtu verse on the Katár Kafirs. Its translation is as follows :

*"The Katár (tribe) will as soon become Mussulman as the guardian (of the beloved) be softened by my tears."*

As Katár, however, has now become Muhammadan, many of its former inhabitants having been exterminated or sold into slavery, as Jamshed himself was, who tells his tale in another part of this paper, the Afghan lover of the above couplet need no longer despair. A far stronger evidence of the undying hostility between Afghans and the Kafirs is to be found in the Pushtu song quoted in our last issue :

*"As long as Kafiristan exists, I cannot sleep in peace  
Let Kafiristan be destroyed and let it never be inhabited  
Go, friend, go to Katár and bring me a Kafir maid."*



ORIENTAL STUDIES AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS IN  
SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The daily growing importance of Oriental studies and the ever increasing depth of the interest felt in the history of religion must, sooner or later, compel the introduction of these subjects into the course of Secondary Education. In several countries, like Holland, Belgium, and, more recently, Switzerland, some attempts have already been made, with great success, in this direction, with the object of giving to young persons a well developed knowledge of the various religions of the world, from both the scientific and the Christian points of view. Perhaps one of the most interesting of such attempts is that made in Geneva by the Consistory or Directors of the Protestant National Church,—a body elected by universal suffrage. It is over 6 years, since the care of this body has instituted, both in the *Collège Supérieur* for young men and the *École Supérieure* for young ladies, a course of Higher Instruction in Religions, which has been confided to Professor E. Montet of the Geneva University. The students who follow this course are from 17 to 19 years of age; the course of lectures lasts two years; and the following are the points in which it comes in contact with Oriental religions and Oriental studies:

## FIRST YEAR: THE ANCIENT WORLD AND CHRISTIANITY.

Part I.—*The Religion of Israel*: The origin and character of the people;—their religion and its origin;—Israel in Egypt and the Mosaic and Egyptian religions; Israel, the Canaanites and the Philistines, with their religious relations;—The condition under the Prophets;—Syrians and Arabians, the Israelite worship and the Syrian gods;—Israel, Assyria and Babylonia, with their political and religious relations;—Israel under Persian rule, and the influence of Mazdaism;—the monotheism of Israel and the polytheism of Greece;—the history of the development of the Israelitic religion from its origin to the time of Alexander and his successors.

Part II.—*Judaism and Christianity*: The Judaism of later centuries;—religious parties;—Messianic expectations;—eschatological teaching and Pharisaism; the state of Jewish society at the coming of Christ;—Jesus and the Pharisees;—Græco-Roman polytheism;—the announcement of Jesus to the pagan world;—the pagan adversaries of the gospel.

## SECOND YEAR: THE MODERN WORLD AND CHRISTIANITY.

Part I.—*Comparative study of Christianity and the religions of the world in modern times*: MUHAMMADANISM:—Arabia before Muhammad;—Muhammad and his reform;—the Mussulman religion;—its propagation and the dangers arising from it, from the Christian point of view. BUDDHISM:—Gautama Buddha;—his teaching;—the ethics of Buddhism;—the evolution of its doctrines;—its propagation in the East and West;—the danger from such propagation from the Christian point of view. CHINA: The ancient Chinese religion;—Confucius and his teaching;—the official religion of China;—the present state of religion in China;—the preponderance of the religions of Muhammad, Buddha and Confucius;—and the obstacles which they present to the propagation of the gospel, etc.

Is it not very much to be desired that the example given by the Protestant Church of Geneva should be followed also in other places?

## THE MEKONG QUESTION.

In spite of the efforts of Lord Dufferin to create a buffer-state on the Mekong we do not suppose that any of our readers ever expected that he would succeed in the present temper of the French against any view that

has the disadvantage of emanating from a British source. In addition to the recrudescence of French national feeling against "perfidious Albion," there is the French Colonial party which dominates all the Ministries and which gives a point to, and directs, popular animosities in Colonial questions, *Whether*, under such circumstances, it is possible to come to *any* arrangement whatever with France, is doubtful, so that any speculation as to *what* arrangement is likely to be effected between the two nations as regards the Mekong boundary, is worse than premature. We have ourselves regretted that, instead of a Buffer-State being created to keep apart the respective French and English possessions or spheres of influence, the two neighbours across the Channel are bound to come into immediate contact, and subsequent friction, on the Mekong. The China-Japan war has settled any belief that we may have entertained in the ability of China to protect what we have ceded her. Since we have given up Chieng Hung to the North, the retention of Chieng Kheng to the South would be a mere source of trouble and expense. Our right to it may be indefeasible, but to keep it would be a sacrifice to "prestige," for only substantial disadvantages would accrue to us by its possession. The statement that we want any territory East of the Mekong for trade-routes or railways—like other assertions of Mr. Holt Hallett,—reflects credit rather on his patriotism than on his judgment or knowledge. Having given up Chieng Hung we must logically try to get rid of Chieng Kheng on the best terms we can. Whether we should have given up Chieng Hung is quite another thing. It was, in our opinion, an inexcusable blunder which would probably not have been committed had we had a Secretariat for Asia composed of men really acquainted with the languages, the peoples, the countries and the politics of Asia.

## FRONTIER MISMANAGEMENT AND INDIAN MISRULE.

BY AN OLD MILITARY FRONTIER OFFICER.

THE attitude of the Government of India towards Chitrál has led to the expression of many contradictory opinions. It has been discussed from strategical, financial and political points of view, but not from that of its connection with internal India. Considered from this latter standpoint, our frontier policy, so much to be deprecated on other grounds, appears to be almost inevitable. Indeed, the Government is a victim to circumstances, whether events were at any time under its control or not; and is in such a critical condition, not only on the frontier but also in India itself, that it literally dares not go back and finds it less costly to remain than to return.

In order to understand this we must consider the results of the frontier policy of the Government since the Afghan war of 1879-80, which has earned for it the derision of the Army, British and Native, and of the border tribes. How far the Government or the "politicals" on whom it depends are to blame is a question which the public has no means of deciding; but the state of native discontent which our civil administration has brought about in India itself has forced the Government to counteract

the now widespread opinion of the natives that it is timid because it is weak, and bribes because it dare not fight.

After the Waziristán campaign the Anglo-India Press was full of letters and articles on the conduct of the Politicals in giving "subsidies." It is this "Danegelt" that has brought our Afghan frontier policy into disrepute, and makes the retention of at least a portion of the invaded country a necessity. Evacuation would have confirmed the impression of our weakness and we should have had to face a strong coalition of the tribes under the influence of the Mullahs proclaiming a Jehád and pointing out that though the British had often entered different Afghan countries they had never remained in any one of them but had been obliged to evacuate even that of the effeminate Swáti.

In Afghanistan the action of the Politicals undid what the courage of the soldier and the ability of his generals had won. This was soon noticed by the Sepoy and unpleasant songs, in which the successes of the English were ascribed to the rupee, made the name of Englishman a byword in the bazaars of the Punjab. A few instances may illustrate my statement. The tribes along the route from Jumrood at the entrance of the Khyber Pass to within a short distance of Cabul were supposed to have been subsidised. Yet a small Afghan tribe fired into the camp at Ali Musjid several nights in succession, and the troops were not permitted to interfere with them because the Political said they were "friendlies" who had not been subsidised and had declared their intention of firing every night until they were! These men belonged to a small tribe which had been overlooked, and the Political evidently considered their method of asserting their claim legitimate, for he proceeded to "subsidise" them also! Take another case at Sufed Sung. The son of an Afghan Málik, with a few followers bearing arms, was permitted to enter the camp on a visit to the Political. Now for Afghans to enter a British camp *armed* is contrary to orders, but Politicals can apparently ignore the orders of the General. Next day when the morning convoy had set out, two Sowárs who had been delayed had to overtake the head of the convoy. Coming suddenly round a bend in the road these Sowárs who belonged to the 4th B.C. caught the Málik's son and his followers in the act of cutting up some unarmed camp followers. They were brought back to camp as prisoners; but the Political objected to their being punished. The General however insisted that they should at least be flogged; but after this had been done the political caused their weapons to be returned to them and presented the Málik's son with a bag of rupees and a letter of apology to his father! Some Swátis expressed their surprise at the little difficulty the English force had experienced in crossing the Malakhund. Our roads cut in the face of the hills leading over the Pass, our water-supply in the camp just before crossing where the water was brought in pipes for a distance of over 2 miles, our bridges over the Swat and Panjkora rivers, and our roads were a constant source of astonishment to them. They said that they had heard we were tributary to the Amir, that when we entered Afghanistan we only did so by buying off the bulk of the Afghans, and that we had never been able to remain there. Had they known our strength, they would never have fought us.

The above statements are grouped from a native point of view, but it is certain that the tribes as a general rule make so much profit out of a punitive expedition that it is to their interest to get the troops back again !

Our frontier policy had convinced Umra Khan that if his attempt to raise the tribes was successful he would become a great power, whilst even if he failed, he would be bought off by a subsidy. The Government however in his case at last saw the absurdity of this system. But what can be said for the long series of blunders which have necessitated the retention of Chitrál with a portion of the Swat country, a measure which Lord Wolseley, Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Redvers Buller show to be absolutely unnecessary from a strategic point of view ? What for an expedition which has cost more than double the Periyár project at a time when India is suffering so severely from financial depression ?

The following typical incident speaks for itself. A senior Political once remarked to a group of military officers : "When we impose fines and they are paid, this being an acknowledgment of our power, we are satisfied and return the fine later on, thus making everybody happy and contented." Such a statement shows a culpable ignorance of native character. The fine is collected by pressure on a headman, who, in his turn, collects it from the villagers. When, however, the fine is returned to the headman he keeps it himself ! Headmen much appreciate this system, and if they can provoke another fine it is their interest to do so, the odium of the exaction falling on the British Government while they fill their pockets.

Prior to the action on the Malakhund the Politicals paid, at least, 6,000 Rs. to certain Swáti villages which afterwards had a number of wounded in them ; it is only natural to conclude that they took the money and fought us all the same. History gives instances of the successful corruption of enemies ; but it was reserved for the Indian Political to corrupt them without gaining thereby. Other Governments also who enter on a military enterprise, do not attach to it Politicals with powers to stultify their action.

It is further an axiom that war should support itself as far as possible, but the Indian Government make war support the enemy ! Large sums were on various pretexts presented to the enemy by the Politicals during this Chitrál expedition, and compensation was paid for crops destroyed. As to the expedition itself, there must have been graver reasons than the mere relief of Chitrál to necessitate the assembling of so imposing an army. A Jehád of the Mahomedan element against the Káfir, was about to be proclaimed not only among the tribes, but in India itself ; the Government foresaw the probability of a campaign on a large scale. The proportion of British to native regiments employed was far in excess of the usual ratio. Even the native troops were almost entirely Sikh and Hindu, the Mahomedan element being quite insignificant. Another significant precaution was taken : the pay of the Sepoy had long been inadequate, but Government had persistently refused to raise it. A few weeks after the first threat of a Jehád, however, it increased the pay of every native N.C.O. and soldier by 2 Rs. a month. This was a very ill-timed attempt to propitiate the native troops.

Let us now consider the state of things in the interior of India, and see how it influences our frontier policy.

The causes of the unfriendly feelings which unfortunately exist between Englishman and native, and which are yearly increasing in bitterness, have been described as "too much law," "too much education," "a mischievous and hostile vernacular Press," *etc.*, and to these might be added our steady attack on caste.

Now the Indian Codes are believed to be the most perfect in the world, and their evil effect must therefore lie between the administration of them and the administrators personally. The notorious immunity given to perjury causes the native to have recourse to the law not for purposes of justice but dishonesty, and the fact that some litigants are unsuccessful in no way deters others. The facility given for appeal is only an incentive to the native, whilst in cases between Europeans and natives the magistrate is often afraid to give a decision in favour of the European for fear of the system of appeal which the native would be certain to make use of. In the Small Cause Courts and the Cantonment Cutcheries the decisions often given in such cases are so utterly opposed to common-sense that they have become a byeword amongst Englishmen.

With regard to "too much education," the insolence of native pupils, especially to their English masters, would not be tolerated for a moment in an English School. Is it any wonder that these boys, with the advantages of education we have given them, should turn out offensive and seditious men?

As to the vernacular Press, as long as the people have no other means of getting information, the vernacular Press must be a powerful factor for evil; and to expect the natives of India to develop a representative Government when their only source of information is the vernacular Press is absurd.

Our ideas of equality and the way we are enforcing them in India are nothing but a steady attack on caste. The very basis of the Hindu religion is that there is no such thing as equality amongst Hindus. The highest and the lowest castes alike acknowledge this, and our way of subverting it as we do with our system of examinations—giving appointments by open competition without regard to caste, is looked upon as a direct attack on that sacred institution, and is alienating the Hindu element from us. Such enforcement of our ideas of equality on the Hindu is in fact incompatible with our professions of religious toleration. If a Hindu wants equality let him turn Christian: if he wishes to remain a Hindu let him abide by the customs of his race and the tenets of his religion.

The Government of India, now one of the great Continental powers of Asia, having failed in its primary duty, that of securing the interests and the loyalty of the different elements under its rule, *must*, if it is to keep its position, follow the example of Continental powers whose home policy is a failure; it must seek an outlet for turbulence in military adventure beyond its own frontier; that is really the secret of our restless frontier policy. The only alternative is to abolish the present form of Government, including the bureaucratic Councils both at home and in India. Let us consider

the composition of the present Councils. The members selected from the Indian Civil Service have mostly entered the Secretariat when young, and have gradually risen from personal interest. This class has little personal contact with the native: and its knowledge of him is derived from reports. Such men certainly do not represent the governing ability of the Indian Civil Service. Our Lieutenant Governors also are a clique of officials in whose selection the mass of their own countrymen and the natives of India have no voice, and these men can act with a complete disregard for everything except their own interests. They are merely highly-paid functionaries whose chief concern is to look after themselves and their friends, and to pass their lives as pleasantly as possible using their power to crush anyone who honestly speaks out and brings unpleasant facts to notice. Self-interest is the ruling motive in India, and in a Government like that of India where the great bulk of the English population is entirely official and the mass of the people voiceless, the individuals who compose the Government can deal with those under them in a highhanded, intolerant fashion which can be very imperfectly realised by people at home. How can any Government be successful when it gags all those who are best able to speak and to act? How many officials are there in the home service who have been compulsorily retired or dismissed without any opportunity of defence being allowed them, often merely for the purpose of screening some high official, or supporting those wretched Asiatic ideas of personal dignity which are so utterly opposed to our English notions? The Government of India, as at present constituted, is not in sympathy with its own countrymen, or even with the natives. It is also out of touch with many of its own best officials, who object to the principle of time-serving which the Government forces on them by preventing them from speaking out on the misrule around them. Both the Indian and the Home Councils are practically cliques of officials selected by a clique which in no way represents the country. The chief end of these Councils seems to be for each to try and assert itself over the other. What is wanted is a Government *representative of the English people in India*, elected by every Englishman in India who is not a loafer. This Council once formed should have the power of selecting a certain number of native members, men of known ability who have not posed as professional agitators. Our present Council is a secret one, its meetings are private, very rarely does any member's speech appear in the Press, and so the public, being ignorant of what is going on, is not in a position to give an opinion until it is too late.

In our reformed Council the speeches of its members should be published and the public freely admitted to its debates. Then the Indian Council at home might be abolished, India being instead represented in Parliament.

If we now take note of the way the Government of India treats its subordinates we shall see how unfit these members of Council generally are to be intrusted with the enormous power they possess, and what absolute contempt they show for the ordinary principles of justice. Take the case of Surgeon Major Clarence Smith, a medical officer who was dismissed the service on a secret report and refused any opportunity of fair defence. Surgeon Major Smith may be a black sheep, but the Madras

Government's evident dread of inquiry gives ground for the belief that they dare not face it. This choice example of Star Chamber justice is culled from Madras, but it is a fair sample of the proceedings of other Governments and of the Government of India itself. It would take too long to tell the many tales which show that the high officials who compose the Government of India can seldom be relied on to act on the most ordinary principles of justice, but assume an Asiatic intolerance towards their subordinates and expect from them an abject servility which Englishmen of good birth will certainly never give them. They seem to regard their official positions simply as a means of private aggrandisement. The golden idol of India is self-interest, and anyone who sets himself against the principle of mutual admiration and self-seeking soon becomes a *persona ingrata*. Mr. C. E. Gladstone was positively hunted out of the country because he declined to countenance the abuses he saw around him, abuses which, it seems from his pamphlet, he was often directed to continue and extend. Take the recent case of Mr. Thorburn, Commissioner of Rawal Pindi. He had spoken out truthfully and fearlessly. His comments on the folly and incapacity of the Politicals in Waziristán would be corroborated in every point by the military officers engaged. But this honest regard for the public interest and disregard of his own has resulted in his being passed over for a promotion that has long been his due. Yet, it is men who will speak out boldly and with a thorough knowledge of the country that are wanted, not the self-seekers who too often form the Government of India and who praise everything simply because it is official. It is high time that Englishmen in India insisted on their right to have a voice in the selection of those who have to legislate for them, and to exercise some control over them when they are elected. They should not even then have the power to dismiss subordinates without a public inquiry before an independent Committee or Jury. India requires that the ability and enterprise of its whole community should be brought to bear on its Government, and that it should no longer be the prey of a clique.

It is time now to consider to what a condition this Government has reduced the Army, British and Native. Thanks to the culpable weakness of the Government at home we are now blessed with a C.D. Act which seems like a deliberate blow at the health, physique and efficiency of the British Soldier in India. Could the English public have seen the British Troops on the march to Chitrál, and the cartloads of men, victims of this preposterous Act, returning because unable to march (an encouraging sight for our Sepoys) they would surely vent their wrath on these agitators, who would cheerfully ruin an army and thus endanger an empire. What is to be said of the Viceroy and Members of Council who, while agreeing with Sir George White, yet thought first of their own interests and were quite ready to see their own countrymen decimated by disease rather than resign? Had they done so in a body the Act could never have been enforced.

Let us now consider the condition of the Native troops. We have, of course, no right to expect loyalty from an alien race opposed to us in religion, habits and many other points; but what we ought to be able to rely on is

the personal influence of our British officers over their men to prevent actual disaffection. Unfortunately however, we have started a confidential report system, which is emphatically calculated to destroy that personal influence which is so indispensable. The insidious working of this system has in many regiments completely destroyed all sense of discipline.

The native ranks, only too keen to show their hostility to the white man when they can do so with impunity, are quick to take advantage of the discontent and bad feeling brought about by it. The confidential Report system depreciates the British officer in the eyes of his men and so destroys his influence for good. An Indian newspaper has pointed out that under its cover many malicious statements have been made by Commanding officers. Now the Army Discipline Act lays down that an officer making a false charge against another shall be tried by Court Martial, and, if found guilty, be dismissed the Service or sentenced to imprisonment. The Army Discipline Act is an Act of Parliament, so that every officer who has made or supported a false charge against another under cover of this departmental Rule is liable to Civil prosecution.

It is on real, not artificial, discipline that the efficiency of the Indian Army depends. Discipline is not necessarily identical with the often antiquated opinions of any C. O. Indeed, a C. O. who has driven one of his officers into protesting against constant nagging, himself subverts discipline, whilst to treat a legitimate protest, as so often happens in India, as a breach of it is worthy only of army regulations in a Comic Opera.

It is clear therefore from the above statements that misrule is prevalent in India both in the Military and Civil Departments, and forms a grave danger.

Now as to the attitude of the Government towards the masses.

"A few powerful and grasping money-lenders," says the *Civil and Military Gazette*, "hankering after land investment, swallowing up village after village, bringing into bondage the bulk of the Agriculturists through a whole pergunnah, will often drive the more spirited and desperate of their victims into what Americans call 'road agency.'"

These moneylenders are dispossessing the old landholders and ryots, and are reducing the labouring classes generally to a state bordering on slavery, because for one case which comes to notice there are thousands unreported. Now the support of the old landowners is indispensable to the Government of India, yet it is evidently not competent to do anything effectual for their relief.

We have then a Government that is great in its sense of personal dignity but not in its knowledge and treatment of its subjects. Anglo-Indians in Bengal more than 20 years ago already remarked on the discreditable support given to disloyal natives, and now we have, even in the North West and the Panjab, a new generation steeped in hostility to the British.

An insulted officer is not permitted to defend his own honour—a startling contrast to the German Army in which the Emperor will not retain an officer who does not stand up in defence of his honour.

What is wanted is a Government composed of men of good birth, a high sense of honour and that shall represent the interests of the English in India.



The present Government can send large sums of money across the frontier to appease its enemies, but it cannot find any for much more useful purposes. All the time Government was refusing to increase the pay of the Sepoy, it did not hesitate to squander money in "subsidising" probable or possible enemies.

As this is being written news comes that the Government has refused Indian *batta* to the troops of the Chitrál Relief Force on the ground that in the present state of financial depression it cannot afford this outlay. Troops have only a claim to "*batta*" if a campaign lasts 6 months; and as many of the Regiments came back before that time was *quite* completed, the excuse, which looks like sharp practice, may still be justifiable, but what can be said for a Government that squanders money on its enemies at the very time that it cannot afford to reward those on whose loyal services it is absolutely dependent for its very existence?

### COLONEL HANNA'S "INDIA'S SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER."

By C. B.

IN his "*India's Scientific Frontier*"—a sequel to the valuable pamphlet "*can Russia invade India,*" which attracted a good deal of attention some months ago,—Colonel Hanna discusses the disadvantages of the advanced and extended positions which we now occupy upon the North West Frontier of India.

For the last ten or fifteen years until quite recently, the alarmists upon the subject of a Russian Invasion of India have more than ever had it all their own way, and the advocates of the "*Forward Policy*" have not failed most industriously to make use of the opportunities thus afforded them. Latterly however an impression has gradually been stealing over the mind of the public that the alarmists have rather overstated their case, and that the measures taken by the advocates of the "*Forward Policy*" to provide against what is now considered day by day a more and more impossible contingency have not been dictated by strictly patriotic, and disinterested, motives. This impression has gained in force as successive travellers have enlightened us more and more upon the real nature of the Russian position in central Asia, and the physical characteristics of the country which an invading Russian Army would have to traverse before it could reach our Indian Frontier. Does any one now seriously believe it possible that Russia, with a Line of communications stretching for upwards of 1,000 miles along a hostile frontier from the Black Sea to the borders of Afghanistan where, in time of war, any point could be threatened by overwhelming masses of ill-trained, perhaps, but brave and determined foes,—could accomplish that which we, with all the wealth and resources of India within our immediate reach, and with only a barbarous and comparatively contemptible opponent to contend with, have been obliged to admit to be far beyond our power?

In spite of all our efforts and the expenditure of life and money which they have cost us we have been reduced to accept the fact that an occupation by ourselves of Candahar would be beyond our powers; far more so, an

advance to Herat ; even were there no prospect of our encountering there at the end of our journey a numerous and well-organized European force.

The Affghan war of 1878-79-80 in which we encountered only barbarous foes, incapable of offering any such sustained, or well-organized resistance as should constitute a real strain upon our powers, proved to be a greater burden than our finances could bear, for even at this cost we found it impossible to maintain our armies in the field in a country absolutely destitute of all supplies beyond those required for the sustenance of the existing local population.

How then for a moment can we seriously entertain the idea that Russia would be able to maintain and transport beyond her advanced frontier in Central Asia, which, as has been pointed out, is at a distance of upwards of 1,000 miles from her base in Europe, and is situated in a poorly cultivated and semi-subjugated country, the countless hosts of European soldiers, which would necessarily constitute her invading Armies and those required to protect her Line of communications ?

No ! common sense forbids that we should ever deem such a scheme practicable, even if we had far weaker positions to take up to await the advance of such an invading force, and far less powerful and well-organized armies at our command with which to ensure the utter ruin of such portion of it as might struggle thus far.

Such being the case, why in the name of fortune have we for so many years past been squandering all the resources of India in vain attempts to tame races upon our frontier, whose untameable savageness should be their great recommendation in our eyes ; and in constructing roads and railways across rugged and hitherto almost untraversable districts the impenetrability of which we should have looked upon as one of the greatest safeguards of our position in India ?

As Sir Alfred Lyall has so ably pointed out in his "British Dominion in India" the power that has the command of the Sea has the command of India.

Were Russia ever to embark in sober earnest in so perilous an enterprise as that of the Invasion of India, while the harassed remnants of her force were struggling along the deserts and over the mountain passes of Affghanistan to meet with final ruin and disaster at our hands in the various fortified positions which we have taken up, we should be pouring in re-inforcements by sea to over-awe the local population of India and secure ourselves against any possible contingency that might arise.

But though the Policy which has dictated the forward movement along the North West Frontier during past years is thus being gradually discredited its disastrous consequences still remain to be dealt with.

We have annexed thousands upon thousands of square miles of barren rocks and sandy deserts, where by no efforts of labour or contrivance can the earth be induced to yield any superfluous produce beyond that required by the local population ; where consequently there is no export, and equally no import, or possible source of revenue worthy of consideration.

We entertain an expensive establishment for the administration of this land of rocks and deserts, which increases yearly as our enterprising officials invent fresh pretexts for wider and more ambitious schemes.

Lastly, apart from the expense involved in the maintenance of the forces scattered along our frontier in distant and isolated positions for the purpose of compelling an unwilling population to a reluctant acquiescence in our presence amongst them, the impolicy of such a proceeding is apparent to the most inexperienced observer.

With the exception of Quetta, which is an impregnable position, occupied by ample forces, and within close communication with India, there is not a single post which we have taken up beyond our frontier which might not at any moment be the occasion of a disaster as serious as that which lately befell us at Chitral and necessitate an equally costly and profitless expedition to retrieve the mistake thus made.

Beyond this, though Russia may be well aware that an actual invasion of India would be far beyond her powers, it might at any time become her policy to stir up sedition and discontent upon our borders.

In that case what policy upon our own part could better lend itself to such schemes than that which we have indulged in?

We have dissipated our forces in small detachments scattered amongst a labyrinth of mountains and ravines where European arms and skill would little advantage them, and where they are surrounded by a treacherous and fanatical population upon whose attitude no reliance could be placed under any circumstance. These latter might be moved at any time, by far less inducement than Russian intrigues might be able to offer, to rise in overwhelming numbers to destroy the accursed infidels whom Providence has delivered into their hands.

#### A DRUSE CATECHISM.

We have been favored with the Catechism in Arabic in secret use among the Druses of the Lebanon as also with another Manuscript bearing on a religion which, in spite of the researches of Silvestre de Sacy and those who, *longo intervallo*, have followed in his footsteps, has, in most respects, remained a mystery. The direct reference in it to "assassination," for instance, goes far beyond our present views regarding the origin of that term. The revelations in the Manuscripts tend to throw considerable light on the history of religious thought both before, and after, the advent of Jesus, which largely influenced the special claims put forward by the Lord of "the old man of the mountain." There is also a present interest attaching to the communication which we hope to be able to publish in our next issue, for the fight between the Druses and the Matavalis may continue and precipitate a crisis in Syria that may cause European Christendom to intervene with a permanent effect.

#### THE ASHANTI EXPEDITION.

If the Gods are unable to fight against stupidity, Mr. Chamberlain may be forgiven for not overcoming the official routine which prevented his receiving the Ashanti Envoys. His common sense, at last, induced him to, at any rate, *read* their tale of being invested with full powers by King Prempeh to accede to all the British demands, *minus* the expense of an unnecessary expedition to enforce them. We believe that a comparatively

small sum, judiciously distributed among certain dignitaries of the King's Court, if not to the Envoys, would have achieved all the avowed objects of an expedition, which is still called "Ashanti," although the King against whom it is directed is only called by, and reduced to, the title of his capital "Koomassie." "Strike but bear" is a good motto and would, at any rate, have prevented Mr. Chamberlain accusing Prince John, the elderly "son of a throne" of claiming to be the aged son of the genial youthful monarch. Be that as it may, we should not have been surprised, if after some diplomatic fencing, "Bakshish" would have been found to be the principal object of the princely mission as well as an early solution—"solvuntur risu tabulæ"—of the whole Ashanti or Koomassie difficulty. We trust that the formal early submission of the dusky King will show that Prince John possesses the virtue of veracity in addition to his other qualities. Our sympathies with the autonomy of Ashanti are rather disturbed by those for the oppressed Fantis, though it is not easy to be as enthusiastic as the 700 officers who have volunteered, about an expedition which will have to fight malaria rather than savages and which may yet require the forced labor, practically supplied by slavery, of 10,000 "requisitioned" or *impressed* natives to carry its stores.

#### SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE'S LECTURE.

We draw attention to the continuation in this issue of the discussion on "the Sovereign Princes of India and their relation to the Empire" which was raised by Sir Roper Lethbridge's Lecture on the subject before the East India Association and, independently, followed up by a number of authorities in our last number. "A territorial Maharaja" of ancient lineage gives a remarkable "retrospect and prospect" of the question, which is not only of historical interest, but which also shows what knowledge and political insight are possessed by our most enlightened native Chiefs whose loyalty eminently deserves the fulfilment of their legitimate hopes and of the spirit and letter of the Proclamation by Her Majesty on the assumption of the title "Kaisar-i-Hind" at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st of January 1877—to-day's being its 20th proclamation throughout India.

#### A COTTON CONFERENCE.

We understand that there is a probability of a Cotton Conference, composed of leading representatives of Manchester manufacturers and labor being convened by the Indian Constitutional Association at an early date to meet eminent Anglo-Indian officials or ex-officials with the view of arriving at a *modus vivendi* that shall be satisfactory alike to India and to Lancashire. We believe that the solution, *par excellence*, of this troublesome question is given in this issue by Sir Richard Garth's article and we sincerely trust that the proposed Conference will consider it with the view of giving a practical effect to his valuable suggestion. We would also propose that Bombay Mill-owners be invited to the Conference, for they, and not officials, represent "the other side of the question" and if, as we believe, their interests can be shown not to be antagonistic to Lancashire,

that would largely benefit both itself and India by adopting Sir R. Garth's proposal, a happy consummation, rather than a compromise, will be reached by the deliberations of Manchester, with Bombay, men. We also understand that the East India Association, which has taken such a leading and continuous interest in the question, will give its rooms and the prestige of its auspices to the Conference as soon as the Indian Constitutional Association is ready with its programme.—*Ed.*

#### GRÆCO-BUDDHISTIC SCULPTURES IN SWAT.

In connexion with our account of the original discovery and first naming of "Græco-buddhistic" sculptures in 1869 on the borders of Swat, which appeared in "The Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January 1894, accompanied by a number of illustrations, we publish the following extracts from most interesting Reports to Government by Dr. L. A. Waddell who was deputed in July and August last for archæological research to the Swat Valley, which we are glad, for the honour of the Indian Government, and in fulfilment of its pledges to the tribes, to see is called in them as being "in independent Afghanistan—presently occupied by the Chitral Field force." Dr. Waddell was also sent "to secure sculptures for Government."

"At Dargai Major F. C. Maisey, the Commandant, had been carefully exploring the Buddhist remains in the neighbourhood, and had discovered, in a stupa close to the fort, a casket containing a relic, which is probably a portion of the body of Buddha. This relic, together with numerous sculptures of the Gandhara type from this and another site in the vicinity, he kindly made over to me for Government, together with a large stone bearing an inscription in Arian Pali, which was found about 2½ miles off from the stupa, and probably may prove to be a record of this relic, for although it is apparently in the same character as the Asoka edict of Shahhazgarhi, about 23 miles to the south-east of this place, repeated search in its neighbourhood has failed to find any further trace of inscriptions. Of the sculptures, numbering about 150, I selected about forty; and they are all evidently anterior to about the fifth century A.D., and mostly of about the first.

Next day, the 29th of July, Major Maisey kindly conducted me over the sites explored by him, and he made some fresh excavations at Salgaro. I took rough sketches of these places.

On the following day, I ascended the Malakand pass by the so-called 'Buddhist road.' It is an excellent ancient road, comparing favourably with the best mountain roads of the present day. It rises by an easy gradient, and several of its sections are cut deeply through the hard rock. It is quite possible that this may have been on the line of march of Alexander the Great in his invasion of India, as Major Deane suggests. Be this as it may, it is very probable that Asoka, Kanishka, and the other powerful kings who held this country, used this road and gave it its present shape.

On crossing the pass, a short distance below the summit on the north side, are some Buddhist ruins, but the sculptures found even on digging have been few and much weather-worn.

Here one gets a glimpse, for the first time, of the Swat valley. It is eminently picturesque, and certainly bears out all the glowing accounts given of it by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims of the 5th and 7th centuries A.D., and fully justifies its ancient name of *Udyana*, which means a 'park' or 'garden.' It looks a lovely land-locked plain of the richest green, dotted over with trees,—olive, mulberry, tamarind, etc.,—which give it a park-like appearance. Through its rich meadow rushes the winding and many-armed river which waters innumerable rice and other fields, while graceful mountains with bold outlines and fairly well-wooded slopes bound it on both sides.

I halted for the night at the post of Khar; and next day ascended the valley to Chakdara on the north or right bank of the river. Here I heard of several sites of stupas and Buddhist monasteries not far off which were being dug up destructively by several private individuals, who appropriated the best of the sculptures. Indeed, there must be many scores of officers who have carried off important sculptures, and some have dug up and completely effaced the structural designs of the buildings and made no record whatever of what they saw.

It now became clear to me that the chief sites which the Chinese pilgrims described lay within Upper Swat, in territory not at present occupied by our troops. I therefore pushed on to the headquarters of the Chitral force at Laram. On the way I passed a very fine stupa, about 30 feet high, to the left of the road and south of the village of Uchh or Uchina; it seems to have still preserved its centre unperforated.

At Laram, Sir Robert Low kindly promised to render any aid in his power. He introduced me to Major Deane, the Chief Political Officer, and a well-known archæologist. To him I pleaded the need in which the Indian Museum of Calcutta stood of specimens of Buddhist sculpture of the Gandhara type. Major Deane generously said that he would make over to me all the numerous sculptures found in the Swat valley, of which he had already got possession, and also all the inscribed stones obtained in this expedition, including several in the new character which he has lately discovered, and which still remains undeciphered.

We came to the conclusion that the Swat valley is certainly the land of Udyana, but that most of the sites described by Hiuen Tsiang and others lie in Upper Swat, and though almost all of them can be approximately identified with places already found on our latest map, still there is no hope of reaching those places at present, for Upper Swat is not occupied by our troops, and Government has pledged itself not to intrude there. We therefore decided that exploration, for the present, would be most usefully confined to examining the ruins in the Shahkot and Mora passes, to the south of Thana, especially as the Mora pass, if not the site of the Mora stupa of Hiuen Tsiang, is probably related to the Mora or Moriya (Maurya) dynasty, the ancestors of Asoka, whom history places in this valley. The Buddhist remains in the Panjkora valley appear to be insignificant. Major Deane is arranging for my protection during my visit to these passes, which are outside the country held by our troops."

On the 4th August I proceeded, under an escort of villagers supplied by Major Deane, across some wild glens to Sarai in the Panjkora valley, across the Katgola pass; but I found that the few Buddhist ruins which had existed there, had been lately removed. I obtained, however, some general account of them.

"About a mile beyond the Kātghola pass is Kāfir-kot. *Kāfir* or "infidel" is the name applied by the present Muhammadan inhabitants to their predecessors, and thus includes both Buddhists and Brāhmanists. From here, about two miles up the hill on the right, is said to be a stone or rock with several scroll-like markings, probably inscriptions; but I had no special escort to enable me to visit the spot, which has not yet been reached by Europeans.

Four miles or so further on, the road winds round the hill to the right, and enters the Swāt Valley at the village of Uchh, and at a point about a quarter of a mile below the large stūpa previously mentioned. The rocky shoulder of this hill looking towards the stupa presents an appearance very suggestive of that exhibited by the not very far distant mount "Ila" of Hiuen Tsiang and "the mountain of Prince Sudāna" of Sung Yun (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. xcix), with its 500 stone beds of the Arhats whom Buddha converted there. The rock here is a kind of gneiss, which in weathering has split along its joints, forming rectangular blocks which assume something of the aspect of cyclopean bedsteads. The site referred to by these Chinese pilgrims probably occurs in a similar rock-formation.

At Chakdāra, I spent the afternoon in inspecting those fragments of friezes and other sculptures which had not yet been removed. The villagers bring into the fort for sale many coins of Kanishka and a few of Azes and other Indo-Scythian kings, as well as of Menander and other Græco-Bactrians; but most have been bought up by *baniyas* and sent to Rawalpindi. Two inscribed stones have been seen by officers at the village of

Amora about four miles up the valley, and others are reported to be *in situ* higher up the hill there. Major Deane is sending a man to take 'squeezes' of these inscriptions.

On the 6th August, I met Mr. Spencer, the Political officer, and learned from him particulars about his excavations in the Mora pass. He worked under instructions from Major Deane, and the best of the friezes, etc., found by him there have been despatched to Mardān. The Mora pass, as already stated, lies outside the territory occupied by our troops, and its exploration is attended with considerable danger. On the last occasion when Mr. Spencer went there, he and his party were surrounded by an excited mob of the clan of that glen, and he was only able to withdraw with some difficulty."

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*Lt. Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen, F.R.S., writes:*

"You have taken and take a deep interest in Swat and the surrounding country. It is clear from a letter in the *Pioneer Mail* of 21st August, written by Major Maisey, that the most ruthless destruction is going on of the most interesting Buddhist remains. The loss in valuable material and to history is incalculable. This digging carried out in haste, by Sepoys, only eager to secure what is large and saleable, should be stopped at once, and I wonder the Archæological Survey in India has not stepped in to at once prevent such vandalism."

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In a letter to "the Athenæum," Col. Austen suggests, what I would earnestly support, that "the ruins should be left for the interest of future travellers" not to speak of the claims of the future civilization of a country which is alleged to be eager to be taken over by our Government and to get rid of its antiquities.

G. W. L.

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#### THE PROTEST OF THE MADRAS LANDOWNERS.

I don't want to pose as Sir Antony's apologist on the eternal Zemindari and Patwari question, and I am not sure that I should go so far as to say that the Government of the day *intended* the Patwari to be a Government "Servant," as Sir Roper Lethbridge says in his article in the July No. of the "*Asiatic Quarterly*." I should have been inclined to allow that he was placed under the orders of the Zemindar "as a servant," but bound at the same time to keep the accounts of the ryots "as a custodian of their interests against the encroachments of the Zemindar," so that he was charged with the performance of public duties and might fairly enough be described as a public servant even though paid by the Zemindar. I doubt too if it was the fault of the Zemindars so much as that of the Government that the office gradually fell into neglect. Field says (p. 593) "Lord Cornwallis, by way of reform, abolished the Kanungoes and Patwaries and did away with their offices; and with them disappeared the only written evidence of the rights of the ryots," and consequently, as Mr. Colebrook observed in 1815, "the provisions contained in the General Regulations for the Permanent Settlement *designed for the protection of the rights of the ryots are rendered wholly nugatory*." That, I think, is exactly what Sir A. Munro says (or means), and, for my part, I must say I think the Zemindars have had a pretty long innings, and it is time the Government did something to redeem the promises they made to safeguard the interests of the ryots who, as Sir Thomas Munro says, are "the

real proprietors" of the land :—because "whatever land does not belong to the sovereign belongs to them," and they possess "all that is not claimed by the Sovereign as revenue." *All the rest are mere middlemen.* I know a man who was ruined because the Government as a reward for great services rendered made him the absolute proprietor of about 40 acres of land. The real owners, the ryots, denied the right of Government to give him anything but their own share, and he ruined himself in litigation to establish an absolute proprietary right which the Government had no power to confer.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

The reverse of the Italian troops in Abyssinia is not unconnected with the recent Russian mission under Leontieff, regarding which we may be able to publish an account in an early issue. The proposed union of the Greek orthodox Church with that of Abyssinia may yet become an important factor in the history of Africa to the detriment of England, which is taking away from her ally, Italy, in one direction, the support against the Abyssinians that she gives her in another.

The sympathy of Russia with the attempts of the Sultan to put down rebellion with a stern hand in Armenia till it becomes a *tabula rasa* for her own purposes, is not unintelligible when we consider her proceedings in the neighbouring Georgia. That country is permeated by disaffection, so much so that, in spite of the large number of Russian troops and of Russian colonies, it has been deemed necessary to exclude Georgians from every official or other public post in their own country. We shall not be surprised to hear that an Anglo-Georgian Committee is forming itself in London, with, of course, revolutionary leaflets as forerunners to atrocities in a region which is the pivot of Russian action in Central Asia. Curiously enough, the Georgians hate the Armenians and like the Turks, whilst even the native Jews are warriors like themselves, armed to the teeth, in spite of every effort of Russia at general disarmament.

We understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior has subscribed the munificent sum of £2,000 to the East India Association through its eminent Chairman, Sir Lepel Griffin. We trust that other Chiefs will also liberally support an old Association that has done, and is doing, so much for India.

There is a talk of Umra Khan passing shortly through India—though perhaps not as the honored guest of its Government—on a pilgrimage to Mecca, there, possibly, to dream another dream of Empire, such as originally led him to begin his career of usurpations.

The arrangement which has been made under the Durand Treaty of taking from Afghan suzerainty the kindred Pathans of Bajaur and Swat and giving to the Amir in exchange the permission to annex Kafiristan, whilst leading to the eventual alienation of the Pathan tribes of which he is the natural Head, must precipitate an intervention that will cause the dismemberment of Afghanistan—the avowed intention of several of the present Office-holders before they got into power under the present Government.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO. ; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

1. *Religious Development: an historical inquiry* by the HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING; 1896. Mr. Canning belongs to a very broad school indeed, which holds all religions to be equally good, finds much in each to commend, and considers the spread of such indifferentism and the consequent toleration (which may be more properly called carelessness) to be an excellent phase in the development of religion. All this he here elaborates in 18 chapters, = 250 pages. Incidentally he drags in Cardinal Newman and Napoleon I., and says a good deal about both. Judaism claims his sincere admiration under many respects. Mr. Canning discourses well. For more than this, our readers must be referred to the book itself, from which it is, however, no easy task to gather what are Mr. Canning's own views as to the exact origin, progress, development and ultimate end and object of what he considers to be religion. "Religion" and "religious development" are very elastic terms in some hands, and Mr. Canning seems to stretch them as far as they can conveniently go.

THE BHAVNAGAR STATE PRESS; BHAVNAGAR, KATTIAWAR; INDIA.

2. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*; 1895. This superbly got-up volume in 4to. is but one more instance of the excellent management, in every respect, of the Bhavnagar State by its able and enlightened Maharaja, Raol Shri Takhtsinghji, G.C.S.I., LL.D. The ancient inscriptions with which it deals are beautifully reproduced; and though the ravages of time render some of them less clear for reproduction than could be wished, they are all given here as perfectly as their condition allowed, and almost every letter can be definitely traced. It begins with 14 Asoka Inscriptions, transliterated into Sanskrit and then translated into English. Next follow 5 inscriptions of the Sah dynasty, and one, of the Gupta, with numerous others of the Valabhi, Surya, Gohila and Solanki dynasties. Most of the inscriptions are on stone, though many are on copper-plates: the latest date is Samvat 1876. While the originals and their transliteration are matter of the utmost importance to the philologist and Orientalist, the carefully executed translations bring the subject within the grasp of the ordinary student of archæology and history, and of the general reader.

MESSRS. A. AND C. BLACK; LONDON.

(EDINBURGH: R. AND R. CLARK.)

3. *The English Bible, a sketch of its history*, by the REV. G. MILLIGAN, B.D. 1895, is another of the *Guild Text Book Series*, edited by DRS. CHARTERIS and M'CLYMONT; and it is difficult to over-estimate the service which it will render to the cause of Holy Scripture by its broad, correct and comprehensive statement of a very important subject. At the very outset (pp. 1, 2) we venture to differ from the author: it is not so very strange that none but Latin Bibles could be found in the earlier cen-

turies; for the few who could read—very few indeed—knew that language; and those who did not know it—the many—could not read at all, and hence could not have used any Bible whatsoever, vernacular or otherwise. This matter is often lost sight of in speaking of translations of the entire Bible. Portions were, of course, translated early into the vernacular and read out to the people in the churches. With the exception of little matters like this, our author gives a clear, systematic and thorough history of the English Bible and its various translators,—of their defects and advantages;—of the influence of different versions on each other;—and their respective values. The parts regarding the Douay and Rheims versions will doubtless be new to very many English readers. The whole, however, of the closely printed and excellent book is full of useful information and will be thoroughly appreciated by all English-speaking Christians.

4. *A Treatise on Money and Essays on Monetary Problems*, by J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A.; 1895. This is a third edition with a substantial addition. It seems to be the old story of "What is a Pound?" with variations adapted to the circumstances of present times. Written by a clever and profound specialist, carefully corrected up to date, squared with all the most recent principles of political economy, it deals with the numerous branches into which its subject is now divided, with rare ability, knowledge, thought and order. Many points are laid down, many explained and many exposed, which even those who have studied the subject to a limited extent will find very helpful to a clear idea on monetary economics. Yet all is not plain running. Our author occasionally trips up, when least expected. *E.g.*, p. 22, speaking of loss to Indian officials by low exchange, he says: "It is equally clear that if the value of the Rupee sinks to a shilling, for purposes of remittances they will lose half the value of their salaries." Not at all; for they lose nothing on the bulk of their salaries which they had to spend, in any case, in India, where silver prices have not yet varied much, but only on the fraction which they used or have to remit to Europe. We have met several cases of similar treatment, where the old dialectical maxim—"distingue frequenter," might have been applied with advantage; and we have found the not uncommon fault, that plain matters are frequently wrapped up in long sentences where simple meanings are warped into complex propositions, certainly not helpful to the ordinary reader. The book, however, repays study; for the subject deals with many matters in which all have an interest, and which requires a steady action on the part of Governments,—an action that can be secured only by educating public opinion.

5. *A Guide to Constantinople*, by DEMETRIUS COUFOPOULOS; 1895, is an excellent guide to Constantinople and some of its environs, very efficient and practical, and furnishing in brief, all the general information that the ordinary tourist can require. Besides a general map of Constantinople and a chart of the Bosphorus, there are a larger plan of Pera and a full page ground-plan of Sta. Sophia; and the description of the great church, as it now is, is particularly full and interesting. Though some other guide-books are more elaborate and detailed, this one is very sufficient, accurate and useful, and as such can be recommended.

MESSRS. BLACKIE AND SON ; OLD BAILEY, LONDON.

6. *The Tiger of Mysore*, by G. A. HENTY, with 12 illustrations and a map ; 1896. Mr. Henty's well-known stories, illustrative of British wars and British pluck, though perhaps mainly written for the purpose of instructing the young in history through the happy medium of personal narratives, may well be read, as extremely pretty tales, by older persons ; for his facts are accurate, his descriptions graphic, his plots simple yet effective, and his characters well drawn and admirable. If there be a slight overcharge of the heroic in personal adventures, that only adds a more spicy and pleasing flavour to his tales. The present one is quite equal to any of its numerous predecessors, and that, in itself is no little praise. The Tiger of Mysore is the notorious but now almost forgotten tyrant, Tippu Sahib of Seringapatam ; the tale turns on his cruel and changeable disposition, constant only in his hatred of the British ; and the thrilling interest of the reader in a pathetic, beautiful and well told story is fully maintained till the very last page. Those who have read any one of Mr. Henty's tales will be sure to welcome this also, and after reading it will be glad to see more from the same skilled and clever hand.

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BOMBAY GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS ; BOMBAY ; INDIA.

7. *Report on the Administration of the Local Boards of the Bombay Presidency, for the year 1893-4 ; 1895*, deals, with the usual fully detailed statements and carefully prepared statistics, with all the local boards of the Presidency, including Scindh. There are many interesting points to which we would wish to direct particular attention, and many items for special remarks ; but as our space, this quarter, is unusually limited, we must confine ourselves to the general recommendation that the Report, though it does not constitute light reading, is deserving of careful perusal. On the whole, progress in Local Government, though slow, seems to be steady and may be called satisfactory.

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THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

8. *The Apocrypha translated out of the Greek and Latin tongues, being the version set forth, A.D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1894. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1895.* This last publication of the Revisers completes the so-called Revised version of the Holy Scriptures ; so that the scholars engaged in it have now practically finished the entire work undertaken. As the version was issued early in the quarter, I have already, before penning my remarks, had the opportunity of listening to the full chorus which the Press seems to sing in its praise,—of course, all in unison :—Selected men did a great work and took a great deal of time over it, and now that it is done, it must, of course, be excellent. Yet on comparing this version with the Greek and Latin, and with the older English versions, I cannot honestly say that the result justifies the amount of praise given to this work. It suffers from several defects. The first is the use of inappropriate words ; thus, to take hap-hazard instances, Wisd. i. 6—"Because God . . . is a true overseer of his heart"—for ἐπισκοπος and Scrutator ; but surely the right English word

is searcher. Again, Ecclus. xli. 19 "[Be ashamed] of scurrility in the matter of giving and taking" where the Douay word "deceit" is preferable. So too, *ibid.* v. 22, "of being overbusy with his maid," is not so good as "inquisitive about his maid." Another defect is that the chapters and verses are differently arranged in many places from the arrangement of the Vulgate and even from the LXX.; and as the majority of quotations from the Apocrypha were made from these, the difficulty of verifying quotations is rendered very great. Another series of defects,—one of grammar—may be instanced in 1 Maccabees i. 1: "And it came to pass after that Alexander . . . after he had smitten him, that he reigned in his stead." Not only is the first "that" redundant, but it is wanting in the 2d part of the verse. Again, the first part of Tobit is given in the first person; and there is no indication that the Latin relates it in the 3d, though the LXX. has the 1st. Nor does it seem quite clear according to what system and according to what version this edition has been prepared. In 2 Esdras vii. we have a long addition supported by one authority only,—that found by Prof. Bensly; but at the same time we are told that for the text in general, the Committees "were entirely dependent on the inadequate materials already existing and did not therefore attempt any complete revision." Waiving the question of how far the material is really inadequate, as is so glibly asserted, it is evident that nothing has been done to improve upon it, or to make it more accurate. As to the translation, it is easy to find many defects; but beyond mere such defects, there seem to have been liberties taken without any reason,—as when *γερονσία* is rendered Senate and *Ἀκκαρον* is changed into Ekron, besides some cases of whole phrases. All the defects which were noticed in the former works of the revisers exist also in this, in addition to that liberty which they seem to have allowed themselves here, from their belief that they were dealing with uninspired books. On the whole, therefore, though a very great and most important work has doubtless been undertaken and accomplished, and though the revised English Bible is certainly a great improvement on the previous "authorized version," yet, after frequently consulting the revised Old and revised New Testaments and now reading over the revised Apocrypha, I find it impossible to conceal the acute feeling of keen disappointment, that so little after all has been achieved and so small has been the result of the great mountain's labour.

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THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS: CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON.

9. *The Growth of British Policy, an Historical Essay*, by SIR J. R. SEELEY, K.C.M.G., 2 Vols.; 1895. The late Regius Professor of Modern History has left us a valuable contribution towards the study of British History, in which, while special epochs and particular subjects have received individual treatment, our general bearing towards other nations and the mutual effects of those relations have not been pointedly indicated till now. Our author goes back to the time of Elizabeth, with a short prologue on the three previous reigns, and shows how England, long engaged in domestic broils, came to be mixed up with continental affairs, and how

its policy came to be shaped. The word growth is, perhaps, not the right one to use : a growth is a development and an increase from the inward. But according to Prof. Seeley, British policy was the work of necessity, originated by outside circumstances, carried out according to individual talents and idiosyncrasies, and modified according to the requirements of the times. Many have been the checks, many the changes, many the modifications, our policy has undergone. In fact, there has been no continued line of policy followed : each epoch, each actor has had its own, sometimes the right and sometimes the wrong,—occasionally the conscious result of knowledge and foresight, often the erroneous instinct of self-interest in individuals. What we see clearly in this book are the numerous ingredients which, each in its own way, influenced the policy of England. Ambition, family influences, domestic troubles, foreign attempts, above all the turmoils of religion and the necessity of preserving a balance of power, have been the guiding causes. Prof. Seeley's three chief makers of British Policy are Elizabeth, Cromwell and William of Orange. But here is another misnomer : they made nothing lasting ; they merely made, on urgent occasion, such a lead as was needed—not always rightly in every respect—but there resulted no fixed principle of policy for the future, that either was or could be carried out. The sketch of the ingredients forming British policy concludes with Queen Anne. Thus death has left the essay incomplete. Still it is a remarkable work, well conceived and well executed. The style is prolix, and there are continual repetitions ; yet they seem necessary to produce an exact image of the circumstances in each stage of each epoch sketched. Great skill is shown in the selection of the leading circumstances which form each epoch and of the persons and things that are the spirit of each age. Characters are well sketched and incidents well depicted. The result is a clear and telling narrative of what England was forced to do, what she did, and what were the results. Hence the book deserves careful perusal, as a hitherto almost unwritten chapter of our history, yet a very important one, in which all may see in the good and the evil of former days and persons what is useful and what injurious to the national interests.

10. *Jataka, or Stories of Buddha's former births*, translated from the Pali by various hands ; Edited by PROF. E. B. COWELL. Vol. II., translated by W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge ; 1895. The first volume of this work, by R. Chalmers, we noticed in our number for April, 1895 : this second continues the *Jataka* from No. 151 to 300. Care has evidently been taken to make this volume homogeneous in style with the preceding one ; and, in fact, though by different hands, they both read as parts of the same work always should. The get-up, too, of this volume is precisely like that of the first ; the translation as correct ; the editing as able. The nature of the *Jataka* themselves is well known ; and here we need not further remark on their varied characters and contents, where the silliest and the wisest thoughts of antiquity blend strangely together, and where the whole furnishes the student with rich material for studying the varying circumstances of social life in those distant ages. *En passant* we note at *Jataka* 159, p. 26 “except Nirvana which is everlasting . . . all

things else are unsubstantial, etc.," which shows that the earlier Nirvana meant something positive and very different from mere extinction; at *Jataka*, 190, p. 77 we have a strange parallel to Peter walking on the waters; at *Jataka* 243, p. 175, we have a fore-taste of Paganini breaking string after string of his instrument yet producing perfect music from the remainder. And so on; for while there is doubtless an element of tiresomeness in these *Jataka* tales, there are also great variety, high teaching, profound wisdom and much interesting information on many important subjects, besides amusement for the cursory reader.

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MESSRS. CASSELL AND CO.; LONDON, PARIS, AND MELBOURNE.

II. *Britain's Roll of Glory*, by D. H. PARRY; 1895. Though it is a much-controverted point whether the advantages of the institution of the Victoria Cross counterbalance its disadvantages, there is not the slightest doubt in any mind, that the record of those who have earned this much-coveted and prized decoration "*For Valour*" excites the pulse of the most sluggish and warms the heart of the most indifferent, and while the perusal of their deeds furnishes interesting matter for the general reader, it is peculiarly adapted for inflaming the hearts of the young and urging them to high resolves for the selection of their future spheres of life and action. Our author begins with a list of the various wars since the Crimea, for deeds in which the decoration has been granted to the distinguished men who have signalized themselves amid their brave comrades for conspicuous bravery; and after a good illustration of both obverse and reverse of the bronze cross, and a short essay upon it, he proceeds to describe, under each war, the circumstances in which each individual won his cross. At p. 96 we have a graphic description of the presentation of the cross to its first batch of 62 heroes. The book is brought down to date, and includes the last recipient for the Chitrál campaign, Surgeon Captain Whitchurch. The Royal warrants regarding the decoration are then given in full or in compendium, and the volume concludes with an alphabetical list of those who have won and worn the honourable cross for valour, and a summary of the circumstances for which it was awarded. The eight illustrations given are excellently done, and the book is issued in the well-known splendid style of this enterprising firm. We have noticed but few errors,—the most serious being at p. 191 where "Delhi" is printed for "Lucknow," the circumstances are not quite accurately given and Major Butler's heroic act is consequently not so clearly defined as it could be even without taking additional space. The whole is a glorious roll. English, Scotch and Irish all are there, and even some coloured men. Surely the time has come to extend the cross to natives of India, among whom, since it was instituted, there have been not a few, who but for their Indian birth, would have found a place in "Britain's Roll of Glory."

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THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD AND LONDON.

12. *The Valley of Kashmir*, by WALTER R. LAWRENCE, C.I.E.; 1895. The numerous illustrations of this book are excellent; its splendid get-up

is in the well-known style of the Clarendon Press; and its maps are clear and accurate. Our author, who is the official "Settlement Commissioner" of the Kashmir state, and whose official duties have taken him for years among the people and all over the country, gives an exhaustive account of both, within the moderate limits of over 450 pages, in nineteen chapters. Systematically he goes over the geology, flora and fauna, archæology, history and statistics. The social life, religions, races and tribes, are then dealt with. Next come agriculture and cultivation, live stock, industries, and occupations and trades of the people. Chapters xvii. and xviii. treat of the old and the new systems of administration. Chapter xix.—perhaps the least complete in the book—is on the language of Kashmir and gives a glossary; and a good index closes the portly volume. Mr. Lawrence has spared no pains to make his work as complete as possible, within his limits. The condensed history is particularly good; his descriptions of the people, their defects and their virtues is very fair and sympathetic; and the information he gives is correct and interesting. The part, dealing with past and present systems of administration, is of peculiar importance, and shows that in spite of great improvement—no small part of it due to our author himself—much still remains to be rectified for the benefit of the people. The Happy Valley is here very effectively painted and described, both for the student and the traveller; and even the general reader will find it very entertaining and instructive reading, though it may never be his lot to see its enchanting scenery or to visit its interesting populations.

13. *Old Testament History for Junior Classes*, by the REV. T. H. STOKOE, D.D. Part I.: 1895. This is a singular book. By Junior classes we cannot here understand mere boys and girls, for the treatment is far above the average capacity of such; and it cannot be meant for Junior scholars, as for them it is far too low. The history itself needed no repetition, as it is given at length in the Bible, and briefly in all general histories. Dr. Stokoe selects portions of Scripture and on the opposite page gives his notes on the selection and notes upon the notes, and notes connecting the portions selected. Most of the notes are very commonplace; many are quite trivial; and some are strangely inaccurate for a Biblical scholar. But we may well ask Dr. Stokoe why he ventures to give in scraps and with his own explanatory notes, that word of God which it is a fundamental principle of the Reformation to hold that it should be circulated entire and free. Has he found out, at length, that the whole book cannot be placed in the hands of Junior Classes? and that there is danger in presenting even the rest without comment? And if even professing Christians are thus assumed to be in danger from such indiscriminate and undirected reading of our whole Bible, what are the probable consequences to be expected from putting it entire and uncommented in the hands of those who are not Christians at all? One of the startling facts about our author is his evident "cock-sureness" in everything; an instance of which may be named with regard to the geography of the march in the wilderness, from Egypt to Palestine. We fail to see the utility of such a work.

14. *Archæologia Oxoniensis. Pt. VI., with two plates, etc.*; 1895, contains several archæological notes of varied interest; but of particular im-

portance to our readers is the first paper, which deals with Phœnician characters in Sumatra. There, the old Rejang alphabet is distinctly Phœnician in form, though nearly every letter seems to have been reversed, just as an impression would come off, from each letter by itself, on a piece of blotting-paper. The question naturally arising, of how and when the script could have been imported into Sumatra, is solved by the supposition,—by no means a gratuitous one,—that either Nearchus went or sent some ships, perhaps to circumnavigate India, which found their way to Sumatra; and that as his fleet contained many Tyrian workmen, they were the probable means of conveying the Phœnician alphabet to that remote island. Quotations and reasons supporting the hypothesis will be found in the pamphlet under review.

MESSRS. ARMAND COLIN ET CIE.; RUE DE MEZIÈRES, PARIS.

15. *Introduction à l'Histoire de L'Asie: Turcs et Mongols*, par LÉON CAHUN, Conservateur adjoint à la Bibliothèque Mazarine. Beginning with an elaborate description of the Asiatic continent, and a more particular one of Central Asia, our author next deals with the peoples and languages concerned. He gives then a detailed history of Turks and Mongols, down to the year 1405,—practically till the death of Timur. Written in a fluent and full style, with much erudition and historical discrimination, this book comes as a valuable aid to the study of the history of these most interesting countries and nationalities. Interspersed are many points of great interest to the student of Christian history.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER.

16. *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan, A.D. 1398 to 1707*, by E. S. HOLDEN, LL.D.; 1895. This is an American work, all but the last Chapter dealing with Aurangzeb, which is from the very competent pen of Sir W. W. Hunter. The chief characteristic of the work is a series of portraits—Babar, Humayun, Akbar (2), Jehangir (2), Nur Mahal, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, published from various sources, copies of which can, however, any day be purchased at Delhi, beautifully reproduced on ivory, protected with glass. Dr. Holden does not profess to give the history of these Emperors; and he is quite right. He mentions having read up a great number of works; and he is profuse in quotations without indicating the exact writers, works or pages. His selection of points in biography cannot be praised, nor are they quite accurate in detail: a writer's spirit should be imbued with the East and Eastern literature before he can be a competent guide to others. Nor does there seem any reason why the list of Mogul Emperors should end with Aurangzeb; for as a matter of fact the successors of Aurangzeb continued in more or less power for another century, and nominally down to the eventful 1857. As far as it goes, however, the book is very readable and entertaining.

MESSRS. C. EGGIMANN ET CIE.; GENEVA.

(LIBRAIRIE FISCHBACHER; RUE DE SEINE, PARIS.)

17. *Brésil et Argentine,—Notes et impressions de voyage*, par E. MONTET, Professeur à l'Université de Genève. This prettily got-up book, with 18



good illustrations, describes the Swiss Professor's journey to Brazil and the Argentine Republic, and his sojourn in the *pampas*. His cheery and graphic narrative is a pleasure to read; and while his thoughtful remarks on the system and condition of Education and of Religion in both countries will furnish much material for the consideration of the more serious, his description of life in the Pampas cannot fail to interest all classes of readers.

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THE "EUROPEAN MAIL" LD., LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON.

18. *Snakes*, by "SUNDOWNER"; 2d Ed., is a small well printed book by one who has had a great experience of the reptiles in Australia. He is brimful of stories about snakes, all of which are interesting, many are new, and some are of gigantic height: by this last qualification we do not by any means, express incredulity, as our own experience of Australian snakes is practically *nil*. With these snake stories, there is a good deal of important information regarding the natural history of these animals and their manners and customs; and incidentally on some manners and customs in Australia, where for instance, we find ladies using live snakes as garters and men throwing snakes at each other in public houses and meetings. The book will repay perusal.

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MESSRS. GRIFFITH, FARRAN, OKEDEN AND WELSH; LONDON AND SYDNEY.

19. *The Wizard's Lute*, by GEORGE GRESSWELL, is a weirdish story, somewhat in the style of some dreams in Johnson's *Rambler*. The hero finds himself suddenly left alone in London, "whence all but he had fled." He wanders along, and about, and then out of the vast deserted city; gets to somewhere which is nowhere; experiences various sensations which can scarcely be termed adventures, and finally wakes to find it is all a dream. There is no wizard, and there is no lute; but the tale is ingenious and creepy, and contains much good writing and word painting.

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MR. WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

20. *The Chitral Campaign*, by H. C. THOMSON; 1895. The book before us is certainly the best of its kind. Scarcely had the campaign begun than it concluded, but, fortunately, for its story, rather than history, a host of writers threw itself on it in order to make money and fame out of the hero-worshipping propensities of the public. Among them, Mr. Thomson is *facile princeps* for he had once before been to Peshawar and there were revealed to him, and through him in 1895 to the world, the "græco-buddhistic" sculptures that had been discovered in 1870 and then first received that long-contested appellation. Mr. Thomson has, however, now that it is accepted, improved on it, for he gives a sculpture of "Buddha walking," as Demosthenes. Still, like a poet, a journalist is born, not made, and when the expedition started Mr. Thomson found his true vocation as a Press Correspondent. That he did his work admirably goes without saying and he has now given a book that is infinitely

more readable, and more vividly illustrated, than any that we have seen on the subject of Chitrál. His account of Jandol is specially interesting, though his linguistic attainments, for so learned an excavator, are just sufficient for those who only know English. For instance, who would recognise the Muhammadan profession of faith in "Bismillah. Hir ech man! Mir Rahim! Ha! illah!! Illallah!!! Ho Mahomet des Rasullulah!" which should be: "Bismillah-ir-rahmán-ir-rahím. La Allah ila Allah. Muhammad Rasul Allah"! = In the name of God, the merciful, the gracious. No God but God. Muhammad, the prophet of God." The above are Arabic words, known to all Muhammadans or even to those who have read about them; so we are quite prepared to agree with the writer that there is only one Englishman who knows the far more out-of-the-way Chitráli. This Englishman, however, is not Mr. Thomson, although he has given us a spirited version of a song in that language, in which he is good enough to assure us he has not translated each word literally. This is, indeed, true. However, it is hypercritical to find fault with such a pleasantly written book, which has been produced with all the care and bright appearance that Mr. Heinemann bestows on his publications. Mr. Thomson's reference to the Kafirs is highly interesting, though we do not agree with him that "the key of the position may be found in Kafiristan and not in Chitrál." It is in neither, but it is wherever an unannexed country may yet be found to yield a crop of decorations. The arguments, *pro* and *con*, "the forward policy" are given with great fairness by Mr. Thomson and Lord Elgin's speech two days before the expedition started is also published—so that no falsification of history can, in future, be made, at any rate, on that point.

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MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON.

21. *Sultan Murad V., the Turkish Dynastic Mystery*, 1876-1895, by DJEMAELEDDIN BEY; 1895. This book is very well timed, and in the excitement now prevalent on Turkish affairs it furnishes much attractive matter. It relates the history of Abdul Aziz, the accession and deposition of Murad V., and the accession of the present ruler. Numerous Turkish officials and other personages are introduced; there are regular dialogues which (as happens in historical novels) are probably as untrue in words as they are faithful in the sentiments expressed; and there are scenes, exact to the life, of Oriental manners and customs, with occasionally a trait that we hope, for the credit of human nature, is exaggerated. Thus at p. 24, "Abdul Aziz lost his taste for gluttony; swindles on 'Change had no more charms for him; and even the spectacle of slaves hunted to death by savage hounds gave him no pleasure." The object of the book is to show that Murad V., who is still alive in his prison-tomb, is quite fit to resume the reins of government; but if, as the author repeatedly admits, attention to duty and the worry of state affairs originally unsettled his mind so far as to necessitate his deposition, a renewal of the cause would doubtless lead to a recurrence of the effect. The wretched state of Turkey wants in its ruler a clear head, a good heart, a firm hand, a courageous disposition and strong nerves. But where are they to be had? Well may patriotic

Osmanlis cry out, *Exoriare aliquis!* The interest of a book, which, like this one, lays bare the hidden defects of Oriental rule, cannot be exaggerated; and we recommend it for the perusal of all, for it will repay study

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MESSRS. LONGMANS AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

22. *A Scheme for Imperial Federation*, by G. C. CUNNINGHAM; 1895. Our author, writing from Canada, is very commendably a hot imperialist, and writes on this important matter with much information though with little practicability. Here, in fact, lies the difficulty of solving the problem which all of us would like to see settled for good:—every scheme suggested remains, in spite of many excellent points, practically impossible. Our author's plan is just the same. He advocates an Imperial Parliament for purely Imperial purposes, relegating the local affairs of England, Scotland, Ireland, and each colony to their own local Parliaments. Here indeed is an innovation, which ends continuity and destroys identity. It is a new start for Great and Greater Britain; and if, as the author justly says, the average educated Briton knows little of the Colonies, much less knowledge of the Empire in general has the average Colonial. Consequently, when he says that Imperial matters should be submitted to "representatives of any or every part of the Empire on which they should have a right to express an opinion and upon which they would be in a position to found sound judgments or offer valuable advice," he exposes the innate impossibility of such a project. Fancy a Newfoundlander legislating for Singapore, or a Tasmanian for India, without the presence of a single representative from Asia! We quite agree that the present state of affairs tends only to the final separation of the Colonies, and that the present method of Government has not yet shown even a germ of a future and better system for a joint government. We still want a plan which, beginning with being practicable and capable of development from a small germ, will be able to retain the present Imperial Parliament, and to combine together the Home Country, with the self-governing and the Crown Colonies, and the great "Dependency" of India. We recommend the book to our readers, as it contains many valuable observations and discussions, though its statistics are old. We have not space enough to specify the whole project or to criticize its details and statements: for these we refer our readers to the book itself.

23. *Chips from a German Workshop*, by F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. New Ed. Vol. iv.; 1895. This volume gives 17 essays, in Comparative Mythology and Folk-lore, with various dates from 1855 to 1893. This distinguished scholar's contribution to the sum of human knowledge greatly exceeds the amount which it is given to most men to furnish. His work has lain in many fields, all of which he has tilled to fruitful purpose. But in no other, perhaps, has he achieved so brilliant and honourable a success as in that of the two matters of which this volume mainly treats. He deals more with principles than with details; and hence his work, while its excellent form and order make it pleasant to even the general reader, appeals chiefly to the scholar and the thinker: all, however, will welcome this re-issue, full of information, pleasantly and easily conveyed.

MESSRS. SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

24. *Constantinople* with numerous illustrations, by EDWIN A. GROSVENOR. 2 vols. ; 1895. It is very rare, indeed, that such a *magnum opus* is put within the reach of the public. As a monogram of Constantinople it is complete, whilst it is simply perfect as a masterpiece of the printer's art. Indeed, its paper is almost too good for ordinary reading, though at this time of the year the two handsome volumes are admirably suited for presentation. Their exceedingly numerous and well-executed drawings and other illustrations confer a further value on a book that will remain a standard-work of reference on a subject with which the author deals with the hand and mind of a master. The Publishers also deserve their meed of praise, for, without an almost tender solicitude for every detail of publication, they could not have produced two volumes as fine in appearance as their contents are in substance. No drawing room, or Library of any pretension, can, especially in the present state of public interest in Turkey, be well without this *édition de luxe* of a *chef d'œuvre*. Yet the author, who has had "long and special training for his task by his connexion with the admirably conducted Robert College of Constantinople, has made it 'a book for all' even as Constantinople has a charm for all classes of mankind." Indeed, the general mosaic of its vast information, has, like St. Sophia, been constructed into a lasting monument by many hands. "Every nationality, religion or social rank at Constantinople" has contributed to it its best. We cannot do justice in the short space at our disposal to what should not only be read, but "marked, learnt and inwardly digested." The history of Constantinople is given till it becomes identical with the rise of the Ottomans, and culminates in the present Sultan, whom he considers to be eminent in the high intellectual and moral qualities that become a ruler and a man. Next follows the description of the Golden Horn, of the Bosphorus and of the Antiquities of Constantinople—namely Byzantine and Ottoman—and last, not least, the Seraglio. The too brief reviewer of this great work, who has lived ten years at Constantinople, can only add his personal homage to the correctness of its description, and the thoroughness of its learning.

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MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

25. *The Gold Mines of the Rand*, by F. H. HATCH and J. A. CHALMERS, with maps, plans and illustrations ; 1895. For production of gold in the past and its prospects for the future, the gold mines of the Transvaal rank high indeed. Our two authors—both of them mining engineers by profession—give us a full description of the geology of the district, the details of the machinery, and system of operations. The book is clearly written and plentifully illustrated, and though full of technical information and details, which few but engineers and miners by profession can claim thoroughly to understand, the subject is, by careful division and discussion, made instructive and even interesting to the general reader, even though he may never intend to visit S. Africa or to invest a penny in her gold fields. The stout imperial 8vo. of over 300 pages is not light reading ; but it is one which ought to be read in order to form clear ideas of the special

resources in gold of S. Africa and of the life led at those mines, the methods used with the gold, and the results obtained.

26. "*The Relief of Chitrál*," by CAPTAIN G. J. YOUNGHUSBAND AND CAPTAIN F. E. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E. ; 1895. Considering the unrivalled opportunities which Capt. F. E. Younghusband had as Political officer in Chitrál added to his personal sympathies with its people, the best of all keys to information, it is extremely disappointing that he has given us no more convincing reason for "the forward policy," of which he is such a forward exponent, than the fanciful one of "*prestige*." So many pens have exaggerated the heroism of "the relief of Chitrál" that it is a positive relief to turn to the more sober and consecutive account given by his brother of the portion of the expedition with which he was connected. Still, the work is not worthy of the deserved reputation of the writers. It must have been dictated, rather than written, in the greatest possible haste and in order to meet an immediate public want, which Messrs. Macmillan desired to satisfy at once and by the best obtainable authorities. What we like most about the book is its genuine admiration for the unparalleled bravery of the badly armed natives, whom we had fabricated into foes. Many instances are given of a heroism before which our own must pale. Be that as it may, there are one or two political items of information which may turn out to be "unfortunate." We refer to the stories connecting the Amir with the feeble resistance of the tribes on the Molakand and two days later. No doubt, some of his soldiers may, whilst on leave, have joined them—100 on the former and 300 on the latter occasion, it is said, though not in the book before us, but what Afghan or Pathan would not volunteer for a scrimmage, especially with the British Kafirs? As for Umra Khan, it is all very well to disavow him now, but the time for doing so was when he offered to attack the Amir's hold on Asmar in our interests. It is very honest of Captain F. E. Younghusband to quote in full our Proclamation to the tribes that lulled them into a false security, especially when we look at his Map in which the shade of red of British India is scarcely lightened towards Bajaur, where we are supposed to leave the tribes and Chiefships to themselves, and where Kafiristan is not even mentioned, but Afghanistan comes up right to Chitrál territory. All the good that Pamir explorations and negotiations have done is to interpose the thinnest possible Afghan strip between our and the Russian spheres of influence, whereas formerly there were seas of mountains and hosts of independent principalities separating the two claimants for Empire in Asia.

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MR. JOHN MURRAY ; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

27. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, first Bishop of Lahore, with portrait and illustrations*, by the REV. HERBERT BIRKS, M.A. 2 vols. ; 1895. Bishop French was a most interesting personality, and those who knew him will welcome this life by Mr. Birks, while those who knew him not in life will be glad of an introduction to him, after his death. All classes of readers will peruse it with pleasure, as the record of an able man acting honestly and faithfully up to his duty according to his

light, and continuing to the last in harness, labouring for the cause he had at heart. Mr. Birks is a distinct hero-worshipper himself; but he has been careful in selecting his facts and profuse in his quotations from letters, papers, etc., and he thus enables the reader not merely to follow the lines which the Biographer praises, but to form his own idea of the character, individuality, earnestness and work of the first Bishop of Lahore. We must refer our readers to the book itself, which is excellently written, for the details of that career through its chequered course, its varied incidents, its peculiar details and its shifting scene—all centring round the one work to which his life was honestly devoted. The results we need not criticize: the Indian missions in general have not been so very successful as to warrant us in expecting any special exception in the case of Dr. French; there were points in his individuality which would induce one who knew him thoroughly to look for none such. We are not concerned with indicating any defects, which the impartial reader will see cropping up quite visibly in the descriptions given of persons, places, acts and things, and in the letters quoted in this Life. Of the want of fruitful results, we see a strange instance at I. pp. 148-9, where Bishop French entirely misjudges the religious spirit of the Afghans; Bishop Westcott, expects from the Derajat Stations (with "60 native Christians and 500 boys in schools"), "in due time a Christian army shall march forward to give liberty to Asia," and Mr. Birk himself hopes that perhaps the devotion of French may still bear fruit . . . in this most promising field, almost the only one where Islam is thoroughly accessible *under protection of our British Government.*" The Italics are ours and suggest a tale of their own.

28. *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES WILSON, R.E., K.C.B., *with maps and plans*; 1895. This handbook, quite equal, in style and completeness, to the numerous volumes of Mr. Murray's well-known and justly popular series, deals, besides the countries mentioned, with 23 islands in the Levant and Ægean, including Rhodes. The maps, plans, and other illustrations are well drawn and numerous; for all matters of interest, the best and latest authorities seem to have been consulted; and everywhere due justice is done to the monuments and buildings, ancient and modern: many of the older ones, for their archæological value, are of world-wide renown. The traveller armed with this little book, has a distinct advantage over those not so provided.

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MESSRS. NISBET AND CO.; BERNERS STREET, LONDON.

29. *In a Mule Litter to the Tomb of Confucius*, by A. ARMSTRONG, F.R.G.S.; 1896, is a very pleasantly written, well got up, and prettily illustrated little book narrating a journey in one province of China. The author, who is a missionary, went openly as a foreigner and a Christian; yet he tells us that he traversed the province without any mishap, and that only in one city—the capital—did he meet any display of ill feeling. The incidents of the journey are excellently told, and much light is thrown on Chinese character. As we lay down this very entertaining little volume, we cannot repress a feeling of wonder, that missionaries and foreigners seem to

be able to travel over the length and breadth of China without let or hindrance, and find the people polite, tractable and easy to deal with ; but that animosity seems to grow rank only in those places where missionaries have been for some time settled. Hence arises in the mind the further question : is such ill feeling the result of Chinese hatred of foreigners, as is so often taken for granted ? or is it the result rather of the supercilious and disdainful conduct of the foreigners themselves, who, by outraging the prejudices and customs of the people whom they affect to wish to conciliate, bring down upon themselves a hatred and consequent ill-treatment which are conspicuous by their absence in such narratives as this one.

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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND ; 24, HANOVER SQUARE, W., LONDON.

30. *Quarterly Statement ; October, 1895*, is just as interesting as its predecessors. Among other matters, we note the conclusion of the Rev. W. Ewing's journey in the Hauran and of the reproduction of the Greek inscriptions collected by him. The results of the meteorological observations at Jerusalem in 1889 are given and commented on by James Glaisher, F.R.S. Mr. Bliss' late journey in Moab contributes 4 small inscriptions. As might have been expected, Col. Watson's paper, in the July Quarterly Statement, on the stoppage of the Jordan, is commented on,—by Canon Dalton and Mr. W. E. Stephenson. The Reports of Herr Baurath von Schick, giving plans of the old Churches he has investigated, are as important as any of his preceding ones. There are papers on the identification of the "Cave of Adullam" by the Rev. W. F. Birch, and of the "City of David" by the Rev. D. Lee Pitcairn. But the chief interest centres in the report on the continuation of the excavations at Jerusalem, which have already yielded such important results. It is clearly written and abundantly illustrated. Notes and news at the beginning of the pamphlet and a Report of the annual meeting, held on the 16th July, complete this important issue of the Association, which we can recommend to our readers. As we have before said, this seems a work which all who can should aid, as it must be of equal interest to Jews, Christians and Muhammadans, for all of whom the scene of its investigations is a "Holy Land."

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MESSRS. RIVINGTON, PERCIVAL AND CO. ; KING STREET, LONDON, W.C.

31. *The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotos*, by the REV. A. H. SAYCE ; 1895. The learned Oxford Professor of Assyriology undertakes to put together here, in a handy form for travellers in Egypt, much matter which could not easily be reached, without more books than they can burden themselves with. Passing other portions in rapid review, his first five chapters deal with Egyptian history more fully and particularly where it comes, as it very often does, into contact with the Hebrews,—from Abraham down to the Maccabees. After that epoch, the narrative is continued, through the Christian period down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest. The next three chapters deal with Herodotus, whose Egyptian journeys and descriptions are followed step by step ; next, 6 Appendices give in detail the Egyptian dynasties, the Ptolemies, Biblical dates, lists of

the Nomes, and of Greek writers on Egypt; and, last not least, a very interesting route-sketch for making archæological excursions in the Delta. All through, the book is characterized by the wide reading, deep erudition, thorough knowledge of his subject and intimate acquaintance with all the most recent discoveries which Prof. Sayce brings to bear on whatever he treats. His verifications in Biblical history will interest the student of Holy Scripture, as those in Herodotus will, the classical scholar. The only defect we have to indicate, lies in the last few pages of Chap. v, where the sudden leap from Augustus Cæsar to Diocletian omits all mention of the introduction of Christianity into Egypt; and though the little that we are told of the spread of Coptic Christianity is extremely interesting, we can only hope that Prof. Sayce will see his way to adding, in subsequent editions, a few more pages on the origin, development and spread of Christianity among the Egyptians. In every other respect the book is all that could be desired, and the author may be congratulated in having so well accomplished his task.

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MESSRS. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND CO., LIMITED;  
LONDON.

32. *A Foster Son*, by JARVIS LANGTON, 1895, is a pretty one-volume tale, with a good and romantic plot, which could easily have been extended to double the number of pages. The characters are not very many, but they are well-sketched; and if there is an occasional exaggeration of some features, the greater part of the moving picture in the tale is true to life. Its central part describes some scenes in the Indian Mutiny, but the beginning and the end of the tale are placed in England. We see the mother and daughters living in England, while the father and son do England's work in India, where the father is shot in action. Then follow complications and unravellings of the threads of the story, for the detailed results of which, wherein sadness and happiness blend together, as in life, we must refer the reader to the book itself. It is a good tale, excellently told.

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, WOKING, AND SIMPKIN MARSHALL AND CO., LONDON.

33. *The Future of Chitral and neighbouring Countries, Slave-raids on Kafiristan, Material regarding Badakhshan, etc., with maps, Routes and Illustrations*, by DR. G. W. LEITNER; 1895. This little book forms part of a series of ethnographical and linguistic works on the countries of the Hindukush and may be said to be a supplement to the Hunza-Nagyr handbook. It would ill become us to review it, as most of its contents have appeared in this Review. Suffice it to say, that it has numerous additions in Notes, Routes and Maps and that in illustrating recent events as regards the cluster of countries round Badakhshan, it conveys detailed topographical and other information, the value of which may appear in our next frontier complication.

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE;  
LONDON AND BRIGHTON.

34. *The History of Babylonia*, by the late GEORGE SMITH, ESQ., edited and brought up to date by the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, 1895. The series of



Ancient histories from the Monuments would indeed be incomplete without that of Babylonia, which has occupied so important a place in the world; and this little book tells us nearly all that we know about it. When we say nearly all, we imply only that while everything known is mentioned, many things which would require very extensive treatment are here necessarily much condensed, while only a few specimens can be given of much material found on the clay tablets. Babylonian history is of very varied interest—archæology, mythology and sketches of private life depicted in contracts and other documents; and history both profane and sacred are deeply concerned. Its contact with the last mentioned subject is of special importance, and it throws powerful and favourable light on many disputed points. What Mr. Smith had done well with the then existing material, Prof. Sayce has perfected from the abundance since secured. Latterly, however, the number of clay tablets discovered by Turkish, French, English, American, German and other excavators has been so continuously and enormously increased, that many perhaps important points, as yet either quite unknown or insufficiently indicated, may find their solution when all have been deciphered and compared. Meanwhile this book is an excellent guide to what we yet know of the Babylonian Empire.

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MESSRS. SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO. ; LONDON.

35. *The Private Life of Warren Hastings*, by SIR C. LAWSON, 1895. The public life of Warren Hastings has, by this time, been very thoroughly threshed out, and time has disclosed the services which he rendered to England and India and has cast aside almost every cloud that had rested on his fair fame. Yet much of the private life of Hastings remains unwritten. The hardworking and astute statesman, the inflexible, resourceful and sympathetic ruler, the courageous and noble governor is well known to us; but how little we know of the inner man,—of the friend and adviser, the husband and stepfather, the guardian and landlord! Yet Hastings was as good a man as he was a great ruler. Hence this book is very welcome. It lifts the veil and shows us this great and good man in the relations of domestic life. The veil, however, is but partially raised, the book is small, and great part of it is taken up with what cannot be properly called the private life of Hastings. Though it is difficult to draw the line in such matters, we may safely say that the great trial and the political caricatures—many of them beautifully reproduced here—certainly belong to public history; and our author gives too much undeserved space to Sir P. Francis and others. We distinctly think that these matters would have been advantageously replaced by more numerous extracts from Hastings' Diaries, and more of his letters, which doubtless still exist; and we can only express our hope that many such will yet be published. No better way exists of depicting a character, than by numerous and judicious extracts from his diary and correspondence, combined with such comments as the case requires. Of this book we may say, that, as far as it goes, it is of the greatest interest, well written and beautifully illustrated;—that it throws much light on Hastings' private character from various points

of view;—and that it incidentally depicts conditions of living, a century ago, which are now half-forgotten. (Thus we find that Hastings' house in London—40 Park Lane—the taxes on which then were £104, 17, 6,—pays now £342, 19, 9). Several poems are given, in writing which Hastings shows a good command of language and much poetic sentiment; his letters to his wife disclose a warm and loving heart; and both as a landlord and a friend his actions appear to have been as good and noble as those of his public life were great and advantageous to his country. We can recommend this book very highly to our readers.

MR. E. STANFORD; COCKSPUR STREET, LONDON.

36. *Siam: a Geographical Summary*, by MRS. GRINDROD, is an extremely useful compilation, bringing into the compass of a closely printed 8vo. of about 150 pages, almost all the necessary information regarding Siam that we should have otherwise to seek in many books—some of them not easily accessible. Mrs. Grindrod modestly disclaims having done more than this:—but that alone was a serious undertaking, which she has very successfully achieved. In four successive sections she gives us the geography and physiography of the country,—its anthropology,—its history,—and its commerce and industries. Subsidiary sections have Questions for students, a list of authorities consulted, a description of Siamese objects in London Museums, and a glossary of Siamese words: a good index and a large and detailed map complete an excellent work. Leaving aside its political importance, which at the present time can scarcely be exaggerated, Siam is of great commercial and industrial value; and as the country is, under this relation, very ably and exhaustively handled by our authoress in Section IV., we hope that the book will be largely read by our trading and manufacturing bodies, to enable them to retain the superiority which our commercial flag has already acquired there. "Ships flying the British flag carried 88 per cent. of the total tonnage, 93 per cent. of total imports and 85 per cent. of total exports." Not only the commercial and industrial classes, however, but others too will find in this book much to interest them; for Siam is a comparatively unknown country, and here there is much varied and valuable information to be found regarding its people, religion, customs, and history.

MESSRS. THACKER AND CO.; LONDON, CALCUTTA, AND BOMBAY.

37. *The Origin of the Mussulmans of Bengal*, by KHONDKAR FUZLI RUBBEE, 1895. The fact that in Bengal the Muhammadans form a majority of the population is well known, and has called for pointed notice in the Census Report of 1891. Various explanations have been given of the causes of this unusual preponderance. Conversions both produced by force and induced by the consequent rise in social position of the lowest castes (or outcasts) of Hinduism,—natural increase,—and a continuous and numerous immigration are the three leading causes assigned. Our author, who is the Dewan of H.H. the Nawab of Murshidabad, accepts the two last only, and very indignantly repudiates the first. This naturally brings him into conflict with the Census Report which he accuses of in-

accuracy,—with Mr. Risley, whose anthropological investigations he condemns as unjust,—and with other authors who have stated or hinted at enforced conversions. If the statements in this book about Mr. Risley's *modus agendi* be true, the conclusions of his anthropological work will be utterly untrustworthy; but we naturally wait to hear his rejoinder. Our author makes a great point about *noses*, but the most serious part of his accusation is at pp. 95-96, which aims a terrible blow at the very system on which that work was conducted. Our author has accumulated a good deal of historical evidence from native sources, regarding the emigration of Muhammadans into Bengal; he gives some valuable information regarding the Sayyad, Sheikh and other families, which will be new to at least the general reader; the discussion regarding *Jaghirs* and other rent-free lands is of great interest; and altogether he gives us a very readable book, full of interesting extracts from Moslem and Christian writers, and of varied information on many points not generally known—*e.g.* that at pp. 58-9, that Muhammadanism never and nowhere made converts by force. In conclusion, we may add that this question has been dealt with very ably though briefly by Mr. Beames,\* in a very fair spirit; and he specifies some instances of the use of force while testifying to its general absence, and he mentions incidentally some of the causes that produced and still produce conversions to Islam. This book, however, is a valuable aid towards forming a just conclusion on this important subject.

38. *A short treatise on Hindu Law, as administered in the Courts of British India*, by HERBERT COWELL; 1895. After treating, in Chap. I., of those who are subject to Hindu law, its sources and the authority under which it is administered, our author deals successively with ownership and co-ownership,—rights to and in joint estate,—gifts—wills,—religious endowments,—adoption,—succession and inheritance,—and with the family relations. Many things are viewed by Hindu law in a very different light from that common with us, as an instance of which we may mention the position of widows and of illegitimate children. Under this aspect of the matter, this book is interesting to even the general reader; while by the specialist in Indian laws and those who have to administer justice in our great Dependency it will be found to contain a well digested mass of information, which cannot fail to be of great service to them in the discharge of their arduous duties.

MESSRS. WARD, LOCK AND CO.; LONDON, N. YORK, AND MELBOURNE.

39. *The Divinations of Kala Pershad, and other stories*, by HEADON HILL, 1895, is a little book giving a series of ten stories of the detective order. To the first four, a distinctly new flavour is added by the introduction of a wily old Hindu whose intuition into motives helps singularly to the unraveling of complicated plots. The remainder are of a more general character in the same line. The book is well got up, and the stories are well told, making the whole extremely readable and entertaining.

Professor Lucien Gautier of Lausanne lately published a charming and well illustrated little book of 64 pages, large 8vo., entitled "*Beyond the*

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1894, "The Mussulmans of Bengal."

*Jordan*," describing his travels there in March, 1894. To my first notice of it,\* I may now further add, that it relates Prof. Gautier's impressions of the people he found settled in the land of Moab, who are of various descent,—Turkoman, Circassian, etc. It further gives his learned remarks on the towns and villages which he visited. *E.g.*, *Salt* (probably from the Latin *Saltus* = forest) which he thinks cannot be identified with the *Ramoth* of the Bible;—*Djerach*, with its wonderful Roman ruins which specially attracted his attention;—and *Amman* = the ancient *Rabbat-Ammon*, the capital of the Ammonites. In his return journey he visited the caves of Arak-el-Amîr, which obtained their short-lived celebrity between B.C. 182 and 176, when the priest Hyrcanus retired to them, and establishing himself in the place gave it the name of *Tyros*. Here, in two places on a rock, is repeated a Hebrew inscription in 5 archaic characters; to which various interpretations have been arbitrarily given; but, when all is said, it still remains to be rationally deciphered. These are the chief points in Prof. Gautier's book, which is written in a flowing and graphic style, and of which a second edition is on the eve of being issued.—E. MONTET.

### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have received, with thanks, from the Delegates of the Clarendon Press of Oxford, the following books which we are compelled to reserve for future notice:—(1) *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI., *The Buddhist Suttas*, by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS;—(2) The same, Vol. XXV., *The Laws of Manu*, by GEORG BÜHLER;—(3), Vol. I. of the new series of *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, translated by various scholars, edited by PROF. F. MAX MÜLLER, and published under the patronage of His Majesty the King of Siam;—and (4), two fasciculi of the *New Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

We also beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following works:—

(5) Pope's *Universal Prayer*, set to Indian airs, by RAJA SIR SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.I.E. (J. C. Bose and Co., Bow Bazar Calcutta, 1894), in which the thirteen verses of that poetical prayer are arranged to different *Raginis* and *Talas*, while the first verse, set to *Ragini Bhupali* and *Tala Madhyamana*, serves as a refrain after each verse; and the melodies are reproduced in our common western musical notation.

(6) Rao Bahadur, Pundit H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B., has published three pamphlets: the first deals with Prof. Oldenburgh's *Paraskara Grihaya Sutra* and notes the Pundit's own discovery of a MS. varying in important particulars from the text used by the learned European scholar;—the second is on the *Nadoli* inscription of King Alhanadeva,—first discovered by Tod,—and of which we are given a history, a transcript and a translation;—and the third, on the progress and development of Aryan speech, is the first of our learned author's Wilson Lectures for 1894 at the Bombay University,

(7) *The Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, Pt. III., Vol. II., 2d. Session, 1892-3 (Kegan Paul and Co., 1895), containing, with

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Vol. IX., No. 18, April, 1894, p. 469.

numerous illustrations, two papers as usual of great interest, on the "Family and Relationship in Ancient Japan," by W. G. ASTON, and on "Wood and its application to Japanese Artistic and Industrial Design," by G. CAWLEY.

(8) *The Inaugural Discourse of the Central University of Madrid*, by DR. DON M. ANTON Y FERRANDIZ, Professor of Anthropology in that centre of learning: it is entitled *Razas y naciones de Europa*, and gives an erudite summary of information on the subject, down to date.

(9) *Das Mahabharata, als Epos und Rechtsbuch*, von JOSEPH DAHLMAN, S.J., a problem in the history of ancient civilization and literature of India (Berlin: F. L. Dames; London: T. Wohleben, Great Russell Street).

(10) *Twenty-one Days in India*, by G. ABERIGH MACKAY; 6th Ed. (London: W. H. Allen and Co.). (will be reviewed in our next.)

Our thanks are also due for, 1. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—2. *Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research;—3. *Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome: A. Boffani);—4. *Tung-pao*, (Leyden: E. J. Brill);—5. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—6. *The Review of Reviews* (London: W. T. Stead);—7. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—8. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—9. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—10. The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (the office of which has been transferred from Washington to Astor Place, New York);—11. *Public Opinion*, (London);—12. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London);—13. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris);—14. *La Revue d'Orient*, (Buda-Pest);—15. *The Canadian Gazette*, (London);—16. *The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.);—17. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie*, (Paris);—18. *The Moslem World* (New York);—19. *Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette);—20. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart);—21. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: The National Press);—22. *The Strand Magazine*;—23. *The Art Bible*, Pt. IV.;—24. *Round London*;—25. *The Sportfolio*;—all four from Geo. Newnes and Co., London.

As we are going to Press, we have received *Life on the Bosphorus—Turkey, Past and Present*, by W. J. J. SPRY, published by Messrs. H. S. Nichols, a wonderfully fine work, richly illustrated, which we hope to review in our next issue—as also a *History of the Deccan*, by J. D. B. GRIBBLE, published by Messrs. Luzac and Co., a monumental work worthy of the research and genius of its author, formerly of the Madras Civil Service. The last-named Publishers have also sent us for review in our next issue *Europe in China*, by E. J. EITEL, PH.D., and we have also received *From far Formosa*, by G. L. MACKAY, D.D., published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

AT the INDIA Office, Field Marshal Sir Donald Stewart has been continued for a second term of service in the Secretary of State's Council, where two other vacancies remain yet unfilled. In India itself, the Viceroy's winter tour has included Agra, Gwalior, Bhopal, Poonah, Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, Trichinopoly and Madras, and the Commander-in-Chief also has been on inspection duty in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Sir A. Mackenzie on becoming Lieutenant Governor of Bengal vacates his seat as member of the Governor General's Council, to which the last appointed members are Mr. John Woodburn, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, the Nawab Amir-ud-din Ahmad Khan of Loharu, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, and Mr. Glendinning of the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce. The Government have passed resolutions urging railway companies to arrange for increase of comfort for their native passengers; and the medical services of the three presidencies are being amalgamated.

In 1894, the mortality from wild animals was 2,893 and from snake-bites 21,538; the rewards for destruction amounted to Rs. 115,078, (Rs. 10,000 being for 100,000 snakes) and included 1,311 tigers, 4,052 leopards, 1,456 bears, 2,614 wolves, 935 hyenas, 28 elephants, and 3,051 "other animals." The last Telegraph Report announced an addition of 1,941 miles of line with 4,001 of wire, making a total of 44,648 miles of line and 138,256 of wire; the capital expenditure was Rs. 37,400,000; gross receipts Rs. 8,000,000; expenditure Rs. 5,700,000; profit Rs. 2,300,000 (an increase of Rs. 300,000), being at the rate of 3·89 % on the capital. Private messages had increased by 218,982; the total number of messages was 3,200,000, showing an increase of 1,700,000 in the decade, being 111 % in number, and 96 % in value. The return of Indian trade for the last financial year gave the merchandize imports at Rs. 701,674,380,—a decrease of Rs. 37,895,190; Indian Exports at Rs. 1,037,574,380, besides Rs. 50,575,610 of merchandize re-exported; the total trade, including Government transactions and the precious metals, was Rs. 2,002,500,500. There was a nett export of gold to Rs. 49,740,940, and a nett import of silver to Rs. 63,750,840. A return of the Land trade, April to June, gave a total of Rs. 22,445,225 (a decrease of Rs. 400,000), the chief items being Bengal Rs. 6,675,000,—Punjab 6,425,000,—Burma 5,375,000. The Ladak trade has increased from Rs. 3,114,206 in 1889-90 to Rs. 6,015,320 in 1894-5; and the trade with Chinese Turkistan is Rs. 2,000,000, chiefly piece goods. The trade of Aden was Rs. 86,800,000—an increase of Rs. 5,400,000, or 6·66 %. On August 31, the cash balances at the treasuries amounted to Rs. 168,076,000. In 1894-5, the number of joint-stock companies in India was 1,204 with a capital of Rs. 276,685,690. The total railway accidents, including passengers and railway servants, was 4,536,—the average of the 3 previous years being 4,293.

Rs. 15,747,539 are sanctioned for completing the Chaman railway extension. Lord Wenlock has opened the Perryar waterwork which, by

a dam of some 5,000,000 cubic ft. of masonry, 1,300 ft. long  $\times$  177 ft. high and 138 ft. thick at the base sloping off to 12 feet at the top with a parapet of 4 ft., restrains the bulk of the Perryar river into a lake the waters of which are then conveyed from the West side of the mountains to the Vaigar river, on the East side, by a cutting and tunnel, through hard syenite rock, 5,700 ft.  $\times$  12 ft.  $\times$   $7\frac{1}{2}$  ft. This grand work, begun in 1884, at an estimate of about Rs. 65,000,000, now supplies 30,000,000 cubic feet of water for irrigation on the East side, on 100,000 acres of land; and as the gross revenue is calculated at Rs. 600,000 and the cost of maintenance at Rs. 125,000, there will be an annual profit of Rs. 475,000 or 6 % on capital expenditure. The Madras Government have instituted an annual prize of Rs. 500 for the best essay on S. Indian Palæography. A rich deposit of coal is reported from the Godavery district, not far from the recent discovery of plumbago. An ancient Edict-pillar of King Piyadesa-Asoka has been discovered at Nigilva in the Nepal Terai, the inscription of which seems to fix the death of Buddha at B.C. 477. A riot has taken place between some sepoys of the 18th Ben. N. Infantry and the police at Benares. The new Umballa waterworks, now delivering 240,000 gallons daily, have been opened at a cost of Rs. 370,000 of which Rs. 117,000 were subscribed by local Sikh chiefs and gentlemen. A quarrel was said to have arisen between the Khans of Nawagy and Malik Sultan of Matai in Mohmund territory. Sir G. Robertson has returned to Gilgit, Lt. Gurdon remains at Chitral, and Major Deane at the Malakand. A Danish expedition with Russian aid is going to survey the passes through Kafirstan into Chitral, apparently without any opposition. In the recent Pamir delimitation it seems that Russia wanted the Zanik Pass; Genl. Gerard telegraphed to Lord Rosebery who said No; the Russians insisted; and Lord Salisbury just came into office in time to declare it to be of no value and gave it up. One may almost say the only gain from this delimitation has been a scientific one: our Indian survey triangulation, carried over the Hindu Kush, has been connected with the Russian triangulation of Central Asia.

In BURMA an expedition of 400 troops has been sent against the Sana Kachins who have been giving trouble; and another of 600 into the North Lushai hills against Kairuna.

In the NATIVE STATES OF INDIA, the Sikkhim Raja, who, for attempted flight into Tibet, has been 3 years under suspension, has been reinstated in power; Raja Rama Varma has succeeded his deceased cousin on the *gaddi* of Cochin; the Raja of Kapurthulla has appointed a State Council, consisting of 11 officials with the Raja himself as President and Sardar Bhagat Singh, C.I.E. as vice-President, to discuss all measures of government at regular fortnightly sittings; and the distinguished Raja of Nabha has completed, at a cost of Rs. 80,000, a hospital, named after Lord Dufferin, which has been opened by Sir D. Fitzpatrick. The annual horse fair at Ulwur has been a success,—with 800 horses, 1,000 cattle, and Rs. 1,500 in prizes. In Baroda, the Gaekwar has quashed the finding of the Bapat Enquiry Commission which declared that officer guilty on 11 of the 12 charges and recommended a fine of Rs. 10,000 with 6 months'

imprisonment ; and Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai has been abruptly dismissed. The Mysore General Assembly was held as usual ; the revenue was Rs. 18,000,000—the highest yet reached ; the year's surplus, Rs. 1,700,000 which, added to those of former years, raised the credit balance to Rs. 12,700,000. Among other work done by the late Maharaja, 63 out of 66 Taluqs had been provided with efficient midwives and 5 dispensaries had been opened for women and children.

The Goa revolt has, after long delay, been put down by troops and ships from Lisbon, and the Governor General, the Viscount de Ourems has been replaced by his immediate predecessor, Dom Rafaele de Andrade.

IN AFGHANISTAN, Sardar Habibullah Khan, the heir apparent, is betrothed to a daughter of Umra Khan, late of Jandol, who has been decorated with a robe of honour and given a high office ; Sardar Nasrullah Khan is still at Kandahar ; General Ghulam Haidar Khan has captured some Kafir forts ; and the British Agent at Kaubul—Colonel Muhammad Akram Khan—has, with his son, been slain.

Sir A. Havelock has quitted CEYLON on leave, before replacing Lord Wenlock, and Sir J. W. Ridgeway has not yet arrived. Solomon Diaz Bandaranayake has been appointed Mahamudeliar. The revenue for the last financial year was Rs. 19,485,310 ; expenditure Rs. 20,342,893, deficit Rs. 857,588 ; for this year, the estimate is, revenue Rs. 21,000,000 and expenditure Rs. 14,416,814. The contribution for Colonial Defence presses very heavily, being fixed at nearly 1-10th of the total revenue. The MALADIVE Islands' ambassador has come as usual and offered tribute ; he said the break-water was finished and the tank approaching completion. A trained vaccinator goes back with him.

SIAM is developing its forests by means of a new Department which is being formed by Mr. M. H. Slade, whose services the Indian Forest Department have lent for 3 years. Chantabong is still in French hands, and they are strengthening themselves yet more on the Mekong. The Protectorate of ANNAM AND TONQUIN, the financial affairs of which have never been very satisfactory, is allowed to borrow frcs. 8,000,000 at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  %, on the guarantee of France, half for past debts and half for future public works.

The Crown Prince of JAPAN has happily recovered from a severe illness. Between July 1894 and March 1895, the Osaka mint, working 16 hours daily, Sundays included, produced 1,680,000 *yens* in gold, 29,801,790 in silver and 350,046 in nickel. The sale of stamps and post cards in 1894 had risen to 6,795,335 *yen*, from 4,800,000 in 1892 and 2,800,000 in 1888.

KOREA continues in disorder. An organized riot at Seoul ended in the shameful murder of the energetic Queen by Japanese ; and in consequence Viscount Inonyé has returned to Seoul, to replace Viscount Miura who, on landing in Japan, was with several others placed at once under arrest. His staff, some military officers and 40 other Japanese were brought back from Seoul. The Queen's death has broken up the Min party ; as a local paper said, a settled government, once probable, is now impossible ; and "there is no money, no credit, no defence ; no order, no progress, no education ; no heart, no spirit, no help and no hope." The King has, meanwhile, been proclaimed "Emperor,"—he has chosen another queen,



—has banished his son at the request of his father, the notorious Tai Won Kun,—and has announced retrenchments and a solar calendar for 1896.

CHINA has appointed as special Ambassador to Paris, Ching Chang, formerly Governor of Shanghai. The Viceroy of Szechuan has been publicly degraded for ever in compliance with the British *ultimatum*; fresh outrageous publications against foreigners and riots are reported; the Muhammadan rebellion continues to make head; but Hu Yü-fen, ex-Taotai of Tientsin, has been appointed Director General of Railways; two lines are to be constructed at once; and the first instalment of the war indemnity has been paid in. There are rumours of a private convention with Russia granting that power a right of anchorage for her war-vessels in Port Arthur, and the construction of a railway thence to Vladivostock.

In RUSSIAN ASIA, the Vladivostock army and fleet have been still further increased; the Siberian railways are being energetically pushed forward; and three "scientific expeditions," each with 100 Cossacks, have started from the Amour to explore Manchuria. The Shah of PERSIA has granted a concession to a Russian Company to construct a proper harbour at Enzeli, the Persian port on the Caspian; and the ill-treatment of the Jews at Hamadan, on representation having been made to the Shah, has been expressly forbidden.

Kostaki Pasha Anthopoulos, a Greek Christian, has been appointed Ambassador of TURKEY in London. The financial report to 31st March 1895, gave the revenue at £T. 2,546,027; expenditure £T. 361,864; the entire decrease in the revenue, in spite of cholera, bad crops, and disorder, was only £T. 8,256; the external debt had been reduced by 1,738,827; and an *Iraddé* authorized the conversion of the 5% to a 4% loan. General disorder, repeated changes of officials, ministerial crises and riots attended with sad loss of life have been of frequent occurrence; even a list of the places where serious disturbances happened exceeds our limits. Reforms have been promised, announced and not yet carried out or even begun. Demonstrations have been made by the European powers and fleets moved up to the Ægean; but nothing has been or is being done, except talk. Rebellion has again broken out in Yemen, and 45,000 Arabs, under Sayyad Muhammad Yahya Hamid-ud-din, have, after several victories, practically confined the Turkish forces to the capital, Sana.

The Khedive of EGYPT has been decorated by the Pope with the order of Pio Nono, and a movement among the Copts for reunion with Rome has led to the appointment by the Pope of a Catholic Copt as Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria, in addition to the numerous personages who bear that historical title and do nothing. Nubar Pasha, whom age and infirmities compelled to resign the Premier-ship, has been succeeded by Mustapha Fehmi Pasha. The Budget anticipates a surplus of £646,000,—receipts £10,516,000 and expenditure £9,870,000. Great Britain and Egypt have executed an Anti-slavery convention, in accordance with which a law will be passed increasing the penalties—in some cases, including that of death, for ill-treatment, purchase, sale and transport of slaves;—every slave becomes entitled to demand at will letters of enfranchisement;

—the Government will annually pay £300 to the Cairo Home for liberated slaves, to give it an official standing ;—and an ultimate court of appeal with 3 European and 2 native members will deal with all cases concerning slaves, except on the frontiers and on the Red Sea where courts martial are to continue. £25,000 have been sanctioned for a geological survey, under Capt. Lyons, R.E.

In ALGIERS the French Government have annulled the concessions which some British firms had purchased from some French ones, as such transfer is against the system of French internal administration, which is not an international affair.

In MOROCCO disturbances continue ; an attack has been made by a large body of Arabs on Safi, and a British merchant's store has been pillaged, with a loss of £4,000.

In WEST AFRICA, a strange riot occurred at Bathurst, the police—some 50 men from Sierra Leone,—having been assaulted by a Muhammadan mob, who after driving them into their barracks attacked Government House, but were eventually dispersed on the Governor's promise of sending away the police. This was done by night and with great precautions, though a gunboat summoned by telegraph had arrived to restore order. The future looks interesting. The British commissioners for delimiting French Senegal and British GAMBIA, Messrs. Ozanne and Reeve, attended by Messrs. Sitwell and Hammil, have gone from Bathurst into the interior to meet the French commissioners. King Prempeh of ASHANTI having rejected the British *ultimatum* is having an expedition all to himself, consisting of 700 Houssa troops, 400 of the West India Regiment at Sierra Leone, and 300 men and 30 officers,—special siftings from various corps. The organizing of this microscopic expedition has already taken a month ; and military men ask why any half-battalion in the country could not have been sent out at one day's notice ? The execution of Mr. Stokes is still under investigation and Mr. Lothaire's trial has not yet come off, though indemnities have been already paid. Inspector Fuchs has been sent out to report on the entire administration of the CONGO STATE, district by district, especially noting all abuses of authority. The profits of the Upper Congo for 1894 were *frs.* 1,666,000 on a capital of 5,000,000 with 1,882,000 working expenses. The rebellion near Luluaberg has been ended by a victory gained by a Major Lothaire.

The CAPE COLONY revenue for the last quarter (ending September) was £1,518,315, an increase of £287,826. Imports for the 11 months were £17,363,874—increase of £6,815,980, and exports £15,410,418,—increase of £2,657,245. The NATAL revenue to the end of June was £3,288,193—an increase of £158,763, and expenditure £1,141,093,—decrease of £38,306. The export of coal has risen to 13,000 tons a month ; and experiments are being made to form plantations of cork trees. Illness has compelled President Rietz to resign his office in the ORANGE FREE STATE, but his successor has not yet been elected. President Kruger of the TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC, after first arbitrarily closing the roads to the drifts, has reopened them and promised they will no more be closed without the consent of the Imperial Government. Traffic rates have been arranged.

as against the Cape and Free State railways, to compel despatch of all goods by the Netherland Railway Co. *via* Delagoa Bay. The territories of Montsioa and Ikaumirey, in the BECHUANA Protectorate, have been placed under the Chartered Co. The Chiefs Khama, Bathoen and Sebelé have returned home after a satisfactory arrangement, with the Colonial office, of their claims. Their territories remain inalienable and under a British Imperial officer; no intoxicating liquors are to be sold or introduced; but a strip of land is to be yielded to the B. S. Africa Co. for a railway to connect Rhodesia and S. Bechuanaland. The telegraph has been opened between Umtali and Beira, completing communication between the Cape and the East Coast. The Portuguese, attacked by Gungunhana, have routed him; and his messenger to the Cape was told he must make peace with the Portuguese as he can, being within their sphere of influence.

Major von Wissmann was preparing to punish the chiefs Machamba and Hassan Bin Omari, who had given trouble and refused to submit. An expedition was going against the chief Aziz, who had joined Kombo and pillaged a caravan: the objective was Rabai. Another caravan has been attacked by the Masai, with a massacre of 1,000 men. 30 Punjabi Moslem sepoys had been selected, from volunteers, for service on the Mombasa-Uganda Railway. The American explorer, Mr. Donaldson Smith, with only one European companion, has, after 18 months' travels about Lake Rudolf, returned to the Tana River. The Abyssinians first attacked the Italians and were defeated with loss; then General Baratieri completed his fortifications at Adowa, Adigrat and Makaleh; finally a detachment under Major Toselli was attacked by the entire Shoan army, but after very heavy loss was rescued by General Arimondi. Of the three Abyssinian Generals, Ras Michael was killed (as was Major Toselli), and Ras Alulu and Ras Mangascia were both wounded. The Italian positions were safe.

In MADAGASCAR the French took Antananarivo after a "brilliant action," the Queen, court and troops having fled; peace had been made and the French Protectorate re-established; but what difference it all makes is not quite clear. Some British missionaries have unfortunately been murdered by marauding bands. In NEW GUINEA, an unsuccessful attempt was made by some natives on the life of Sir W. Macgregor, the Administrator.

AUSTRALIA. In the *Costa Rica* case, referred for arbitration to the Russian Professor Dr. Martins, the English side having been already sent in, the arbitrator is awaiting the reply of the Netherlands. All the five Australian Colonies have new Governors this quarter.

Viscount HAMPDEN has entered on office as Governor of NEW SOUTH WALES, where the Federation Enabling Bill has passed both Houses, and the revenue for the last quarter was £2,397,000, an increase of 108,000. In VICTORIA, where Lord Brassey has been well received as Governor, a new reduced tariff of duties has been passed, and a new monthly service of steamers, for frozen meat, poultry, butter and cheese, has been started going direct to Manchester. Last quarter's revenue was £1,151,000, an increase of £15,000. In SOUTH AUSTRALIA the Governor's salary has been reduced from 5 to £4,000, and Sir T. Fowell Buxton has entered on office; and here also the Federation Enabling Bill has passed both Houses.

Last quarter's revenue was £528,000, an increase of £14,000. In QUEENSLAND, Lord Lamington replaces Sir H. Norman. Col. Sir Gerard Smith is the new Governor of WEST AUSTRALIA, the premier of which on visiting Coolgardie (where a fire had caused damage to about £250,000) has promised a railway and waterworks in the immediate future. Last quarter's revenue was £1,102,285, an increase of £92,000, and expenditure £562,000, an increase of £24,000. Eight months' output of gold, to end of August, had been—from Coolgardie 81,000 oz. and 21,000 oz. from all the other West Australian fields.

In NEW ZEALAND, after all the previous talk, the bill for ratifying the proposed reciprocity treaties with Canada and S. Australia, was negatived by 28 votes to 26, without any discussion!

We congratulate CANADA on having secured, as an important result to her Ottawa Conference, from the Imperial Government an annual grant of £75,000 for a fast mail service between herself and Great Britain; but with regard to the Pacific Cable scheme, the Colonial Office, instead of equally prompt action, has proposed a very needless conference on its practical aspects between delegates, two from Great Britain, two from Canada, and two from Australia. The Canadian revenue to the end of June was \$33,929,809, expenditure \$38,009,341; deficit \$4,079,532, which is, however, \$250,000 less than was estimated. The quarter following, revenue increased by \$500,000 and expenditure diminished by \$250,000. The nett debt of \$252,999,473 showed an increase of \$6,816,444. The catch of seals was 72,500 against 94,474. Sir Mackenzie Bowell and Sir C. H. Tupper went to Washington to attend the Behring Sea Conference regarding payment of Canadian sealing claims: the affair is still pending. There is a scarcity of proper silver coins, and the increased amount of United States Silver is causing much commercial and financial trouble. The Militia are being armed with the Lee-Mitford rifle and a manufactory for its ammunition is to be established at Quebec.

NEWFOUNDLAND, in spite of depression and the smuggling which is said to represent a loss of \$100,000 a year, has paid its last dividends and those due in January also are safe. Last quarter's revenue, though \$32,800 or 10 % less than last year's, showed an improvement on the previous quarter. A great bed of coal—12 miles by 6—is reported on the railway line about 40 miles east of Bay of Islands; but some state that it has been long known; and we are told somewhat vaguely, that "the railway is now some distance beyond Bay of Islands and only a few miles will remain for construction next year, to bring it to Port aux Basques."

WEST INDIES. Several annual reports are to hand. GRENADA: revenue £63,062,—increase £3,852; expenditure £59,594,—increase £1,855; imports £196,998 against previous year's £116,678; exports £189,614, against £136,063. Of the imports, 50 % were from the United Kingdom and 30 % from the United States.—ST. LUCIA: revenue £56,590 against £51,598; expenditure £54,500 against £49,271; imports £187,135 against £168,978; and exports £145,894 against £178,430.—ST. VINCENT: the revenue which showed an increase over that of 1893 was £28,574; expenditure £30,976; deficit £2,402; imports £91,009, decrease of

£2,418; and exports £87,374, decrease of £27,320—owing to low prices for produce.—TOBAGO: revenue £9,055 against £9,211; expenditure £8,135 against £8,537.—TRINIDAD: revenue £585,905; expenditure £537,775; imports £2,152,833 against £2,270,885; exports £2,000,788 against £2,320,824; total trade £3,596,293. The decrease of £231,949 is due not to fall in quantity of trade but to decline in prices. From 1889 to 1891 there were deficits; but 1892 showed a surplus of £9,794; 1893 of £19,050, and 1894 of £48,130.—TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS: revenue £8,840 against £7,434.

*Obituary.*—The following have died during this quarter:—Prof. William-son of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, a prominent educationalist;—the Jebu King Aboki from near Lagos;—Dy. Surg. Genl. R. W. Cockerill (Crimean and China wars);—Director General Sir T. Crawford, M.D., K.C.B. (Burma 1852 and Crimea);—Mulai Muhammad, half-brother of the young Sherif of Wazan;—H. H. the Rani of Kallikota and Attagada;—Colonel H. C. Bryde, late of the Ceylon Legislative Council;—Col. H. F. Le Champion (Sutlej and Mutiny Campaigns);—Sir H. J. B. Burford-Hancock, Vice-chancellor and Chief Justice of Jamaica;—Sardar Hafizullah Khan, a son of the Amir of Afghanistan;—Sir J. B. Patterson, K.C.M.G., sometime Premier of Victoria; Inspector General Sir W. Mackenzie, M.D., K.C.B., C.S.I. (Mutiny);—Sir W. Le Fleming Robinson, Bart., Bengal C.S. retired;—Lt. Genl. Hugh Rowband (Bhutan 1864 and Afghanistan 1878);—H.H. Maharaja Sir Jaswant Singhji of Jodhpur, G.C.S.I.;—H.H. Maharaja Duleb Singhji of Sailana, well known for his charities and religious endowments;—Major Lachlan Forbes (Southal and Mutiny campaigns);—Major Genl. P. E. V. Gilbert, C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny, Transvaal and Zulu wars);—Major Genl. Sir P. M. Melvill, K.C.B., who served in the Survey, Military and Political Departments;—James Montefiore, last survivor of King William IV.'s Commission for colonizing Australia;—Lt. Genl. Sir W. A. Fyers, K.C.B. (Scindh, Afghan, Crimea, and Mutiny wars);—Lady Clarke, wife of Lt.-Genl. Sir A. Clarke, R.E., K.C.M.G.;—His Exc. Col. Souza Foyo, Portuguese Governor of Diu;—Col. P. Roddy, v.c. (Mutiny, Abyssinia and Afghanistan 1878 wars);—His Exc. Rustem Pasha, Turkish Ambassador to the Court of St. James;—the Queen's well and widely known Secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby, G.C.B.;—Major Genl. Sir C. H. Palliser, G.C.B. (N.W. Frontier 1853, Mutiny, Abyssinia and Afghan wars);—Col. F. D. M. Browne, v.c. (Mutiny and Umbeyla campaigns);—General G. G. Anderson (Punjab 1848);—Hon. James Taylor of the Queensland Legislative Council;—Major Genl. E. Atlay, C.B. (both Punjab wars, Kangra, Umbeyla and Hazara campaigns);—the distinguished French *savant* and Orientalist, Jules Barthélemy St. Hilaire;—the American Arabic Scholar, Dr. Van Dyck, long a missionary at Beyrut in Syria;—Cardinal Ignatius Persico, sometime Bishop of Agra;—Aarfi Pasha, sometime minister of Turkish Foreign Affairs;—Major Wiremu Te Wheoro, of Churchill, New Zealand, a loyal Maori chief;—and Major Genl. Frank Chaplin, (2nd Punjab War).

16th Decr., 1895.

V.

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

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APRIL, 1896.

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FRANCE AND SIAM.

BY GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, K.C.B., V.C.

BEFORE attempting to estimate the effects which the Anglo-French Declaration of January 1896 is likely to produce in Siam and neighbouring countries, it may be well to review the aspirations of France, her early endeavours to obtain a foothold on the South Eastern coast of Asia and her subsequent success in establishing a vast Empire in Indo-China covering 200,000 square miles with a population estimated at 18 million inhabitants. So long ago as 1680, Louis XIV. sent an embassy to Bangkok, with a view to establish a protectorate over Siam, but French efforts were unsuccessful and the attempt was abandoned before the end of the 17th century. The history of Indo-China after a long period of silence has during the last 40 years become full of incident. In 1858, by command of the Emperor Napoleon III., Cochin China was invaded by French troops and in 1867 the whole of Cochin China came under the French. In 1863, Cambodia became a Protectorate of France: that over Annam dates from 1874, but present relations are determined by a convention of 1884, and in 1884 Cambodia was annexed: in 1873 the Protectorate of France over Tongking was asserted and in 1885 Tongking became a part of the French Empire. In 1893 the French boundary was pushed westwards so as to include all territory on the left bank of the lower Mekong and Siam was prohibited from maintaining Forts or troops on the Mekong, in

Angkor and in Battambang and from keeping armed vessels on the Mekong and the Great Lake. France obtained the right to establish consulates at Khorat, Muang Nam and elsewhere ; she has occupied and fortified Chantaboon as a temporary measure. Since 1893, negotiations have been carried on by England, China and France regarding the frontier of French Indo-China, North of the Siamese territory on the Mekong. It was proposed to introduce a buffer-State between the French and English spheres of influence and an attempt was made to set up a buffer-State under the suzerainty of China then accepted as a powerful Empire ; the war with Japan, however, proved that China was not strong enough to maintain so difficult a position and the Buffer-State has disappeared. By the declaration signed in London on 15th January 1896 it is arranged that the integrity of a very important portion of Siam, 84,600 square miles in extent, shall be guaranteed by England and France conjointly. This District includes the capital Bangkok, the basins of the Menam and all other rivers which drain into the Gulf of Siam from Bong Tapan to Pase and also the territory North of the basin of the Menam between the Anglo-Siamese frontier, the Mekong and the East watershed of the Me Ing. From the mouth of the Nam Huok northwards as far as the Chinese Frontier the "Thalweg" of the Mekong shall form the limit of the possessions or spheres of influence of Great Britain and France.

France possesses all territory from Stung-treng to the mouth of the Nam Huok on the Eastern side of the Mekong and a strip of land 25 kilomètres in width West of the Mekong ; all the Eastern portion of Siam including Khorat is assigned to France as a sphere of independent action : by the convention of June 20th 1895 China surrendered Muang Hu and Muang Hu Tai to France.

From the past proceedings of France it may be inferred that, at an early date, an opportunity will be seized to incorporate in her Indo-Chinese Empire the 80,000 square

miles assigned as her sphere of independent action, and the intention of France to pursue this course is sufficiently indicated by the continued occupation of Chantaboon by French troops. Now the Eastern portion of Siam is important not only from its intrinsic value but also because in it is included Khorat ; Khorat is the temporary terminus of a line of railway from Bangkok to the North-East designed to bring goods from Khorat, Nongkhoy on the Mekong and the far North to the port of Bangkok. Monsieur de Lanessan, the prophet of the expansion of France, lately Governor-General of French Indo-China, ten years ago recommended that the project of constructing the Bangkok-Khorat railway should be thwarted by every possible means. A considerable part of the commerce of Bangkok passes through Khorat. So long as the Franco-Siamese frontier follows the line fixed in the treaty of the 3rd October 1893 it will be to the advantage of France that merchandize, instead of passing through Khorat, shall be diverted to some port East of Bangkok. Within the French sphere of influence also lies the Great Lake respecting which M. de Lanessan has expressed himself in the following terms as quoted by Mr. Gundry :

"The Great Lake has not merely a great economic importance ; it has also an immense political value. The entire possession of that great depression and of the basin which it drains is one of the most important desiderata of the work which we have hitherto pursued in an empirical way, but which we can and should accomplish henceforth systematically. The Western part of the Lake especially—namely the part which our too ignorant or too careless diplomacy ceded to Siam with the Provinces of Battambang and Angkor—is one of the vital points of the peninsula, from whatever point of view, commercial, political or military, we regard it." . . . "All the efforts of the Government of Indo-China should be directed towards repairing the injuries inflicted by the deplorable treaty of 1867. It may be said that the interest of Siam is also at stake. In assuring to her the protection of her independence, which is destined to be constantly threatened by England, we might easily obtain, without striking a blow, a modification of the treaty of 1867, which would secure for Cambodia not only the whole of the Great Lake, but also the provinces of Battambang and Angkor, which ought to constitute, in this point of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the limit of our reasonable ambition."

These are the words of a politician of eminence, a late



Governor-General of Indo-China ; England has agreed to abstain from interference, so there is absolutely nothing to prevent France from annexing Battambang and Angkor and Khorat on the slightest provocation or pretext, and in fact advancing her frontier westwards so as to include the whole of the country now included in her sphere of influence. M. Philippe Lehault in "*La France et l'Angleterre en Asie*" includes in his "*Carte Politico-économique*" all Siam, all Yunnan and the portions of Quangsi and Quangtung South of the River Ta Kiang from Yunnan to Canton in the French sphere and grants to England only the Malay Peninsula with the grudging remark that "British occupation of the Malay Peninsula would be from a political point of view a serious event." In his most recent work "*La Colonisation Française en Indo-Chine*" M. de Lanessan recommends the construction of a number of railways, and says that it is necessary from motives of policy and economy to commence without delay : 1st, the sections Hanoi to Phu-Lang-Thuong, and Langson to Nacham which assure us a preponderating influence on the borders of China ; 2nd, the line from Hanoi to Vinh ; 3rd, a line from Saigon up the valley of the Mekong to the Upper Mekong. The object of these first lines is to tap the trade of China and to make Hanoi its port of export and of the 3rd to divert the trade of the Upper Mekong from Khorat and Bangkok and from Burma and to attract it to Saigon.

France having a definite forward policy appears as the prominent party to the declaration of 1896 ; she has virtually secured a vast territory and has adopted Siam as a buffer between French Indo-China and Burma ; she has gained possession of Mongsin and of two districts of China and has done much to strengthen her own mercantile position and to exclude England from access through Burma to Yunnan.

The policy of France was indicated by the writings of explorers and others at earlier dates and was clearly set

forth by M. de Lanessan in 1886 and Great Britain has looked on at the rapid expansion of France without making any serious effort to interfere; she has deliberately allowed port after port, of which the commerce belonged to the merchants of Greater Britain, to pass into the hands of France with the result that crushing import duties have been imposed on all goods that were not French.

The prospects of France seem dazzling; the one thing needful to carry out her splendid projects is money. The national debt of France is twice that of England, and in addition to the interest on it she has to pay the heavy tax of conscription. Her army and navy are on a gigantic scale; Algeria costs a million sterling per annum; Madagascar is a costly acquisition; all her Colonies require subsidies; Tongking alone is said to have cost fifty millions sterling and now demands a loan of four millions. How is it possible that means can be obtained to construct the works necessary for developing the resources of Indo-China? The trade of France follows the flag with slow and uncertain steps, while the trade of other nations is choked by the prohibitive tariff of French Protection. The policy of France has been hostile to England; the success of France has not on that account been less acceptable in Paris; the same policy may lead to further acquisitions of territory and minister to French pride, but she is apparently not at present in a financial condition to profit by her glorious opportunity.

From the Declaration of the 15th January 1896, Siam may learn that she need not appeal to England in case of an attempt on the part of France to take from her her Eastern Provinces, and that it would be useless to invite the interference of France in case of a desire on the part of England to annex her Provinces in the Malay Peninsula or a strip of country 8800 square miles in extent in the Salween Valley; she has the guarantee of France and England for the safety of the Capital and the integrity of the Menam Valley and of a narrow tract of country North of the Menam unless

France and England combine against her. Siam has now breathing time in which she can consider the expediency of extending the Bangkok-Khorat railway northwards, or of constructing the line from Bangkok up the Menam Valley and can develop the vast agricultural resources of the Menam Valley. She will acknowledge the necessity of maintaining friendship with her powerful neighbours ; she has good cause to fear France and has much to gain from England whose interest it is to assist her. It seems probable that the interests of Great Britain in Siam will become so great that it will be imperative on her to resist all attempts of France to annex Siam ; in case of war the decision as to the fate of Siam and of all Indo-China will rest with the country that has the command of the sea.

Since the conclusion of the war between China and Japan, the former has surrendered territory to Japan, Russia, France and Germany ; the dismemberment of the effete old Empire has commenced and who can predict how it will end ? In the hope of securing for herself the inland trade, France has already located her Consuls in Southern China ; it may be surmised that as her next step northwards she will endeavour to advance her frontier as far as the West River.

There is no desire on the part of Great Britain to extend her territory in the Far East, but there is a strong feeling that she should not be excluded from, or handicapped in, the trade with China. By the Declaration of 1896 the limit of French aggression westwards is defined or rather the limit to which France may advance westwards without having to reckon on English hostility ; thus the rights of British merchants at Bangkok are in a measure safeguarded and they have nearly a monopoly of the trade of Bangkok. As a result of greater security the production of the Menam Valley may be vastly augmented and a great increase of trade may be expected to arise from the construction of a railway from Bangkok up the valley of the Menam.

The part of the Isthmus of Kra, through which it was proposed to cut a canal, lies within the British sphere of

influence, and the canal would certainly be more useful to the British than to any other nation, but it is not a scheme that requires immediate attention. If a railroad is to be constructed from Maulmein to Zimme, now is the time to start the work, but the railway that is most important and should first of all be completed is that from Mandalay to the Kunlong ferry on the Salween River; if arrangements be at once made for British trade on the West or Canton River and on the Yang tze Kiang right into Yunnan, British mercantile interests will be well served and it may be predicted that England, France, Siam and China will all benefit by the Declaration of 1896. Russia has shown the advantage of a fixed policy in Asia by extending her borders from the North and West. France has realized the profit of a fixed forward policy in Indo-China. The inaction of China has resulted in defeat and loss of territory. It seems absolutely necessary that England too shall have a fixed policy in the Far East.

## THE MEKONG-MENAM ARRANGEMENT.

BY MAJOR GENERAL A. R. McMAHON.

ACKNOWLEDGING the patent fact of the inability of Siam to stand alone after its recent troubles with the French, and the possibility of their recrudescence, the present writer in an article published in the "United Service Magazine" on the 1st of January last, submitted an opinion that "the only hope of her salvation consists in England and France consenting, by formal treaty, to guarantee her autonomy, and, utilising her as a buffer between themselves, constitute her the 'Belgium of the East.'" A fortnight afterwards this solution was adopted and embodied in the Anglo-French Declaration of the 15th idem.

The Siamese still recall with pride that French doings in Siam are matters of ancient as well as of modern history, and that the pages of the latter part of the 17th Century annals have by no means so glorious a record in favour of the French as for themselves, though they admit that those of the end of the 19th tell a very different tale.

In 1685 and 1687 Louis XIV. of France sent embassies to Siam in several men-of-war full of troops, in charge of Envoys of high rank accompanied by twelve Jesuit Mathematicians charged with the duty of instructing the people in the Christian religion and mathematical sciences. Before very long however the Siamese learnt to their cost that the Jesuitical and combatant elements of the Mission were in furtherance of a barefaced political ruse for taking possession of their country under the cloak of religious philanthropy, but, being warned in time, they ignominiously expelled the interlopers.

We learn from an English translation of the French\*

\* A full and true Relation of the great and wonderful Revolution that hapned lately in the Kingdom of Siam In the *East Indies* . . . Being the substance of several letters writ in October 1688 and February 1689. From Siam and the Coast of Coromandel. Never publisht in any language, and now translated in English. London Stationers Hall.

narrative of this episode that the arch-conspirator in this scheme was a Greek adventurer named Constantine Faulcon, a confidential Minister of the King, who, deluding his Majesty by a plausible pretext, really endeavoured to bring the Kingdom under the French yoke by force of arms and, *notens volens*, Christianize the inhabitants. The opposition party in the State, though powerless for a time, subsequently succeeded in getting the upper hand and was, after much bloodshed on both sides, able to dictate terms by no means favourable to the French who were obliged to leave the country. In fact, contemporaneous and independent accounts tell us that the French Envoy soon afterwards left Bang-kok and arrived on the Coromandel Coast with 4 ships, having on board all the Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical members of his Mission, all of whom, by royal decree, had been commanded to leave the country subject to pain of death, while all Europeans harbouring them risked the same penalty.

Before indulging in remarks coming under the head of the title chosen for this paper, it seems desirable to formulate the *pros* and *cons* of the agreement arrived at by England and France. Lord Stanmore, the mover of the Address in the House of Lords at the last opening of Parliament, said that he viewed the arrangement with satisfaction, because it afforded nothing like a brilliant triumph for either party thereto. He denied that it was a partition of Siam, for what remained of the Kingdom was placed under the tutelage of two European Powers, whereas the provinces thereof not referred to in the document, stood precisely as they did before. What had happened was that the central provinces had been guaranteed in all their neutrality, and that was a great advantage to the two European Powers by relieving them of many misgivings and preventing misunderstandings. It was also an advantage to Siam, for it left that country to employ its whole resources on its own development, instead of in useless military defence. The English Secretary of the

Siamese Legation, writing in the February number of the "Nineteenth Century" corroborates this view of the position of Siam, and apparently concurs with his Lordship.

In the course of the debate on the Convention in the French Chamber on the 24th of February, Monsieur Berthelot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave an elaborate history of the negotiations which had culminated in the Treaty being signed in a spirit of concord and reciprocal sympathy. The same spirit of conciliation would not, he declared, cease to animate the French in the examination of other questions which interested France and Great Britain, not one of which had been lost sight of. He also pointed out that both Governments attached great importance to securing the integrity of the Siamese Kingdom, whose position is analogous to that in which Belgium stood with respect to Europe. The Minister concluded with expressing an earnest hope that commerce and industry would take over the work of fructifying the newly acquired possessions now that arms and diplomacy had accomplished their task. In the same Chamber, three days afterwards, Monsieur Develle, formerly Foreign Minister, remarked :

"Recently France had been enabled to become more than ever mistress of her own destinies, and to make a great effort with respect to her Colonial dominions, but it was time to reap some profit after so many costly expeditions, and to settle down to organize the newly-acquired territory. The Franco-British arrangement would allow her to pursue this peaceful work."

The Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, lately Secretary to the French Embassy in London, also approved the Convention,

"as it was reassuring to Siam and satisfactory to the two countries concerned, since it put an end to old difficulties and afforded hope for the solution of other difficulties existing between the two countries in various parts of the globe."

These several quotations of opinion may be accepted as the argument of those in favour of the scheme ; and as Lord Rosebery championed the cause of the malcontents in the House of Lords he may be selected as the mouth-piece of those who are not. His Lordship complains that though England has given up much she has received no *quid pro quo* by the arrangement. *Imprimis* he objects to

our having relinquished the principle of a small Buffer State in the Mekong region, though most people nowadays have long been impressed with the absurdity of the notion and have consigned it to the limbo of the impracticable. They will doubtless now accept the inevitable in the shape of the creation of a *real* buffer state—the most prominent feature in the Declaration. Secondly his Lordship objects to our relinquishing Mongsin and other places on the left bank of the Mekong, occupied by British troops, in the face of the *dictum* of the first Lord of the Treasury that the first principle of the present Government was that “where a British soldier had once been, there he must remain.”

Lord Salisbury has taken the public into his confidence very fully and the reader has every opportunity for deciding on the case between these two great experts.

So long as England and France were at variance regarding their respective spheres of influence in this region, the prospect of tapping the South-Western Provinces of China in the interests of trade by the most direct routes *viâ* the Bay of Bengal to Europe, seemed relegated to a distant future. Commenting on this theme in his admirable articles on “The Far Eastern Question,” the special correspondent of the “Times,” in November last, contrasted the supineness of England with the activity of Russia in the matter of pushing forward railways into more or less unknown and inaccessible regions, pointing out that while we, crying as it were for the moon, have done little or nothing as regards imitating Russian policy in connection with negotiating our more practicable Chinese frontier, Russia, on the contrary, has neglected no opportunity for consolidating her relations with the Mongolian and Manchurian Provinces which march with her Siberian frontier: “Meanwhile,” remarks he, “what has England done?”

“She has wasted years in discussing the relative merits of different routes for approaching South-West China from Burma, and after finally recognizing the insuperable difficulties of the line originally favoured by the Indian Government from Bhamo to Tal-i-fu, he has adopted, not the line which every consideration, technical as well as political,



appeared to recommend for a great Indo-Chinese trunk line from Moulmein up the Salween valley across Kiang-kheng to Szumao, but a small branch line from Mandalay through Theebaw to the Kunlun ferry on the Salween, and thence on to the Chinese frontier at Mungting, and another running also from Mandalay up the valley of the Irawadi to Mogaung, whence connexion by road would have to be established with Tal-i-fu and Yun-nan-fu. Both these lines will doubtless prove useful, but they must be looked upon rather as makeshifts than as the adequate solution of a question which has for years past been repeatedly urged upon the attention of successive Governments. Can one doubt, for instance, that if the construction of the Moulmein-Kiang-kheng-Szumao railway had been taken in hand ten years ago, there would never have been room for the difficulties which have recently arisen between ourselves and the French with regard to the Upper Mekong valley."

That a line should be run from the sea-port of Rangoon to Szumao was the pet hobby favoured by Captain Sprye more than 20 years ago, and comparatively lately the subject was again revived by others with Moulmein as its starting-point. Various Chambers of Commerce in England highly approved the idea and frequently submitted it to the favourable consideration of the Duke of Argyll and the Marquis of Salisbury, the former of whom did not sympathise therewith, while the latter, on the contrary, ordered preliminary surveys of the proposed lines as far as the limits of our frontier; but nothing came of these tentative measures. Our Imperial Government, duly pressed in the matter from time to time, did not see its way to saddle the revenues of India with the enormous expenditure involved in a project which is chiefly for the benefit of English capitalists, and contents itself with developing Burma Proper in the interests of its inhabitants. The representatives of the British mercantile world however have hitherto failed to give proofs of the faith that is in them by advancing the necessary funds from their own pockets. The French commercial expedition which is moving from Tonking into Yün-nan, on the contrary, is now engaged in offering us an object-lesson as to the proper way of setting about projects of this kind, and is also a sign of the enterprising spirit in which French merchants and manufacturers are prepared to open out Indo-China.

If they act consistently on the knowledge attained thereby, they will be better able to compete with British traders,

by whom they are more or less severely handicapped in the race for profitable enterprise owing to lack of home industries suitable for the markets in the region which they desire to exploit.

"Of all nations in the world," wrote Max O'Rell some years ago, "the French are the people who least bother themselves about what is happening outside their country." This want of concern was then chiefly due to the fact that they were less dependent than those of other civilized communities for the actual necessities of life, and partly to the sentimental feeling of a home-loving people, who consider absence from *La Belle France* veritable exile. Of late, however, they have eschewed this lotus-eating existence, lured by the increased craving for many things which are now treated as necessities, but which lately came under the head of veritable luxuries. They also take the greatest interest in their foreign possessions in various parts of the world, especially those in Indo-China. As yet however their new rôle goes against the grain, for the French *métier* is Empire rather than Trade, and it requires time to evolve this sweeping change.

The existing railways to Prome, Toungoo and other important places in Burma have already effected a revolution for the better in the country through which they pass, bringing with them good government and prosperous contentment in lieu of anarchy and extreme dissatisfaction; so the inhabitants eagerly look forward to the advent of the Iron Horse. Arguing therefore from analogy, there is every reason to believe that the projected continuation lines will achieve equally satisfactory results. Our amicable arrangement with France will give us leisure to consider how best to promote these desirable objects. The cost of manual labour being a serious item of expenditure, it is a matter for congratulation that we can reckon on hardy and well-acclimatized men in the countries to be exploited, who can work well in fever-stricken localities which are deadly to the dwellers of the plains—people who, when first en-

countered, appeared to be irreclaimable savages, but have since become more trustworthy and amenable to discipline. The multiplicity of types keeping watch and ward along the whole stretch of borderland between Burma, China and Siam is positively bewildering, ranging from the negroid with high cheek bones, oblique eyes and a "nasal appendage scarcely better than a mere blotch on the face," to fine features, handsome outline of countenance, aquiline nose and a fair complexion which, with a very slight stretch of the imagination, might be accepted as belonging to a native of Southern Italy—a diversity which can only be accounted for, says a frontier officer, by the theory of the blending of Kachins with aboriginal races whom they supplanted and engulfed in successive waves of migration.

The anonymous writer of an excellent article in "Blackwood" for March, vividly recalls to our recollection the exciting incident which occurred in 1893, when two impudent French gunboats, by forcing the passage of the Menam river to Bang-kok, furnished a *casus belli* to Siam and precipitated a state of affairs which caused serious loss by dislocating the business of the mercantile world of a city in which French trade is almost *nil* and ours is about tenfold that of all other nations put together. Public opinion in England, as he shrewdly observes, gauged the very critical situation much better than the Foreign Office when, by its clamour, it forced the latter to take measures for preventing Siam passing for ever under the control of France. "How near the danger, how manifold the interests, how enormous might have been the loss, and how momentous the issues which hung in the balance for a few brief days need not be insisted on," significantly suggests the writer. Well may he add that Lord Salisbury and his colleagues have done wisely to take up this question, and we may record a hope that they have so far settled it that its ghost will not return to alarm the members of another and a weaker cabinet.

When forwarding a copy of the "Declaration" to the

English Ambassador at Paris, Lord Salisbury simultaneously wrote an explanatory letter to his Excellency, which was published in the "London Gazette" of the 21st January last, from which we cull some passages pertinent to the present subject, feeling sure that with his Lordship's note to aid them in the interpretation of the Agreement, our readers cannot fail to make themselves masters of the subjects to which it refers.

His Lordship writes :

"The most important provision which it contains is that which marks out for special treatment, as between the two Powers, that portion of Siam which is comprised within the drainage basin of the Menam, and of the coast streams of a corresponding longitude. Within this area the two Powers undertake that they will not operate by their military or naval forces, except so far as they may do it in concert for any purpose which may be required for maintaining the independence of Siam. They also undertake not to acquire within that area any privileges or commercial facilities which are not extended to both of them. In transmitting this Agreement to your Excellency, I am anxious to say a few words in explanation of it, in order to avoid a misinterpretation to which it might be exposed at the hands of those who are not familiar with recent negotiations.

"We fully recognize the rights of Siam to the full and undisturbed enjoyment, in accordance with long usage, or with existing Treaties, of the entire territory comprised within her dominions ; and nothing in our present action would detract in any degree from the validity of the rights of the King of Siam to those portions of his territory which are not affected by this Treaty. We have selected a particular area for the application of the stipulations of this Treaty, not because the title of the King of Siam to other portions of his dominions is less valid, but because it is the area which affects our interests as a commercial nation. The valley of the Menam is eminently fitted to receive a high industrial development. Possibly in course of time it may be the site of lines of communication which will be of considerable importance to neighbouring portions of the British Empire. There seems every prospect that capital will flow into this region if reasonable security is offered for its investment, and great advantage would result to the commerce and industry of the world, and especially of Great Britain, if capitalists could be induced to make such an application of the force which they command. But the history of the region in which Siam is situated has not in recent years been favourable to the extension of industrial enterprise, or to the growth of that confidence which is the first condition of material improvement. A large territory to the north has passed from the hands of the Burmese Government to those of Great Britain. A large territory to the east has passed from the hands of its former possessors to those of France. The events of this recent history certainly have a tendency to encourage doubts of the stability of the Siamese dominion ; and without in any degree sharing in those doubts, or admitting the possibility, within any future with which we have to deal, of the Siamese independence being compromised, Her Majesty's Government could not but feel that there would be an advantage in giving some security to the commercial world that, in regard to the region where the most active development is likely to take place, no further disturbances of territorial ownership are to be apprehended.

"I must add that we already have a very considerable trade with Siam which passes almost entirely through this region, and that any alteration of ownership which should carry with it Tariffs of a highly restrictive order would be a heavy blow to our commerce in that part of the world.

"Her Majesty's Government hope that the signature of this Agreement will tend to foster the industrial growth of all these extensive districts ; and they have been sufficiently impressed with this belief to be willing to attest it by admitting the French claims to the

ownership of the Möng Hsing district of Keng Cheng, a triangular portion of territory on the eastern side of the Upper Mekong. Its extent and intrinsic value are not large, and, on account of its unhealthy character devoid of great attraction for Great Britain, though her title to it as formerly tributary to Burmah appears to us evidently sound ; but its retention by her might prove a serious embarrassment to the cheap and effective administration by France of her possessions in that neighbourhood."

I fully endorse the hope entertained by her Majesty's Government which is referred to in his Lordship's concluding paragraph, and also believe that a preponderance of favourable opinion should be allotted to a settlement so admirable, which among other desirable things gives promise of the opening out of Yünnan, said by experts to be the "richest untapped market in the world."

## THE MEKONG TREATY AND THE MALAY PENINSULA.

BY W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.

SINCE writing my article, in the last issue of this Review, on the "Straits' Settlements," Great Britain has signed a treaty with France regarding the affairs of Siam; and this treaty, according to the generally received opinion of the public, gives us a free hand in the Malay Peninsula from Pahang and Province Wellesley to our Burmah possession of Tenasserim.

Under these circumstances, I will venture to make some remarks on the Perak troubles of 1875-6, as a warning to us in dealing with other Native States, and also to express my opinion as to our prospects in the Far East as affected by the recent treaty.

There never could be a more unjust libel or a more undeserved compliment, (according to individual opinion) than that contained in the accusation made by continental nations, that Great Britain and her Statesmen have persistently followed a Machiavellian policy to extend our rule over the face of the globe. There certainly have been, and we must hope that there always will be, Administrators of Provinces and Governors of Colonies, whose knowledge and patriotic foresight have determined what ought to be our policy for the good of our race and for the benefit of the people over whom Providence has ordained that we should rule; but certainly, it cannot be said, that for many years any Statesmen in charge of our Foreign and Colonial Offices have been aggressive, or have been actuated by any other desire than to keep things quiet and to diminish the responsibilities of Great Britain as much as possible. Indeed, it has been diffidence, susceptibility to the criticism of the Opposition and a fear to offend foreign Powers that have caused trouble and expense during the past 30 or 40 years,—all of which

might have been avoided by a bold and straightforward policy.

Fifty years ago we could afford to dally with the questions of extending our influence in Africa and the Far East; but the Exhibition of 1851 and the German victories of 1866 and 1871 have changed all this.

Continental nations have not only learned from us and become able to compete with us successfully in manufactures and trade, but Germany, Russia and especially France have entered upon a career of colonial enterprise, and are now prepared to dispute with England for every square mile of unoccupied territory. We must be prepared to take what falls in our way or to allow other nations to appropriate it; but the difference is, that, while we colonize not only for our own advantage but also for the benefit of every other nation, every colony established by France, Germany or Russia, though primarily intended for the aggrandisement of each respective nation, is really used as a weapon against the prosperity of British trade, that is the existence of the inhabitants of these Isles. At the present time we cannot persist in our old policy without serious danger of involving this country with one or other of the Great Powers.

Now in the case of the Malay States, the Home Government, after many years of representation from the Straits, and especially from Sir Harry Ord, a most able and experienced colonial Governor, as to the critical and dangerous state of affairs, had arrived at the decision that an inquiry (but no further steps) must be made; and written instructions to this effect were given to Sir Andrew Clarke when he left England, in Sept. 1873.

To corroborate this statement, I will quote the opinion of Mr. C. J. Irving, who was Colonial Secretary of the Straits' Settlements during the Perak war; in his Report on the Secretary of State's Despatch of Sept. 20, 1873, he says (see Bluebook) that in his opinion the Secretary of State wished the Native States to be recognized as they

were, and that their self-dependency should be "encouraged by a wholesome neglect." But on Sir Andrew Clarke's arrival at his seat of Government, he found that enquiry was useless as the facts were all patent; and that immediate action alone could save both the Native States and our Colony from anarchy and disaster. He therefore took, on his own responsibility, such steps as restored order and security for life and trade.

Now although Sir A. Clarke's action was formally sanctioned by the Secretary of State, yet the real state of things and the responsibilities incurred by the Pangkor treaty and the settlement of Salengor and Sungei Ujong were in but a small degree realized by the Home Government. Our Government was pleased that such promising results had been attained with such apparently little trouble; but at the same time its cordial consent was dependent on the assurance that there should be no pecuniary sacrifice or danger of troublesome complications. This can be proved by despatches in the Blue Book insisting on economy in the matter of the salaries of the proposed Residents, and that their appointments should be regarded as temporary and without hope of compensation in case of removal.

By the treaty of Pangkor, the Sultan and Chiefs of Perak were promised allowances from a Civil List to be provided out of the revenues of the State; but at that time the only revenue-producing district of Perak,—Larut,—had been swept clear of inhabitants, and the mines from which alone revenue could be produced were closed. The remainder of Perak was sparsely inhabited,—a waste of jungle, where the Chiefs and their retainers gratified their lusts and avarice at the expense of a few *rayats* (who cultivated a little *paddi* or fished in the streams), and replenished their exchequer by extortion, and by erecting barriers on all the rivers, at which they collected tolls from the adventurous Chinese who pushed their way into the interior at the risk of being murdered for the sake of their silk clothing. Sir Andrew Clarke's idea was that the



legitimate Chiefs of the State should be, to some degree, compensated for the losses and deprivations they would temporarily undergo through the change of régime; and although there were doubtless other causes of dissatisfaction, owing to the intrigues of the Mantri and the promptings of at least one interested European lawyer at Penang, yet I am sure that a judicious expenditure of say £50,000 would have reconciled all the Chiefs to the Pangkor engagement and to the presence of a British Resident in Perak. But such an expenditure would not have been sanctioned by the Government at home; and the result was that, being obliged to wait month after month, to give up their old habits of plundering and extortion and at the same time to be unable to keep up their old barbaric state, Sultan Abdullah, the ex-Sultan Ismail, the Mantri, Laximana and other Chiefs composed their quarrels and feuds, and made an attempt to frighten the British out of their country. Sir W. Jervoise quite realized the fact that these Chiefs could never be satisfied with being told that when the country was developed, there would be sufficient revenue to repay them for all their losses.

I feel sure that if the Chiefs had been wise enough to confine their exertions to making it impossible for the British officials to remain in Perak, the Home Government would have acquiesced, without much regret, in reversing Sir Andrew Clarke's action; but by murdering Her Majesty's Representative they forced Great Britain to make such a demonstration and to depose so many of the Rulers of the State, that we were obliged to govern Perak by British officials. Thus the Pangkor treaty was not only confirmed, but it was supplemented by action which has resulted in the present happy state of affairs.

The moral I would draw is, that if, in consequence of the new treaty, it is determined to exercise our authority over the remainder of the Malay Peninsula, we must, in order to avoid complication and unnecessary expense, determine on a bold and well-defined policy, and be pre-

pared to expend the necessary funds in order to deal with the Sultan and Chiefs of the various States concerned.

The potentialities, as regards benefits to be conferred on the native populations, and the advantages to our commerce from the mineral and agricultural resources of the country, are undoubtedly great; and for the safety of our Indian Empire and possessions in the Far East, especially the line of a future railway from Calcutta to Singapore,—we cannot allow any foreign Power to interfere, on the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca. The sooner we make this known to the world the better. Whatever may be the ideas of our Government with regard to the meaning of the new treaty, there can be no doubt that the French clearly understand what advantages they have gained; they will at once appropriate them; and they will be ready to defend them by force if necessary. But I cannot see that France has guaranteed to act with us in case any other European Power should choose to take advantage of our meekness and try to establish itself,—on the Isthmus of Kra, for instance.

We must always bear in mind that if Germany, in spite of its many disintegrating elements, such as socialism, religious differences, capricious autocracy, etc., should continue to be a united Empire, it will, on the first opportunity, absorb Holland and with that country her colonies in the Eastern Archipelago.

Great Britain will then, in the East and Far East, be closely hemmed in,—by Russia on the north and west, by France on the east, and by Germany on the south, east, and south-west.

The immense Empire of China, too, is a “sick man” awaiting partition. One of our statesmen has said that in the Far East, there is enough for all the western Powers; but only the Powers who boldly take will be allowed to possess; and it is a certain fact that while every extension of our Empire means food and clothing for the working-men of the British Isles, every appropriation of territory

by any other nation means the shutting out of our manufactures from that market. If France and Germany were to lose their colonies, it would be rather advantageous than otherwise to the mother-countries ; but for Great Britain, a loss of Colonial trade or a restriction of her markets implies danger to her very means of existence.

This needs to be most urgently impressed on our working classes ; for at a time when we have nearly attained to that *panacea*, universal suffrage, we can scarcely blame Ministers of State if they hesitate to disregard or go beyond the mandate of their creators. In the republics of ancient Greece and Rome, "*demos*," and "*plebs*," could indulge in politics, and enjoy their "*panem et circenses*" at the expense of the labouring hordes of helots or gangs of slaves ; but their modern representatives, in our own country at any rate, must either work hard and steadily, or starve, unless they choose the expedient of plundering the goods of the classes which supply them with capital, work and wages : this last method would speedily reduce us all to an equality of poverty and barbarism.

Any class which is not intelligent enough to understand that under God, not only the prosperity but the very existence of our teeming population, depends on the maintenance of an overwhelming command of the sea and the extension of markets in proportion to the increase of that population, is not worthy to exercise the franchise and should be kept in tutelage until it can comprehend that the revision of the register, local veto, disestablishment, the higher education, etc., are luxuries, not necessities of life.

Though the new treaty as to Siam seems to have effected one good result, the abolition of that greatest and most objectionable of all diplomatic shams, a "buffer State," yet it is to be feared that we have only got rid of a smaller evil for the probability of a greater.

The kingdom of Siam can never stand long by itself, as the Government is hopelessly corrupt and effete ; therefore, the administration of the country must, at no distant

period, be undertaken by France or England, and until this event occurs, Bangkok will be the scene of intrigue and a continual cause of soreness between the two European Governments. Indeed there can be no permanent and cordial agreement between Russia, France, and Great Britain in Asia, until our sentry-boxes on the various frontiers stand back-to-back and our officers and men fraternise in their messes and canteens, while our Ministers at home negotiate face to face without the intervention of semi-barbarous Mahomedan or Buddhist kinglets.

If such an arrangement could be arrived at, there is a grand future for the hitherto down-trodden Asiatic races, and also great benefits in store for their European protectors. But England above all must take the initiative, by putting aside her fears, boldly declaring her policy, and abandoning the "buffer State" idea, which so often has set up "Monro doctrines," impossible and inadvisable to insist upon when the time came to enforce them.

With the present abnormally strong Government, there ought to be every hope for the future; but nowadays, when the minds of the people move as it were by railway and telegraph, it will never do for statesmen to persist altogether in the old dallying style of diplomacy, although we have to be thankful that their minds are not quite so easily determined as they are pressed to be by would-be Little England advisers.

If our Foreign Office be inspired by the spirit of the illustrious Burleigh, and the Colonial Office by that of the patriotic and undaunted Cromwell, while the nation at large acknowledge God and His righteousness, we need not fear that England will be allowed to lose or diminish her proud position as pioneer of liberty and promoter of prosperity for the whole world.

And supposing the other Great Powers through an unreasoning jealousy should not choose to allow us to go on our way in peace, then

"Come the *three* corners of the world in arms,  
And we shall shock them."

## THE FUTURE OF SIAM FROM A SIAMESE STANDPOINT.

BY MUANG - THAI.

THE Anglo-French "Declaration" signed in January last by Lord Salisbury and the Baron de Courcel deserves the attention of every politician and every trader who is interested in the Far East and in the position which England and France are to occupy there.

A glance at the history of the last few years is necessary to understand the present condition of things. For a long time past certain minor disputes had been smouldering between Frenchmen and Siamese, and had caused considerable irritation when, in 1892, complaints were made that Siamese military outposts were being pushed forwards beyond the Siamese Eastern Frontiers into the narrow and mountainous Kingdom of Annam which lay along the Sea Coast, and included some of the Hinterland, but no one seemed to know exactly how much. French explorers and map-makers had differed among themselves. Garnier, who may be considered a Pioneer among them, and whose gallantry as an explorer was only equalled by his conspicuous fairness in recording what he saw, placed the frontier line between Siam and Annam about half way between the Mekong River and the highest ridges of the Annamite Appenines that run parallel with the Gulf of Tonquin. As a matter of fact for at least half a century the Annamites have withdrawn to the Eastern slopes of their mountain range, and they have never been molested there by the Siamese. If ever there was a case when enquiry might have preceded action, and where diplomacy should have made force unnecessary, this was that case. When the French complaints reached Siam an enquiry was invited by the Siamese Government, but the only reply was the advance by French and Annamite troops to the Mekong River—that is to say many miles to the West beyond the

furthest limits of territory claimed as belonging to Annam by the Pioneers of French exploration in Indo-China. The Province of Luang Prabang on the Northern Mekong had been in 1888 formally recognized as Siamese by treaty between France and Siam, but the Town of Luang Prabang which is on the East bank and all of the Principality on that side of the Mekong River was occupied by the French. In the South some French soldiers were landed at Chantabun, a town and harbour on the Gulf of Siam well within what is undisputed Siamese Territory, and they have remained there ever since. Besides these hostilities by land, French gunboats were sent up the River Menam to threaten Bangkok, and steamed up and down in front of the Royal Palace and the Public Buildings of the Town with their guns shotted and their decks cleared for action. In these circumstances in October 1893 Siam signed a Treaty with France relinquishing all claim to the territory between the River Mekong and the frontiers of Annam, as also to the Town of Luang Prabang and to so much of the Principality as lay on the Eastern side of the river. Under the pressure brought to bear upon them the Siamese further pledged themselves that, within a strip of country 25 kilometres broad on the West bank of the Mekong, they would keep no armed forces except those necessary for police purposes, and that the same restriction would apply to the provinces of Battambang and Siam Reap on the North West boundary of Cambodia, provinces which in 1867 France had, in a Treaty with Siam, formally acknowledged to be Siamese. Moreover there were to be no Siamese gunboats on the River Mekong. These are the leading provisions of the Treaty of 1893 between France and Siam, and, whatever else may be said of it, it has one great advantage. The boundary line between French and Siamese territory is one made so definitely by Nature that its position can never be disputed by man. The bed of the river is not likely to change, and there the line is drawn.

The reason given by France for the restrictions imposed

on the 25 kilomètre riverside strip is that, for the benefit of everyone concerned, it is necessary that the Mekong should be under a single, not a dual, control. The French say that in this way only can it become a highway for trade between the North and the South.

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The question remains, Has the Declaration of 1896 materially changed the position of Siam, and, if so, how?

By the operative part of the Declaration of 1896, so far as it affects Siam, the two Great Powers mutually agree that neither of them will, without the consent of the other, send an armed force into Central Siam, a District including the basin of the Menam River, in which Bangkok the Capital is situated, besides some territory to the Far North, and a long strip of seashore along the Gulf of Siam on the South. This constitutes the guaranteed District. In one event only, and only for one purpose, is combined action by England and France contemplated within the guaranteed District—namely in the event of the independence of Siam being threatened, and for the purpose of maintaining it. Within the guaranteed district it is agreed that neither of the two great Powers shall possess rights or privileges not also enjoyed by the other, nor will either of them consent to the exercise by any other third Power of rights from which, by the Declaration, they are themselves debarred.

The essential change introduced by the Declaration of 1896 is apparent to anyone who has studied the facts of 1893. The history of that year showed where one blow could paralyse Siam—Bangkok in the possession of an enemy meant Siam at her feet. Here lies the importance to Siam of a Declaration which clothes in the armour of a mutual guarantee given by England and France the very vitals of the Country. No doubt it would have been far more satisfactory to the Siamese had the armour been so extended as to protect, not central Siam only, but the whole Kingdom, a protection which England would have granted willingly enough, for England has not the slightest desire

to annex a single acre of Siam. But the virtue and efficacy of the guarantee depended on its mutuality. France had a perfect right to refuse to enter into any guarantee at all, or to draw the line on the map wherever she chose. It would have been abject folly on the part of England to reject a guarantee which protects the vitals of Siam, because it does not include the protection of the whole of her territory, to have left Bangkok exposed to the unexpected visits of French gunboats at critical periods, because it was impossible to make sure that villages in the jungles and swamps of the Mekong Provinces should never be raided by Annamites under the orders of a French official panting for glory and the ribbon and the cross which denote it. The folly of such a rejection from the political point of view would have only been equalled by its imbecility from the commercial point of view. 1893 is not so distant a date that we cannot remember the results on trade of even a few days' blockade, and traders know only too well that a crisis such as that is long survived by the lingering miasma of insecurity which stifles the growth of industry, and drives capital away to less volcanic Countries. For England, who has more than 95 per cent. of the shipping of Bangkok in her own hands, to refuse an arrangement by which the only European Power who could ruin her shipping there agreed not to do so, would have been a blunder beginning the day it was made, and continuing until the refusal was cancelled. But it may be said that, with more pressure, England could have got France to unite in guaranteeing the whole of Siam. This is the kind of thing which is sometimes said by those who talk a good deal in advance of their knowledge. Only a very few people can know whether the French Government were inclined to go farther than they did, or whether it was extremely difficult to induce them to go as far as they went in the matter of the guarantee. One thing is known, not to a few, but to many people—That those who conceded the guarantee of Central Siam were fiercely criticized as having deprived France of a weapon



of the greatest value to her in future dealings with the Siamese Government.

There is not a single word or an expression in the Declaration from beginning to end that can be justified as a claim by either England or France to annex or "protect" or to include within their sphere of influence any portion of Siamese Territory, whether within or without the guaranteed District, or to "rectify" any part of the Siamese Frontier. Lord Salisbury, in a letter to Lord Dufferin written on the day of the signature of the Declaration and published simultaneously with it, says

"we fully recognize the rights of Siam to the full and undisturbed enjoyment, in accordance with long usage, or with existing Treaties, of the entire territory comprised within her dominions; and nothing in our present action would detract in any degree from the validity of the rights of the King of Siam to those portions of his territory which are not affected by this Treaty."

The Baron de Courcel says of the cordial understanding between England and France

"Elle témoignera en particulier de leur commune sollicitude pour la sécurité et la stabilité du Royaume de Siam."

In the recent debate in the French Chamber M. Berthelot referred to the other parts of the Kingdom of Siam outside the guaranteed portion, and described them in the following words

"Toutes les régions du Royaume de Siam, situées en dehors du bassin du Menam, demeurent exactement dans la situation où elles se trouvaient auparavant."

We must take it that Lord Salisbury, M. Berthelot, and Baron de Courcel knew what they intended, and that they have not conspired together to deceive their own Governments in the interpretation which they have all three combined to place upon the Declaration. Taking M. Berthelot's own words, it is worth remembering that, as the whole of Siam outside the basin of the Menam remains as it was, the interest of Great Britain in regard to the entire Country remains exactly as it was, and her powers of intervention to protect her own interests are not in any way affected by the "Declaration."

That two overwhelmingly strong Powers should filch from a weak one with whom they are on friendly terms, large portions of her territory would be a disgrace in the eyes of all honest men, and a gross violation of International Law.

It would be all the more indefensible because Siam has been no party to this "Declaration." Herein exists the cardinal difference between this Agreement, and that by which Belgium was guaranteed by the Great European Powers in 1831. To that Agreement there were two Parties. One was Belgium herself, and the other was composed of the Guaranteeing Powers. But, in that case, the whole of Belgium was guaranteed, whereas, in the present case, it is only a part, and a comparatively small part, of Siam, that is affected by the "Declaration." It may suit the commercial purposes of England, or the political purposes of France, to confine the operation of this International Agreement within a specified area in Siam. Siam herself could not, and has not, recognized any distinction placing one part of her territory under one set of international conditions, and another part under another. Siam has, from the first, maintained that her sovereignty is undivided and extends over the whole of her territory, subject only to the special local restrictions imposed by the Treaty of 1893. A few months ago we heard a great deal about a Buffer State. The only Buffer State worth having in Indo-China is Siam in her integrity.

The proposal to carve out a narrow strip of territory to the extreme North of Siam, and put it under the beneficent administration of a Chinese Mandarin, was discovered to be impracticable as soon as the means of carrying it out were discussed.

As regards the future, the surest way of maintaining Siamese Supremacy in her own Kingdom is by a vigorous prosecution of the measures for internal reform, and the encouragement of trade with every European Country. Every hundred pounds' worth of European capital invested

in Siam is a link that unites the interests of Siam with some Commercial Firm, and in the far East, just as in the near West, commerce is the outward expression of the community of interest that binds man to man all the world over, and is the healthiest symptom of that independent dependence that regulates and adjusts the dealings of the most distant Nations in the giving and the taking of the produce of the World. The commercial and industrial possibilities for such a Country as Siam are practically unlimited. Nothing is wanted but work to realize that wealth and make Siam one of the most prosperous Countries in the world.

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MUANG-THAI is, we believe, the first writer who has literally explained a Declaration, which seems to have been universally misconstrued. Every newspaper in Europe took a view of that Declaration which the wording of it would appear to negative and the letters published with it to repudiate. We may now be allowed to say a few words on the Treaty between France and Siam regarding Cambodia, of July, 1867. Cambodia had for many years been under the protectorate of Siam, and the Kings of Cambodia had been nominated by Siam. By Article III. of the Treaty of 1867 between France and Siam "His Majesty the King of Siam renounces for himself and his successors any tribute, present, or other mark of vassalage whatsoever from Cambodia." "On his part the Emperor of the French pledges himself not to take possession of" Cambodia. By Article IV. "The Provinces of Battambang and Siam Reap shall *remain* part of the Kingdom of Siam." There can be no question that there was a formal undertaking by France, and a consideration given by Siam for that undertaking. To violate or to ignore this Treaty would be an act of high-handed aggression by a strong Power against a weaker one, utterly unworthy of the best traditions of French policy, and of the policy of her leading Statesmen, which has been so frequently explained as the preservation of the independence and the integrity of Siam.—ED.

“THE CONVENTION OF 15TH JANUARY, 1896.”

BY BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

As has been proclaimed by both the English and the French Governments, in a Convention of this kind, neither of two great countries should have an advantage over the other. Are we, indeed, then treated on an equal footing with England?

In the Upper Mekong, indeed, the Convention may satisfy us, but there are two main points regarding Siam which give us real anxiety. The execution of the Treaty with Siam is in course of completion by diplomatic means. Do these pave the way for the restitution of the territories of Angkor and Battambang—the Alsace and Lorraine of our Protectorate of Cambodia? Siam is sure to raise difficulties, and we can do nothing at Bangkok without the previous assent of England. Again, our Foreign Minister may, indeed, truly affirm that “by the very fact of British possessions on one side and French possessions on the other the influence of the two powers will acquire a certain preponderance in the adjacent region.” Which, then, is the Siamese region over which France could possibly extend her influence? It cannot be Angkor or Battambang, since we have long had incontestable rights over these two Provinces. As for the region reserved to England alone, does it not consist of the great and rich Malayan Peninsula, where the British Government has just installed a Resident-General? *Then, what becomes of the Isthmus of Kra?* Is not England complete mistress of the Gulfs of Bengal and Siam, in other words, able to close against us the route to the Far East whenever she pleases? The pure and simple *Condominium* which England and France established in Siam with all its consequences, gives to England, by the delimitation of her zone of influence, all she really wanted, and the integrity of the Menam Valley is her guarantee against France and any third Power. France, on the con-

trary, by the delimitation of her zone, has still to confront all the difficulties which she has had with Siam since her occupation of Cochinchina and her Cambodian Protectorate, whose provinces, Angkor and Battambang, *are not in the Menam Valley*, of which she guarantees the independence and integrity. We shall, therefore, continue to be thwarted by the refusals, non-receipts and all the dilatory tactics which the Bangkok Court knows so well how to use and to abuse. France is entering a *Condominium* under a rule of the good pleasure of England, at once judge and party between her and Siam—unless, indeed, the two Powers have verbally or by a *secret Convention* agreed as to what to do when Siam is sure to oppose her ill-will to the demands or injunctions of France. France has a right to insist that the Convention of 15th January 1896 shall really be an act of *entente cordiale*, nor can she allow herself to be locked up in the Gulf of Siam by the English occupation of the Malay Peninsula. English and French vessels, as also all others, have the right to shorten their voyage to the Chinese seas and to avoid, besides, the dangers of the Straits of Malacca. Our two points, therefore, are :

1. What steps are taken for the restitution of Angkor and Battambang? Are the ways prepared for the settlement of the negotiations, still in suspense, of the Franco-Siamese Commercial Treaty in accordance with Article 5 of the Treaty of the 5th October 1893?

2. What are the intentions of the two Governments regarding the Isthmus of Kra, the small territory of which is to form part of the *Siamese Condominium*?

The Treaty of the 15th January 1896 makes confusion worse confounded and is so concise that it opens the door to various interpretations leading to controversies and misunderstandings. Regarded as a whole, the gain of a few miles on one point and their loss on another are of secondary importance. Till that day we had a free field in Indo-China; now a wall stops our further progress, whether that wall be constructed here at 25 kilometres from the right

bank of the Mekong or there on its very bank. On the opposite side of the zone the English are free to expand,—*e.g.* the Malayan Peninsula being outside it, England may expand there, for she has rights wherever ours have not been limited. If she keeps out of the famous buffer State, it is to prevent our entering it, but elsewhere she is free to strengthen her sway on the most important regions of Indo-China, which are the key of the Far East. In Europe a portion of our Fleet can avoid Gibraltar, whereas in Asia they must pass through the waters of Singapore. The Isthmus of Kra, the piercing of which would have so much shortened our route to Saigon and Haiphong and would have enabled us to avoid English waters, has been officially withdrawn from French influence. Again, whilst the Anglo-Siamese frontier is easy to protect, the Franco-Siamese extends 800 kilometres across the plains from the Siam Gulf to the borders of the Mekong. Hitherto we could easily settle our differences with Siam at Bangkok. Now that we are no longer to do so, how are we to compel Siam to restitute the Treaty regarding Angkor and Battambang? Our rights are indeed recognized, but the condition for their realization is restricted. A Map will show that vast territories have been allotted to us; they are not worth the great Malayan Peninsula alone, and it was to prepare for thus throwing dust into our eyes that England first militarily occupied Muong Sing to which she knew perfectly well that she had no right, and which she now evacuates for a vastly more profitable exchange. Mr. Curzon calls us *brigands*. Is not the evacuation of Muong Sing, so clearly in the French zone, like those raids of Tonkinese pirates who keep what they like and sell the rest back again to the despoiled owners? The avowed principal object of the Convention is the independence of Siam, but by it England takes away from her *protégé* the important territories of the Salwin and Malacca and leaves the rest, in neutralizing it, under her guarantee and that of France, which gets England to recognize rights on the

Mekong already derived from our protectorates of Cambodia, Annam and Tonkin and contested by Siam! It is indispensable that an additional Act explain and complete a Treaty that is so vague and concise, even if it embody the substance of the "secret note," as also of the "verbal note" of which so much is whispered in diplomatic circles. Otherwise the Anglo-British difficulties in Indo-China will only have been adjourned by the Treaty. Let them be settled by her enabling us to make Siam respect the Treaties which she has concluded with us. Let England give up the protection of the Chinese in Siam and help us to pierce the Isthmus of Kra, to be rigorously neutralized, so that it may equally serve to the commerce and defence of the Colonies of two allies who ought to rule the Far East on a footing of equality. Then, indeed, will the Treaty become a loyal document of peace and union between England and France.

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## THE SIAM AGREEMENT AND THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.—A NOTE.

BY THE EDITOR.

Nobody obtains any tangible advantage from the Siam Agreement except Siam, and that only if she takes warning by all that has occurred, puts her house in order and conducts herself wisely towards her neighbours, especially her eastern one.

Great Britain and France acquire the indirect benefit of knowing exactly the limits of their respective possessions and of defining the position of Siam. Hitherto each Power has been afraid that Siam would place herself under the Protectorate of the other. Now the *corpus* is guaranteed by the two Powers not only against one another but against any third Power. Mutual jealousy and the terrorism exercised by the Colonial Party in France, which converts every successive Government into an Aunt Sally, prevented the guaranteeing of the whole of Siam as it appears on illusory maps. The limbs and the clothing, that is to say the Lao

States and the Siamese Malay States, are only impliedly, not directly, guaranteed and the reversion rests with the nearest Power. Siamese authority has never been very strongly exerted in these outlying dependencies and has only, in comparatively recent times, been exercised in a way that can be called more than formal. To have guaranteed these dependencies would have been to invite constant references, particularly unattractive to the sufficiently harassed British Foreign Office officials and likely to convert the duration of French Ministries from an average of nine months to one of three. It would have established what the Man in the Street would call an open sore. Consequently only Siam proper—that is to say the Siam occupied by Siamese—was mutually guaranteed and the remaining two parts,—Cæsar's division into three has become a customary law of the universe—are subject to a condition subsequent; they are vested subject to be divested, the condition being their wise administration on the part of Siam.

On the face of the agreement, Great Britain, so far from acquiring any advantage, makes a very considerable concession. We give up the territory on the other side of the Mekong which undoubtedly fell to us as the heirs of the Burmese kings. But since 1886 we have never been anxious to keep Muang Sing; the Indian Government, on the contrary, did not wish to extend its responsibilities even so far as the Mekong. The difficulty was to get rid of the territory without inconvenience to Ministers in the Houses of Parliament. Voluntary conveyances are looked upon with suspicion by the law and in the House of Commons they provoke questions which wise men cannot answer. In 1892 the whole State of Chieng Kheng came very near being ceded to Siam. It would have been actually ceded, if France had not been in such a violent hurry to settle her Annam frontier. Now we give up half of it,—the Trans-Mekong half. It may be a blow to our pride: it certainly is a saving to the pocket of the Indian



Government. The cost of keeping up and rationing the Muang Sing post would have been very great and there would have been absolutely no hope of ever receiving even the most modest of returns. The mistake was in the occupation of Muang Sing by a military force. If it was not to be retained we should not have exposed ourselves to the mortification of having to march out. The consideration we receive is the settlement of the Siam question and the probability that our share of the trade of that country will become even more preponderating than ever.

France, in addition to the settlement of the Siamese difficulty, which is very obviously much to the distaste of the Saigon politicians, gains the territory which we have given to her. It is a doubtful boon. The country cannot become rich ; it is absolutely no use as a trade route, and it will require to be administered, which, on the French system, is expensive. There is the further qualification that France becomes coterminous with us. It has been said that here coterminous boundaries are not a disadvantage, but if there should be friction, it will be much more easy for Great Britain to throw men on to the frontier than for France to do so. Lieutenant Simon has in a manner which does him the very greatest credit taken the *Amiral de la Grandière* up to Chieng Sen, but the gunboat will now have to remain there or risk the almost absolute certainty of coming down as mere wreckage. Finally, the French Colonial budgets will be so swollen that there will be annual scenes in the Chamber.

On the whole, the settlement may be looked upon as a satisfactory one, if only for the reason that none of the parties have a right to exult. Whether it will be permanently satisfactory depends mostly on Siam and, in a lesser degree, on the good faith of France in regard to the stipulations of the Treaty and Convention with Siam of October 1893.

## THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA AND THE CLOSING OF THE MINTS.

BY A. K. CONNELL.

IN the present paper I propose to confine myself mainly to a review of the features of Indian finance as presented in the year 1884-85 and the year 1893-94, the last year for which the accounts have been closed, though I may make use of the estimates for later years to further illustrate those features. The year 1884-85 proved a turning point in the financial history of India. The recuperative process that had set in after the strain of the great famine period and the Afghan war, accompanied by surpluses during the three years 1881-84 of above  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *crores* of rupees and consequential decrease of taxation, was succeeded by a period of recurring deficits, amounting in the years 1884-89 to nearly 5 *crores* of rupees, with the result of a gradual increase of taxation, amounting finally in the year 1889-90 to about 3 *crores* of rupees. By this means an equilibrium was for the moment established, and for the years 1889-92, owing to exceptional circumstances such as the temporary improvement of the opium and railway revenue, the raising of sterling loans and the consequent "gain by exchange," and the absorption of part of the Famine Insurance Fund, there were unexpected surpluses, amounting to over Rx. 6,700,000. But in 1892-93, and again in 1893-94 the Indian Government found itself face to face with deficits, together amounting to over Rx. 2,300,000. Those deficits had to be met by a further increase of taxation in March 1894, to be followed, in December 1894, by another increase of taxation, amounting finally, in the year 1895-96, to over Rx. 3,000,000. The whole increase of taxation is made up in the following way :

	Rx.
(1) Income tax, imposed in 1886-87, yielding about ...	900,000
(2) Salt tax, raised in 1888 from 2 rupees per maund to Rs. 2 7/8 in Continental India, and from 3 annas to 1 rupee in Burma ... ..	1,500,000
(3) Tax on Petroleum in 1888 ... ..	100,000
(4) Excise and Customs in Burma, 1888 ... ..	100,000
(5) Patwari rate, reimposed in North-West Provinces in 1889 ...	200,000
(6) Beer tax, imposed in 1890 ... ..	100,000
(7) Customs duties, 1894-95 ... ..	3,082,900
	<hr/> Rx. 5,982,900

We get, therefore, this result in 1895-96\* after eleven years of ups and downs, that in spite of the fact that (1) about Rx. 6,000,000 of taxes have been imposed, (2) a sum of over Rx. 6,000,000 has been secured by expansion of revenues, (3) the Famine Insurance Fund has been absorbed in the general expenditure to the amount of nearly Rx. 1,500,000, the Indian Government only just succeeds in making ends meet.

What is the explanation of these ever-recurring difficulties of the Indian Exchequer, which have forced the Indian Government in a period of comparative prosperity to reimpose all the taxation remitted in the years 1879-84, and thereby to encroach on its chief financial reserve, the salt-tax and the customs duties, at the very time that through the medium of enhanced assessments of land-revenue in all the temporarily-settled provinces of India it has secured a very large expansion of its chief source of income? The official answer is notorious; it has been given again and again with wearisome iteration. Loss by exchange on the home remittances, owing to the depreciation of silver is the "*fons et origo malorum*." Face to face with this "*causa teterrima*" the pathetic pleadings of successive financial statements often thrill with a high poetic strain. Sometimes it is the silver rock on which the ship of State is stranded; sometimes it is a dark cloud with too much silver lining that is descried on the horizon; sometimes it is a yawning gulf which swallows up the fair fabric of finance; but whether the language of prose or poetry is employed, the contention is always the same. "Eliminate loss by exchange from the Indian accounts," cries one

\* See Postscript to this paper.—*Ed.*

Indian Finance-Minister after another, "give us the rupee at 1s. 4d. or 1s. 6d. or better still at 1s. 10d., remove that factor over which we have no control and leave us only those factors over which we have control, and we will show the world the spectacle of an overflowing exchequer." It is a very ingenious line of apology. It not merely takes all blame off the shoulders of the Indian Government, but puts it on those of the British Government. For it is implied that if that "gold-bug" Government would give up its selfish and stupid prejudices in favour of monometallism and rehabilitate silver, the trouble of loss by exchange would cease. So loud was the bimetallic clamour in India that a Royal Commission on Currency was appointed to inquire into the feasibility of bimetalism. When that remedy was proved to be impracticable, the Indian Government returned to the charge and demanded the closing of the Indian mints as a preliminary to the introduction of a gold currency. The question was referred to a Committee presided over by Lord Herschell. It is very instructive to read the volume of evidence. While the opinion of expert business men was very divided as to the causes of financial trouble in India, the official line of argument was to take the expenditure side of the Indian accounts, and, ignoring every other item of expenditure except loss by exchange, to enlarge on the burden thereby thrown on the Indian exchequer.

No one can read through the evidence without feeling that the Anglo-Indian official mind has been greatly biased in its consideration of the public side of the question by the personal interests involved in the matter. All Anglo-Indians had suffered so much hardship from loss by exchange on their home remittances, and were naturally so keen to call attention to some remedy for their own sufferings, that their attention had become concentrated on one aspect of Indian finance. The "idols of the cave" reigned supreme.

When examined on its merits the official contention

appears to be an untenable one. Admitting that loss by exchange brings a heavy burden on all the home remittances, yet loss by exchange is itself the result of depreciation of silver, and depreciation of silver has admittedly taken in India the form of an enormous importation of silver, nearly all of which, up to the closing of the mints, had been made into rupees. The Government of India raises all its revenue in silver ; and yet, we are led to believe, it has gained nothing by the expansion of its currency. How it is possible for any one to take up this line of argument passes my comprehension. Not merely would all *a priori* considerations seem to knock to pieces such a contention ; but it appears to me to be possible to show most conclusively that the Indian revenues have benefited enormously by the depreciation of silver and the consequential expansion of its currency.

Let us take the return presented to Parliament last June on East Indian Income and Expenditure. It covers the decade 1884-94 during which the depreciation of silver has been going on apace. Under all the main heads of revenue, omitting opium, which has been exposed to serious competition, there is the most remarkable expansion :

	1884-85. Rx.	1893-94. Rx.
Land Revenue, etc. ... ..	22,634,253	26,927,807
Salt ... ..	6,081,592	7,829,314
Stamps... ..	3,561,517	4,456,905
Excise ... ..	3,953,064	5,314,873
Rates ... ..	2,785,264	3,503,104
Customs ... ..	990,088	1,622,021
Assessed taxes... ..	496,873	1,717,627
Registration ... ..	285,713	415,013
	<hr/> Rx. 40,788,364	<hr/> Rx 51,786,664

These figures show an increase of revenue under the chief heads of nearly 11 *crores* of rupees. Of this about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *crores* are to be attributed to increase of taxation proper, leaving  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *crores* to natural growth of revenue. Of this increase the most remarkable is that of land-revenue, etc., which, if we set off the Rx. 700,000 for Upper Burma, annexed since 1884-85, against the increase under Pro-

vincial Rates which is practically part of the land revenue, amounts to Rx. 4,300,000. This increase is largely due to the reassessment of the land revenue which, for some years past, has been taking place in all the temporarily-settled provinces of India. That assessment is for the most part based on rents; and rents are, in the long run, based on prices. For some time it was maintained (contrary to all arguments, that prices must have risen in India side by side with depreciation of silver) that prices had not so risen; and that, therefore, the Indian producer had not benefited by this depreciation. Over and over again Mr. J. E. O'Connor, in his trade reports, had adduced statistics to prove that the depreciation of silver had in no senses benefited the Indian export trade; and there can be no doubt that this assertion, reproduced before Lord Herschell's Committee, added great weight to the advocates of some change of Indian currency.

Mr. O'Connor's method was to take certain years' trade and the rate of exchange current during those years, and to demonstrate the absence of any concomitant variation between the two. This is a fallacious method of using statistics. In dealing with a complicated subject like the course of Indian trade, depending almost entirely on agricultural conditions, it is obvious that one cannot isolate the factor of the rate of exchange. A smaller supply of any commodity like Indian wheat, or a larger supply of American or Russian wheat may have been a more important factor in any year's trade than a rising or falling exchange; and the fact that in any one year a lower exchange was accompanied by a smaller export or a higher with a larger export is *per se* no evidence one way or the other. What we have to look at, if we want to understand the effect of a falling exchange, is the movement of prices over a series of years; and I suppose that Mr. O'Connor would admit that a steady rise of prices acts as a stimulus on business. As to the rise of prices in India there cannot now be the slightest doubt. The re-assessment of the land revenue at an enhanced rate

proves it ; and every settlement officer is well aware that, without such a rise in prices, the new settlements could not possibly work. But not merely do the re-assessments of land revenue prove a rise of prices, but it is now officially admitted that Mr. O'Connor's contentions are fallacious. In the latest Blue-book on the Material and Moral Progress of India, I find the following paragraph, page 428 :—

“The general rise, that appears to have taken place in the price of food-grain and pulses, is probably attributable to some such far-reaching cause as the expansion of the currency or the depreciation of silver. Whatever be the cause, the results to the cultivator may be appreciated from the fact that, in the North-West Provinces, produce that sold for Rx. 100 in 1861-65 now fetches Rx. 167. In the Central Provinces since 1858-63 the price of rice has trebled, and that of wheat, millet and pulse has more than doubled. In Assam it has risen by some 40 *per cent.*, and from 6 to 20 *per cent.* in Bengal. The rise of prices of produce generally in the Punjab has been about 30 *per cent.* in the last 10 years. The staple food of Berar fetches Rx. 186 when 10 years ago it brought the producer only Rx. 100. The rise in Bombay has been general for every description of food crop. In Madras the quantity of rice that was sold for Rx. 100 in the period 1849-53 fetched Rx. 234 during the five years ending 1888, and Rx. 287 in the period of four years ending with 1892 ; millet rose from Rx. 100 to Rx. 189 in 1884-88, and over that figure in 1889-92. . . . On the whole, for every Rx. 100 worth of Indian produce and manufacture that was exported in 1880-81, that produce left the country 12 years later to the value of Rx. 137 and in 1892 of Rx. 144.”

If there is, then, conclusive evidence of the rise of prices over the length and breadth of India, and if the agricultural producers have benefited so much by such prices that the Indian Government, as superior landlord, is justified in raising its rents, may we not maintain too that the expansion of revenue from taxation proper is also due to the peasantry having more money to spend ? Would the increase under Stamps, Excise and Registration be possible without this rise of prices, and would the sum secured by increase of taxation under Salt, Customs and Assessed taxes have been realizable, unless facilitated by the depreciation of silver ?

Lastly it must be remembered that the Indian Government is the great carrier ; that the passenger traffic reaches the figure of nearly 146,000,000 persons ; and that, next to outlay on weddings and funerals, the chief extravagance of

the Indian is a pilgrimage. The above quoted report on the Material and Moral Progress of India 1882-92 informs us, page 342 :—

“The vast increase in passenger traffic is the most prominent characteristic. The bulk of the traffic is third or lowest class. The principal holiday of the Indian peasant, and equally one of his principal religious duties, is the performance of a pilgrimage . . . on these occasions he almost invariably takes his wife and family with him.”

Are we to suppose that this vast traffic has not been stimulated by a rise in agricultural prices ?

There is, therefore, to my mind a very considerable, if not a complete, set-off on the revenue side to the loss by exchange on the expenditure side of the Indian accounts. That loss has increased from Rx. 3,535,903 in 1884-85 when exchange was at 19·308*d.* to Rx. 11,523,325 in 1893-94, when exchange was at 14·547*d.* But if the home remittance had remained at the same amount in 1893-94 as in 1884-85, the loss by exchange would have been considerably less than 8 *crores* of rupees, and would have been entirely recouped by the expansion of revenues. Loss by exchange is lumped together in the Indian accounts, and the whole treated as if it were an unforeseen and unavoidable outcome of liabilities incurred before the depreciation of silver. But by its Public Works policy, resulting in a rapid increase of its sterling liabilities, the Indian Government has deliberately year after year, in the face of a falling exchange, added to its home remittances ; and with increase of the mass the momentum of the fall has been accelerated.

The enormous increase of the railway debt may be seen from the following figures taken from the Railway Report for 1894-95 :

	1884-85. Rx.	1893-94. Rx.
Railway debt.		
A. Guaranteed lines ...	43,096,508	45,276,701
B. State lines :		
(1) Worked by State ...	49,315,639	82,005,862
(2) Worked by Companies	27,262,817	52,652,623
C. East Indian ...	39,110,477	40,779,756
	<hr/> Rx. 158,785,441	<hr/> Rx. 220,714,942

There is an increase of nearly Rx. 62,000,000 in nine



years ; and though part of it has been raised in silver, yet the sterling liabilities have at the same time been enormously increased, as may be seen by the following figures, taken from B statements in Indian accounts :

	1884-85.	1893-94.
Home expenditure... .. Rx.	14,100,982	15,826,815
Exchange ... ..	3,426,424	10,285,256
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Rx. 17,527,406	Rx. 26,112,071

Of these Home charges, the railway remittances are far the heaviest, and have rapidly increased :

	1884-85.	1893-94.
Interest, etc. ... .. Rx.	4,827,543	5,744,313
Exchange ... ..	1,173,054	3,733,028
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Rx. 6,000,597	Rx. 9,477,341

It is these charges, which, by amounting to more than a third of the whole, are the most important factor in loss by exchange ; and it is these charges that the Indian Government deliberately augments, and then bemoans the result as a matter beyond its control. Indian Railways have been called the sheet-anchor of Indian Finance. It is a very curious sheet-anchor that lands the ship of State on the silver rock. The fact is that, for years past, the Indian railways as a whole have been an increasing burden, when the inevitable incident of meeting sterling liabilities with silver revenues is taken into consideration. The payments entailed on the tax-payer to make up deficit on net earnings rose from Rx. 1,051,751 in 1884-85 to Rx. 2,417,100 in 1894-95 ; and the total loss from 1848 to 1896 now reaches Rx. 66,000,000. Over and over again, in reply to the advocates of further railway construction by the State on a gold basis, I have insisted on this aspect of the question ; but I have been regarded as a prejudiced pessimist. It is some satisfaction to be able at last to quote such a high authority as Sir D. Barbour. In a letter to the *Times* (Feb. 19, 1895) he called attention to

“ the general depressing effect on Indian exchange of the large amount to be remitted from India every year on payment of interest and profits as well as the charges connected with these railways,”

and he appended the further emphatic utterance :—

“In my opinion any increase at the present time to these remittances, caused either by the Government borrowing in London in order to make railways in India or by the Government giving a guarantee on capital raised in this country, would be wholly unjustifiable. The Indian export trade is at present overburdened by the amount of remittances which have to be made from that country every year, and for the Government of India to enter on a great speculation in railways to be made with borrowed capital in the hope of thereby relieving its financial position would be an act of extreme folly.”

These are almost the exact words I used in 1885, when the last great speculation was embarked on, and the results have been what I then anticipated.

But however heavy the burden which the Indian Government has incurred by its Public Works programme, that burden might have been borne, though with a good deal of strain, if at the same time it had kept the rest of its expenditure within bounds. It is the combined weight of the outlay incurred by external expansion as well as internal development that has been breaking the back of the Indian Exchequer. In the following figures I have deducted the item of loss by exchange from the general charges in order to show (1) that apart from loss by exchange certain charges have grown very rapidly,—(2) that the growth of such charges must be regarded as in part responsible for the consequential increase of loss by exchange.

	1884-85. Charges minus exchange.		1893-94. Charges minus exchange.	
	Rx.		Rx.	
Civil departments ...	10,370,023		13,006,538	
Deduct exchange	107,906		376,999	
	<hr/>	10,262,117	<hr/>	12,629,539
Miscellaneous				
Civil charges ...	3,655,039		4,910,867	
Exchange ...	407,614		1,271,870	
	<hr/>	3,247,425	<hr/>	3,638,997
Buildings & Roads	3,484,948		4,001,784	
Exchange ...	11,683		40,670	
	<hr/>	3,493,265	<hr/>	3,961,114
Military ...	16,148,633		22,403,371	
Exchange ...	949,297		2,838,677	
	<hr/>	15,199,336	<hr/>	19,564,694
Military Works ...	909,232		1,134,714	
Exchange ...	1,232		10,375	
	<hr/>	908,000	<hr/>	1,124,338

The first fact that strikes us is the enormous increase of the military charges quite apart from exchange,—an increase amounting to over Rx. 4,500,000 in ten years. And there seems no end to the increase ; all forecasts of the diminution of these charges are made only to be falsified. Let us look at the history of the last five years. I reproduce a summary I gave in 1893 :

In the financial statement of 1890-91 (*see* pages 57, 58) we find an increase accounted for in this way :—

Rx.	
200,000	Chin-Lushai operations.
60,000	Mobilization.
745,000	Re-arming British troops.

The latter is said to be a temporary expense, but in the Budget of 1891-92 (para. 58), we hear of other special demands, amounting to over Rx. 300,000, though, in spite of that, hopes are again held out of reduction in the future. But in March, 1892 (F.S. 1892-93, paras. 49, 54, 63), we get the old story again of an increase of Rx. 1,059,500, due chiefly to expeditions "not contemplated when Budget of 1891-92 was made up," costing Rx. 725,300, and Rx. 213,400 for mobilization, and Rx. 132,100 for mules and remounts, and we are complacently told to expect a further increase for 1892-93. In the Budget of March, 1893, we are told that the estimate of increased expenditure is realized, only more so, there being a difference between the estimate of March, 1892, and the revised estimate of March, 1893, of over Rx. 1,600,000, the heaviest increase being in India Rx. 500,000, in England Rx. 427,800 (F.S. 1893-94, paras. 10, 11). The charge for 1893-94 is put at about Rx. 500,000 less than in revised estimates for 1892-93, though it is an increase of Rx. 1,112,900 over the Budget estimates for the same year.\*

But in the financial statement of March, 1894, the Budget estimate had to be revised and another Rx. 300,000 of expenditure in India added ; and though for the year 1894-95 the military expenditure in India remained much the same, yet in the estimate for 1895-96 there is a sudden jump of Rx. 869,300, bringing the total expenditure, apart from exchange, up to Rx. 21,500,000. That budget estimate has since been largely increased by the Chitral expedition estimated to cost 2 *crores* of rupees.

Further, the cost of military policy is not to be seen merely under army charges ; there are other heads under which we find military outlay. First, there is the head of special defence works. The total capital expenditure on these works is estimated at about 5 *crores* of rupees, of which, since 1886, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  have been spent. But this is not all. In addition

\* This is due (F.S. 1893-94, paras. 24, 65) to various causes, frontier expeditions, stores, rise in price of food, transport to Gilgit, clothing.

to the usual annual charge of about Rx. 1,100,000 for military works, there has been, for some time past, hidden away under civil works, an extra annual expenditure for frontier roads, etc., amounting in some years to Rx. 200,000. Third, there has been during the last seven years the expenditure of enormous sums on military railways estimated to cost in all Rx. 13,000,000, and this sum is in addition to the capital outlay on similar lines in 1880-2, amounting to Rx. 4,000,000. The interest charge for the former railways already amounts to Rx. 543,000 a year; and as they are not likely to earn enough to cover their working expenses, the burden is likely to grow. We get, therefore, the following increase under military charges since 1884-85 :—

	1893-94.
Army etc. including exchange ... ..	Rx. 6,470,000
Special defence Works ... ..	324,974
Frontier lines ... ..	
Interest on capital ... ..	548,436
Deficit in net earnings ... ..	57,991
Frontier roads, etc. ... ..	200,000
	<hr/>
	Rx. 7,601,401

And even when we turn to the increase of expenditure under Civil Administration, we shall find that it is to a very large extent due to the foreign and military policy of India. Of the total amount (about Rx. 2,758,000 apart from exchange) under that head, about Rx. 1,100,000 is due to the annexation of Upper Burma, and Rx. 200,000 to "Political," only the residue of about Rx. 1,400,000 representing increased expenditure in India proper under the various heads of law courts, police, education, medical and printing. Considering the size of India this increase cannot be regarded as in any sense extravagant.

The conclusions, therefore, which a careful comparison of the financial condition of India in the first and last year of a decade inevitably leads us to are the following: First, "unavoidable loss by exchange" is not the chief cause of India's financial troubles. If the remittances to England had remained at the same level in 1893-94 as in 1884-85, the increased sterling liabilities could have been

met by the increased silver revenue. Second, if loss by exchange had had no set-off in the expansion of Indian revenues, then there was all the more reason to grapple with the causes leading to that extra burden, by controlling the policy inevitably leading to the increase of such loss. Instead of doing so, the Indian Government has deliberately, year after year, added to its sterling liabilities. Third, the true cause of India's financial perplexities is the restless frontier policy that has been pursued for the last ten years, side by side with reckless outlay on railways.

In its anxiety to account for its financial difficulties, the Indian Government has, like other people in trouble, sought to lay the blame on uncontrollable causes, and by persistent concentration of public attention on depreciation of silver, it has at last succeeded in securing permission to close the mints. At first, owing to the enormous importations of silver bullion which tempted holders of hoarded rupees to exchange rupees for bullion, there was a further expansion of the currency ; but there are now distinct signs of the silver market getting harder, and, while the Government is benefiting by a higher exchange, the people of India are beginning to feel the effect of the closing of the mints. Not merely must the whole burden of taxation be necessarily increased, but, what is of still greater importance, the land revenue, which has been re-assessed through the whole of India except Bengal, on the supposition that prices would be maintained by open mints, will be gradually enhanced in its incidence by the restriction of the rupee currency. The rush for rupees at harvest time, which has always been one of the chief causes that have brought the Indian peasantry into the power of the money-lender, will become a still more potent factor in agricultural existence. And if this must necessarily happen in fairly prosperous years, what will be the result in seasons of agricultural distress ? It is a well known fact, though Lord Herschell's Committee in its report did its best to minimize it, that the Indian peasantry fall back on their

silver ornaments as a reserve. In the last great famine period an enormous amount of ornaments came into the mints through the local money-lenders ; but, if the mints remain closed, this will be impossible ; and it is clear that the value of ornaments as pawns must be greatly lessened. At this moment, owing to deficient rainfall, there is almost complete failure of harvest in parts of the North West Provinces, and the outlook is serious. Is the Government after raising the land revenue going to make it still harder for the peasantry to get advances from the money-lender ? What then is the use of the inquiry which has been held for years past into the indebtedness of the peasantry and the transfer of lands into the hands of money-lenders, if that indebtedness is to be directly increased by the action of the Government ?

For the moment no doubt the public exchequer is the gainer by the double process of raising rents and restricting currency ; but in the long run it will be found impossible to squeeze the Indian peasantry both ways, without sapping its financial strength, and the Indian Government will either have to reopen the mints or to submit to a diminution of its revenues. It will find that it is in contraction of its expenditure not of its income that the true path of safety lies.

In previous papers, read before the East India Association, I have pointed out that the root of India's financial troubles lies in the absence of any really continuous control over Indian expenditure. Each Imperial department pulls for the promotion of its policy. I remember being warmly taken to task for this assertion ; but it has since been supported on the very highest authority, that of two Finance-Ministers of India, Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir D. Barbour. The former enlarged a year ago on "the perilous growth of Indian expenditure," in spite of the protests of the responsible Finance-Minister, and the latter summed up the situation in words of weighty warning, addressed to the meeting of the International Bimetallic Conference held in the spring of 1894 :

"The facts which I have brought to your notice may be briefly capitulated—an Eastern country governed in accordance with expensive Western ideas, an immense and poor population, a narrow margin of possible additional revenue, a constant tendency for expenditure to outgrow revenue, a system of Government in India favourable to increase of, and unfavourable to reduction of expenditure, no financial control by intelligent and well-informed public opinion either in India or in England, an insufficient check on expenditure in India, a remote and imperfect control exercised from England, a revenue specially liable to fluctuations year to year, and growing foreign payments."

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P.S. Since I wrote the above Paper, the Indian Budget has been published at Calcutta. The revised estimate for 1895-96 restores Rx. 1,000,000 of the Famine Insurance, and, after payment of the Chitrál campaign, results in a surplus of Rx. 951,000. This arises chiefly from improved exchange, Rx. 1,436,000, and temporary and exceptional gain under opium, Rx. 873,000, chiefly on the expenditure side owing to bad crops. The reserve is now exhausted, and future years must suffer. Exchange is improved by the closing of the mints, or in other words by an increase of the incidence of land revenue and taxation, without any recourse to legislation. The famine insurance fund has therefore been re-established by indirect taxation on the peasantry.

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We beg leave to draw the attention of those of our readers who are interested in the various questions connected with the Financial condition of India, to the important discussion of the subject by such authorities as Mr. Lesley Probyn, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir Lepel Griffin, Mr. A. Rogers and others that will be found elsewhere in this Review in "the Proceedings of the East India Association." We shall also be glad to receive communications on the above suggestive paper, especially in connexion with the last Indian Budget, which is noticed in this issue's "Summary of Events."—*Ed.*

## DIFFICULTIES OF DISTRICT OFFICERS IN INDIA.

BY COL. H. C. E. WARD, C.I.E.

MR. SETON KARR'S article in the *National Review* for October 1895, opens up a field for discussion that will, I have no doubt, be taken up with vigour by many of those young Indians, who are deeply impressed with a sense of their own capabilities and of their power to hold with success every appointment in India.

I think, however, that most men who have had any large experience of administration in the East will agree with Mr. Seton Karr in his view that it is absolutely necessary for the safety of English Rule in India, that for many years to come we should not put into the hands of any class of our Indian subjects, the entire administrative charge of any important district. For the convenience of the English reader it may be well to explain that our administrative system in India is based on a division of the country into areas, varying both in mileage and population, called districts. Each of these districts is in charge of an English officer who is variously called Magistrate and Collector in the North-Western Provinces, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab, Central Provinces, Oudh, and elsewhere. This Officer combines in himself the whole of the judicial and executive administration of the district in his charge: he is in fact the responsible unit to whom the Government looks both for the well-being and the proper management of the populations within his territorial limits. To assist him in this work, he is given a staff of Assistants varying in number according to the size and importance of the district, and a District Superintendent of Police. Four or five of these districts make up a Division, the officer in charge of which is subordinate to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner of the Province.



Obviously it is of the greatest importance that the officers in charge of these district-units should be men both of administrative ability and of strength of character, for on them practically depend the welfare of the population and the peace of the country. This is seen the more clearly when we look at the constituent parts of which this population is composed: there is no large town where one does not find both Hindus and Mussalmans, the former subdivided into a large variety of castes, each with interests of its own, and conflicting with those of their neighbours. The advance of education has, if anything, increased the antagonism between classes; for the inferior castes will no longer allow themselves to be ridden over rough-shod, but are imbibing larger ideas of equality than they were ever allowed under any régime other than the English. To hold the scales of justice perfectly evenly between all these conflicting elements requires an absolute freedom from all bias, a thorough knowledge of the manners and customs of the different people concerned and a scrupulous adherence to justice on the part of the responsible officer:—and where will one find those qualities among natives of India? Admit that there is no lack of distinguished ability and integrity among our native subordinates, they themselves will be the first to confess that it is almost impossible for them to be entirely disinterested. The pressure put on them by their many relatives and dependents can hardly fail to influence their choice in the selection of men for appointments, whereas the Englishman's choice is, as a rule, in favour of the man most likely to do best in the post. I do not for a moment say that favouritism does not exist, but only that the Englishman's main object is to have the work well done, that with this view he selects the man he thinks likely to do best, and that he is not troubled with the importunities of poor relatives and friends which weigh very heavily on the Indian. A Mussalman friend of mine, who had risen high in the service and was deservedly distinguished both for intelligence and integrity, told me once that the greatest

difficulties of his position had come from the impossible demands of his own relations.

Where a Mussalman officer is in charge of a Hindu district, however just his selection of men may be, he will never be credited with disinterestedness; and the same thing applies to the reverse of the picture,—the Hindu in charge of a Mahomedan district. Mr. R. Kipling's skit on the Bengali Deputy Commissioner of a frontier district, though highly coloured, is exceedingly true, and I doubt whether this phase of administration is yet within the range of practical politics. In all my experience I have never come across the Hindu capable of managing successfully a Mussalman district, though the converse does not necessarily follow.

Agreeing as I do with Mr. Seton Karr, I would gladly see the Government of India do more to strengthen the hands of their Deputy Commissioners.\* These are the men on whom the brunt of all administrative or executive difficulties falls; and to them we look to see that the peace of the district is not broken. There may be the bitterest strife in secret between the Hindus and Mussalmans: the Deputy Commissioner is responsible that this bitterness should not come to a head or culminate in a riot, say, at any of the numerous festivals of either side. Famine is imminent; the Deputy Commissioner is responsible that such arrangements for the supply of food to the starving are made as will ensure no loss of life. Crops fail; but the Land Revenue demand of the Government has to be got in, whether or no:—and all these bricks have to be made, often without straw or with only half the quantity required.

Perhaps the D.C.'s greatest difficulty is that of keeping the peace in these days of religious antagonism between Hindu and Mussalman. Why this feeling of antagonism should have become so accentuated of late years is not easy to explain. We have to go back a long way—to the time,

\* The designation of "Deputy Commissioner" is used preferentially as the remarks specially apply to Non-Regulation Provinces, but they are applicable to Executive District Officers throughout India generally.

in fact, when the Mahomedan was the practical ruler over the greater part of India, and the Hindus were altogether under subjection ; and were kept in that subjection by a high hand, and no Hindu ever dreamed of doing aught that could in any way be construed into an insult, either to the Mahomedan religion or to the personnel of the ruling race. The Hindu passed a Mussalman Mosque in silence and never used musical instruments within a certain distance on either side of the Mahomedan place of worship. We need not go far for an example : one can see the same practice even now in the streets of Bhopal or Haiderabad in the Deccan, where there have been none of these outbursts of fanaticism which have unfortunately become too common in recent years in British India. Jealousy between the two creeds has much to answer for : the Mussalman has been left far behind in the educational race by the Hindu, as, for years, he was too conservative to give up his own system of teaching, although he saw the young Hindu ever outstripping the young Mahomedan in all examinations and gradually ousting him from Government employment. Ever since the blessing (?) of competitive examinations was introduced into India, the former dominant race has been losing its position, until now in many Government offices it is a rarity to find a Mahomedan employé. It has been a part of our system to treat all our Indian subjects with perfect equality,—to allow to all the same religious freedom,—and to permit no interference with the religious observances of either side. Very naturally the race that has been so many years in subordination,—seeing itself now ousting its old masters from positions in our Courts that used to be theirs almost by prescriptive right, taking up the work of pleaders and advocates that formerly to a Hindu was not within the “scope of practical politics,” aspiring to the highest judicial appointments in the land and holding them, too, with credit,—has come to the conclusion that the time has arrived to give up all semblance of subservience as well as those old-world customs which may seem to show

that the Hindu is, in any way, the inferior of his former ruler, the Mussalman.

A racial change of this description can hardly be effected without great disturbance, and this disturbance has been increased by the not unnatural arrogance and pride of place of the Hindu on finding himself practically obtaining a monopoly of the power which was formerly the birthright of the Mahomedan. Various other circumstances have increased the feeling; that curious assembly of Bengali pleaders and other Hindus, which calls itself by the magniloquent name of the "Indian National Congress,"—but which has no more right to be termed "National" than the assembly of Irish Carpet-baggers who have also adopted the term—added considerably to the bad feeling; for no Mahomedan of any standing or position, would have a word to say to this "National Congress," in spite of the support some of its members received from one of India's Viceroy.

The Home Rule institutions introduced by Lord Ripon have not improved the position in those places where the Hindus are numerically stronger than the Mussalmans; for the latter have few representatives on the District and Town Councils, and those few are out-voted on every important occasion.

All these matters have to be taken into consideration when speaking of the present bitterness of feeling between Hindus and Mussalmans; and to enable District Officers to cope satisfactorily with emergencies which are constantly arising out of this feeling, they require to have their hands strengthened by legislation. It may be urged that under the existing laws—the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code—large discretionary powers have already been conferred on District Officers; but these are hedged about with so many precautions and every order is open to so many appeals, that it sometimes happens that the best intentions of the officer on the spot are frustrated by the equally good intentions of an Appellate Court at a distance. As an illustration of my meaning I will give a case in point.

In 1889, '90 and '91, I was Commissioner of the Nerbadā

Division,—one of the five districts composing that division being Nimar, in which is the large town of Burhanpur with a population of some 30,000, one-third Mussalmans, two-thirds Hindus. It happened that in two of the three years, the Hindu festival of the Duséhra coincided with the Mahomedan Moharram. The sentiments naturally aroused during the celebration of these special feasts are very apt to excite men's minds and make them more inclined to bigotry than usual. Rumour was rife that disturbances were certain to occur when the processions of the two religious parties met in the streets on the final day of the feast. The Deputy Commissioner consulted the head-men of both factions and arranged with them that selected streets should be set aside for each party; and the first year, with a certain amount of good feeling on both sides, the day passed peaceably without anything more serious than a few faction-fights between the worst-behaved followers of both sides.

The next year things looked more serious. The head-men could not agree as to the routes their processions should take,—each side claimed the right to go where they would,—the Hindus, who up to this had paid the Mahomedans the compliment of keeping silence when passing their Mosques, now urged that this was an infringement of the liberty of the subject,—they would carry their noisy music where they wished, regardless of whether they disturbed the Mussalman worshipper at his devotions or not. The Mahomedans met this threat with another, and said that as the Hindus would not have certain streets specially set apart for their processions, they, too, would carry their Tazias (representations of the tombs of Hasan and Husain) where they pleased, whether the Hindus liked it or not. The Deputy Commissioner tried argument in vain; he increased the Police force in the town, but he knew that he could not lean on this broken reed, as the men felt strongly themselves; finally, seeing that a breach of the peace was imminent, he called up the head-men of both parties, and bound them over in very heavy recognizances to keep the

peace for a month,—that is until the Moharram and Duséhra festivals were well over. Now this action of the Deputy Commissioner is strictly within his right, if it can be proved that a breach of the peace is imminent. This technical point is, often, one that is incapable of proof by ordinary evidence and, as a rule, has to be left to the discretion of the officer entrusted with the maintenance of order—provided always that he is fit to be trusted with such power: if he is not, the Administration ought never to have made him a Deputy Commissioner.

Petitions poured in to me, and telegrams were sent flying all over India, to the Chief Commissioner, to the Judicial Commissioner, and even to the Viceroy, by the legal representatives of the headmen who had been called on to find security. Execrations were heaped on the head of the Deputy Commissioner whose high-handedness was made the theme of many a virulent essay. The very violence of the opposition to the order was, in fact, its best justification, but this, perhaps, is not easy for an Appellate Court, sitting some hundred miles away, “to realize.”

As it happened, I was a long distance off and could not reach Burhanpur for three days, during which time all the telegrams that had been scattered broadcast over India had filtered back to me “for report.” Once on the spot it was soon made abundantly clear to me that the emergency was no ordinary one, and that special precautions were absolutely necessary to avoid a serious riot. I heard the legal representatives of the parties, who urged that there was no reason whatever to anticipate a riot, that the Magistrate was quite unnecessarily alarmed and that consequently his orders were altogether *ultra vires*. Finally, I admitted the appeal and fixed the date of hearing for the evening of the day after the festival, at the town of Burhanpur. Strong objection was taken to this order. I was urged to fix another date or some other place; and on my refusal, every one of the legal luminaries found it impossible to be present: other engagements would compel their absence;—they would meet me at the Railway Station three miles

from the city, but not there ;—would I not hear the appeal then and there ? I might have done this easily and then confirmed the order appealed against ; but I intentionally refused to take this course, for any such decision was open to appeal to the Judicial Commissioner, who has to be guided by a meagre written record, and has not before him the unwritten facts and the feeling of the people which guide the responsible officers on the spot. He, sitting in his easy chair at Nagpur where everything around him is peaceful, might easily take the view that the local officers were biassed as they had to maintain order, were too much impressed with the heated atmosphere of the place, and had allowed their fears to interfere with their discretion ; that there was no tangible evidence on the record of any likelihood of a breach of the peace ; that there had been none the year before at Burhanpur and there was no reason why there should be this year :—so he would cancel the obnoxious order. To avoid a result that would have been equivalent to inviting a riot, I determined that all the chief leaders of both sects should continue to feel that a breach of the peace by any of their followers meant a heavy pecuniary loss to themselves : the consequence was that though the relations between Hindus and Mussalmans were strained almost to breaking point, they did not actually break.

Now here I think, the Government of India might improve the position of affairs, so far as not to leave the question of peace or riot to hinge on the idiosyncrasy of the officer in charge of either the division or district. Some officers have an exaggerated idea of the importance of a Judicial Commissioner's censure, and do not like laying themselves open to it : others may not care to take upon themselves the responsibility of even appearing to be in antagonism to the higher judicial authorities, however great the emergency might be. It will be urged that it is very improbable that an officer in the position of a Judicial Commissioner of a large province, would intervene in an emergency of this description, but experience has shown

that this argument is not sound: cases have occurred where Civil officers have worked up to the position of Judicial Commissioner through the Secretariat or some other sideline, without having one day's experience of the administration of a district; and it is impossible for men of this class to put themselves in the position of the District Officer, on whom practically the responsibility for the safety of the country devolves.

That this should be possible is perhaps a blot on our administration; but I can answer from my own experience that it has occurred, and it may occur again, so that, in order to be safe, I would recommend the Government to strengthen the hands of the men to whom they must look for the well-being of the population.

A very little in the way of legislation is required. Rules and very distinct ones must be made for the conduct of public religious processions, and even a small infringement of these rules should be visited with punishment. This would surely be better than a repetition of the riots in Bombay and elsewhere, where the military had to be called out and peace was only restored after considerable loss of life.

These rules should, however, not be based on any narrow view of the difficulty. The position of the two conflicting parties should be carefully considered, both as it now is, and as it used to be, before we introduced the "liberty of the subject"; and neither side should be allowed to use that liberty as a weapon to irritate the other.

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NOTE.—Mr. Nundy's paper on "the Indian National Congress" is a good specimen of special pleading. He would, I think, find it difficult to prove a good many of his statements, notably that the Congress had the "approval of the educated classes of all races and creeds." One of its strongest opponents was the Begum of Bhopal, and I know of no Mussalman of note in Upper India who gave the movement unqualified support.

He is rather bitter against the District Officers, who "assert that the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions would weaken the power of the Executive." From my own experience I should say he was wrong, for all the District Officers of any ability whom I know would be extremely glad to see that separation brought about—provided always that the two departments were administered with equal loyalty.



## KAFIRISTAN AND THE KHALÍFA QUESTION.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

THE Appeal by, and to, specialists and learned and philanthropic Societies on behalf of the Káfirs of the Hindukush has drawn the attention of the Press, of Parliament and of the Government to that unfortunate race. The *Globe* took the lead in several articles in espousing a cause which it had advocated in 1874, when the Kafirs were defending themselves, as they had for a thousand years, against the perennial slave-raids of the neighbouring Pathan tribes, but were not, as now, confronted by the disciplined troops of Afghanistan armed with the most modern weapons of destruction. The *Morning Post* continued the movement on their behalf and the *Daily News*, faithful to its traditions, vied with the *Daily Chronicle* in exposing rather the results of the Chitrál occupation than the betrayal of Kafiristan.\* Indeed, only the *Times* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* under the Cust editorship, sought to minimize public sympathy on their behalf. It was shown that the Kafirs were not all white, that their parliaments often ended in talk, that their women were frail, that husbands accepted compensation from gay Lotharios, that they were not descendants of a Greek Colony, that they were "blacklegs" because they were called Siah-Posh or "black-clad," etc., as if it mattered whether the Kafirs were saints or sinners, black or white, Greek or barbarian, nude or overdressed, in a question affecting their slaughter or enslavement as an inevitable, if unconsidered, consequence of a Treaty made by a British Officer with our Ally of Afghanistan. Yet the Amir never concealed his intention of annexing Kafiristan and, if the statement of an Under-Secretary may be trusted, of converting its inhabitants by force to Muhammadanism.

\* A List of the journals, Societies, specialists, M.P.'s and others that have already taken part in this noble agitation on behalf of humanity and science is given elsewhere in this Review.—ED.

Indeed, this was said to be the avowed reason for his consenting to the Durand arrangement of the 13th November 1893\* that deprived him of his natural suzerainty over the kindred Pathans of Bajaur and Swat and of his nominal over-lordship in Chitrál which never paid any real allegiance to either Kashmir or Afghanistan. Chitrál took subsidies or blackmail from wherever it could, including ourselves, but was only tributary to Badakhshan before 1872 [when that principality was incorporated into Afghanistan by the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention], or to Dir when it was ruled by Ghazan Khan. The Durand Treaty gave us a free hand in Chitrál of which we availed ourselves by ousting from it Umra Khan, whom we had at first encouraged in his encroachments as a lever against the power of Afghanistan. If history were truthfully written by those who make it, it would reveal a labyrinth of intrigues and would, *inter alia*, explain alike our precipitate hostility and present forbearance to Umra Khan, our attack on Chitrál on the first excuse that offered, how the siege of that Fort was got up and what small coterie of officials alone benefited by the conspiracy or understanding that brought about the seizures of Hunza-Nagyr, Chilás and Chitrál. The rights of Kafirs to existence, if not to independence, were not dreamt of in the present philosophy of "interests," falsely interpreted, by ignorant or ambitious men, which has taken the place of the only true guidance in politics as in everything else, the principles, real and avowed, that have given this country its empire over the best minds of the whole of the world. Their abandonment for the sake of the will-o'-the-wisps of "interests" substitutes fluctuating and contradictory impressions of what is profitable and elicits the opposition of the conflicting interests of other Powers whose higher motives could formerly be appealed to. In the Kafir question it has substituted the actual presence of Afghan troops over the

\* Even the printed Afghan Pæan on the Amir's conquest of Kafiristan refers to the Durand mission !

whole Western frontier of Chitrál for the former shadowy suzerainty of Afghanistan ; it has led to the construction of a military road which beginning at Jelalabad is to end in Badakhshan, thus facilitating the approach of a Russian army on the most direct conceivable route to India and it has rendered absurd the vaunted "closing of the gates" in distant and unapproachable Hunza and Chitrál, on which so much treasure and so many lives have been wasted.\* The Pamir Agreement is as incapable and irrelevant in protecting India against a conjectural Russian invasion, as the erection of a fort at Inverness would be to prevent a French landing at Dover. Indeed, by the cession of the greater part of Shignan and Raushan to the Russian protectorate of Bokhara it throws Badakhshan open to attack along a hundred miles of a river narrower than the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, with the Surrey side, as it were, occupied by French troops. The suicide of the "forward policy" could not be more complete.

Nor has the Durand Treaty been a document carefully drafted even in our supposed interests, for the same superciliousness that has delivered over "the brethren of the Europeans" to national death and worse than death—the hideous object for which they are desired by the Pathans,—has, "by an oversight" "made over" a valley in Asmâr and territory on the Khelât side, which every construction of our lines of "demarcation" gave to the British zone.† The Amir is naturally much amused by the mistake and, as naturally, will stick to the bargain. He is now in a splendid position. His influence among the ceded Muham-

\* See "Route from Kabul to Budakhshan" at the end of this article.

† The mistake of the "transfer" of Kafiristan lies at the door of the last Government, for it gave Kafiristan to the Amir in order to have a free hand as regards Chitrál and the road to it from the Malakand Pass. No doubt, at the last moment, it was ready to recede from Chitrál, more out of regard for Russia than from any other consideration, but the Amir would still have insisted on his share of the bloodstained bargain. The present Government has, therefore, only made the best of a *damnosa hereditas* in accordance with its imperial instincts, but it is not responsible for the inception or the results of the Chitrál *imbroglio*, though it shares, with its predecessors, the reproach of not protecting the Kafirs from extermination as a race, the one in making, and the other in carrying out, an ill-considered "transfer."

madans can never be impaired; indeed, it will grow with the destruction of the Kafirs as a separate nation, for the subjugation of "infidels," as the Pathans also call the British, will confer on him the coveted title of "Ghází," literally "the [victorious] raider" for the faith and should lead, if wisely used, to the establishment of an Afghan Khalífate,\* independent, as a true Khalífate should be, of the friendship or hate of any Christian Power, though living in amity with all, as long as they behave themselves as befits "infidels" in their relations to true believers. For the Khalífa is the *secular* "defender of the Faith" of Sunni Muhammadans throughout the world as our Queen is of the Anglican; not a *spiritual* head or Pope, as is falsely alleged by ignorant Indian intriguers, and his authority depends on the *consensus fidelium*, which can, at any time, be given to one more powerful or more independent than the Sultan of Turkey, who, however, possesses the advantage, so far as Europe is concerned, of being in touch with its diplomatic and political history and forms. An Arab Khalífate, by a descendant of the Prophet, a Sharíf and a Koreishi,† would, no doubt, be theoretically more "perfect," and more popular, especially throughout Africa, than an Ottoman Khalífa, but he would not have the power to enforce his decrees by an army and if England organized and paid one for him, his independence would be suspected and, in any case, longer time would elapse than even with Turkey before an Arab Khalífate could, though only *pro formâ*, recognize the existence as equals of foreign Governments by the despatch of Ambassadors. This difficulty does not exist in the case of the Amir who is only too anxious to be represented at the Court of St. James' and has, it is said, accentuated this view by sending his valuable presents to the Queen through Sirdar Yár Muhammad Khan, not to the India, but to the Foreign, Office which has already annexed Persia to its sphere with, perhaps, Afghanistan to follow. There is no pontificate in Islám among Sunnis. Islám is to them a theocracy, in which secular rule is given

\* See Note 1 at the end of this paper.

† See Note 2.

to the true believers who are all equal and who, as a community, *Sunnat-wa-Jamā'a't*, are the final authority *electing* their Khalifa or secular head.\* The case with the Shiah of Persia and other countries is different; they have a regular priesthood, and their Imām or spiritual head is *hereditary* in a certain line of descent, though the 12th Imām, or the Mahdi, may not yet have revealed where he now exists.

It is to be hoped that the Amir will wisely found the Khalīfate of Afghanistan on the affection and co-operation of all his subjects, thus following the example of the famous Khalifa Al-Mamun, in whose State-Council Muhammadans, Jews, Christians and Sabaeans were equally represented. One thing is certain and that is that in converted Kafiristan, provided the Neo-Muhammadans do not sink to the level of the Nimchas described by Dr. Robertson, he will have a recruiting ground for soldiers, at whose valour, surpassing that of the kindred defenders of Thermopylæ or that of the typical Arab and Soudanese, the world may, indeed, grow pale. One of the reasons alleged in favour of "the forward policy" was that the extension of British influence over the still "independent tribes" would provide our Indian Army with the best possible fighting material. None, at any rate, will now come from Kafiristan, unless we form the Kafirs who have escaped from the wanton massacre in the Bashgal Valley into a Military Colony in Kashmir territory, whose Chief, as a Hindu, would not be unfriendly to them and where they would become that living bulwark in the defence of India which the criminal breaking-down of their physical mountain-bulwark now necessitates.†

\* In practice, though not in theory, there can be, and have been, more than one Khalifa at a time, but true believers should insist on there being only one.

† Besides the military and sexual slavery to which the brave, faithful and handsome Kafirs had ever been subjected, when captured in the perennial Pathan raids, 16,000 of them have already been distributed by tens into a sort of plantation slavery, subject to the headmen of villages in Kabul-Kohistan, Jalalabad, etc., as the first-fruits of the last November campaign only. There they are to be taught to till the land for their masters, whole villages of Afghan Legrees, and to read the Koran—*pace* subscribers to the Church Missionary Society which was during the last forty years repeatedly invited by Kafirs to bring Christianity into their secluded homes, now opened to Afghan lust and slaughter by a British treaty and by British subsidies and weapons of destruction.

In the *Morning Post* of the 14th February is given an outline of the "open" Russian road from Badakhshan to Kabul, which is quoted at the end of this paper, with the addition of some alternative stages. With these routes fully within the knowledge of our politicals, it seems to me that the authors of the intrigues which brought Russia on to the Pamir as well as the *agents provocateurs* of the Hunza-Nagyr, Chilas and Chitral campaigns could have been impeached in former days. Certainly, Mr. (now Sir) H. M. Durand should be called upon to explain how he came to make over an innocent race, that had ever trusted to our protection, to their hereditary enemies without stipulating for mercy being shown to them and without due notice being given to them to seek a refuge in our territory. The conduct of Russia as regards Derwáz, which is now formally handed over to Afghanistan under the Pamir Agreement, was very different. Whilst Durand was in Kabul, the Russians gave the Derwázis informal notice of their impending fate. I published the accounts of Col. Grombcheffsky and of fugitive Maulais showing that there was a regular stampede from the district threatened with Afghan rule and that, so far as the parts of Shignán and Raushan were concerned which the Amir had occupied under a misapprehension, if not at our instance, the roads were strewn with the bodies of starving fugitives into Russian territory. Yet not satisfied with this notice in 1893, the Russian Government refuse to ratify the Pamir Agreement unless another 6 months, lapsing on the 14th October next, are given in order to place the emigrant Derwázis in a position of perfect safety. What was there to prevent *our* doing so in the case of the Kafirs to be similarly transferred to Afghanistan? Would the Amir have been more deaf to us than he was to Russian insistence on humanity in the case of the inhabitants of Derwáz, Shignán and Raushan? Did *we* offer an asylum to those who wanted to migrate? No, but an English official, who is, mainly, responsible for our tardiness in appealing to the Amir—a monarch so open to common-sense

and to religious and philanthropic representations—insults in the Press the poor Kafirs whom we have so injured by urging that a race of “murderers, robbers and scoundrels,” whose wives are immoral, should not be preserved. I deny every one of these accusations, as also that the Kafirs refused British protection, and I would ask, more in sorrow than in anger, what we are to call those who rob the Kafirs of their well-deserved reputation in history and poetry, who, superciliously, because it may suit a political combination, make them over to slaughter, and who seek to stifle the voice of pity of indignant science and philanthropy even on behalf of their innocent children and their ancient homesteads?

*Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?*

Fortunately, that official is alone in his cynical disregard of the outraged public conscience of England. Nor do I envy the member of a philanthropic body who, for several months, sought to stifle its utterance and stultify its traditions in order to ingratiate himself with those in power, when, in reality, both the present and the past Governments, and, above all, the India Office,—the attitude of which in the matter is deserving of much praise—would have been only too ready to listen to the appeal of learned and philanthropic societies in September last. Then there was yet time to speak a word in season to the Amir which would have prevented the massacre of the Kafirs in the ensuing November by the Afghan troops. The military Kabul report stated that this was effected at a loss of 1500 Afghans, killed and wounded; that 150 Kafir temples with innumerable ancestral carvings, showing Greek traditions,\* were destroyed and that 100 camels were sent to Kabul laden with the bows and arrows of the Kafirs who discharged them almost within the touch of Maxims. How many Kafirs must not have been killed to claim that Afghan victory! It was only snatched by the false promise that the Afghans from the South would defend the alas! too trustful Kafirs

\* e.g. Centaurs and, in a country where horses are unknown, most of the depicted ancestors are represented on horseback.

against the impending attack from the North or the Badakhshan side. The fertile valleys in the South have now been taken by the "land-grabbing" Pathan, as Col. Holdich calls him, but even the sterile North is to be shortly attacked. In spite of the well-meant and sympathetic assurances of Lord G. Hamilton that the Afghan campaign will not be resumed,\* I have no hesitation in stating that, if the stain of our betrayal of Kafiristan is not sought to be minimized in the manner indicated in a suggested question to Government, our prestige in Europe, already much shaken, is doomed. In the Kafirs of the Hindukush all educated men are interested, whether their Greek descent be proved or not.† Colonel Holdich believes in it and quotes the following Bacchic hymn sung by a Kafir of Nasur, the old Nysa referred to in Arrian. He reports, whilst in charge of the Boundary Commission which demarcated the Asmár-Kafiristan frontier, if it did not teach the Afghans, there in force, how to construct a military road into Kafiristan, that the Afghans were already converting the Kafirs at the point of the bayonet (see January Journal of the "Royal Geographical Society") :—

KAFIR BACCHIC HYMN.

O thou who from Gir-Nysa's (lofty heights) was born  
Who from its sevenfold portals didst emerge,  
On Katan Chirak thou hast set thine eyes,  
Towards (the depths of) Sum Bughul dost go,  
In Sum Baral assembled you have been.  
Sanji from the heights you see ; Sanji you consult ?  
The council sits. O mad one, whither goest thou ?  
Say, Sanji, why dost thou go forth?"

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\* It *has*, unfortunately, been resumed, as I stated on the authority of a notification issued by the Afghan Commander-in-Chief. This he did from his centre at Asmar for Waigal, the middle valley of Kafiristan, the Ramgal Valley on its extreme West having been occupied by troops from the direction of Kabul after even a more severe fighting and loss on both sides than rewarded the treacherous occupation of the Easternmost or Bashgal Valley in November and December last.

† Even Dr. Robertson, who denies their Greek descent, practically admits it in his description of them and as his erroneous and superficial strictures on the Kafirs have been quoted in the *Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, I complete the passage by the following sentences in their favour : "Some of them have the heads of philosophers and statesmen. Their features are Aryan and their mental capabilities are considerable. Their love of decoration, their carving, their architecture, all point to a time when they were higher in the human scale than they are at present. They never could be brutal savages as are some of the African races, for example, because they are of a different type. . . .



Colonel Holdich concludes his paper as follows: "At present I cannot but believe them to be the modern representatives of that very ancient Western race, the Nysæans,—so ancient that the historians of Alexander refer to their origin as mythical." Be that as it may, distinguished Professors of the University of Athens, are moving Philhellenes to sympathy for the descendants of a Greek Colony, grafted by Alexander the Great on to the still more ancient settlement of Dionysus. Anyhow, in Kafiristan, as elsewhere in Dardistan on the advent of invading troops, Goethe's lament over the decay of Greek temples already applies:

*Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel  
Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert.*

The Bacchic Hymn, at all events, is stilled; the dance of the Hours no longer proceeds to the flutter of the ivy garlands, and vice alone now interrupts the monotony of Afghan orthodoxy. Thus is earned the title of "Butshakan" or "breaker of idols" erroneously ascribed to Alexander the Great, though his very designation of "the two-horned" (or "ruler of two hemispheres") is an indication of the Jupiter Ammon, whose horns still adorn the head-dress of Kafir women. The Amir would be the last man, if things were pointed out to him in polite or, at least, intelligible Persian, to seek to destroy the vestiges of an ancient Greece or the descendants of Alexander, to whom all the Chiefs of Dardistan and even of Badakhshan, Shighnán, Raushan and Wakhan trace their lineage.

#### QUESTION THAT OUGHT TO BE PUT TO THE GOVERNMENT.

"Whether, as the Afghan campaign in Kafiristan had been resumed, in spite of the official assurances that it had ceased on the 24th January last, the Amir might not be asked to allow a British Officer to accompany the force, so as to convince the people of England, on whose good opinion the Amir sets store, of the sincerity of his assurances that there would be no slaughter, enslavement or forcible conversion to Islám of the Kafirs—whether as a British Commissioner, immediately before the recent campaign, aided the Afghan Com-

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Admirers of form would delight in Kafirs. . . . They give such an impression of gracefulness and strength. . . . Their gestures are most dramatic. . . . The nose is particularly well shaped. . . . They contain the handsomest people I have seen. . . . The cast of feature is occasionally of a beautiful Greek type." The heroic defence made by the Kafirs has also disproved the widely circulated misquotation from Dr. Robertson's Report that they would bolt at the mere sound of a rifle.

mander-in-Chief in the demarcation of the Kafiristan boundary, if not in the construction of a military road into Kafiristan, the example of Russia in deputing Colonel Gaffine to Derwáz might not be followed by the British Government in similarly deputing a British Officer into Kafiristan to offer an asylum in the British protectorate of Kashmir as Russia had offered an asylum to the inhabitants of Derwáz in the Russian protectorate of Bokhara—whether Russia had not postponed the ratification of the Pamir Agreement, under which Derwáz was transferred to Afghanistan, to some date in October next, so as to give formal notice to the Derwázis who had been already informally warned 2½ years ago of their intended transfer to Afghanistan and whether a similar course could not be pursued as regards Kafiristan which was also then transferred to Afghanistan—whether the Amir had been asked by the Indian Government (a) to facilitate the unmolested exodus of those Kafirs who were willing to emigrate into our territory, and (b) to guarantee the remaining Kafirs in the enjoyment of their property and in the exercise of their religious and social customs—whether the Amir would set free those Kafirs already in slavery in his dominions, and whether the lands of the fugitive or killed Kafirs would be given to their remaining relatives or be divided, as reported by the British Boundary Commissioner, among the ‘land-grabbing’ Afghans or Pathans?”

#### THE RUSSIAN PRESS ON KAFIRISTAN.

The following leading article in the official “Turkistan Gazette” of the 23rd February last gives the most correct account that has hitherto appeared of the Durand Agreement, which was concluded on the 13th November, 1893 :

“No one will dispute that the subjugation of the Kafirs by Abdurrahman is the ugliest business of our time, and we can perfectly understand the warm indignation of the best men in English Society. Their protests will, however, be of no use, and British pride will have to swallow the humiliation of having barred the progress of civilization for a long time by handing over the heroic defenders of Kafiristan to their Muhammadan enemies. Tories and Liberals alike are blinded by hatred and suspicion of Russia and carry out a pre-determined programme of defence against our imaginary plans of invasion, no matter whether by fair or foul means. Kafiristan is, therefore, only a link in the long chain of regrettable acts of that policy. Four years ago, Abdurrahman, feeling his importance as Chief of a “buffer State,” proposed in 1892 to strengthen his power in Badakhshan, Dir and Chitrál. . . . The Indian Government, knowing full well that the best route from the Hindukush to the North Indian plains, leads to the Kuner river and through the Khanates above referred-to, wanted this route for itself, and further requested Abdurrahman to cease his operations in Bajaur. The Amir was obdurate, refused the invitation to go to India, and, although agreeing to receive General Roberts instead, caused this counter-proposal to fall through by various excuses for adjourning that visit. Towards the end of 1892 and the beginning of 1893 there was such tension between England and Afghanistan that war was expected every day, though neither side wished it. England was afraid of losing a ‘faithful friend,’ and Abdurrahman Khan did not care for the game. The Waziris were in revolt, England’s power seemed threatened and Russian troops were on the Pamir. So the Amir, knowing that India and England could not do without him, only tried to get as many concessions as possible. He, therefore, received the Durand Mission and a Treaty was concluded, which was not published, though everyone knew that the subsidy of Abdurrahman was increased, he, on his side, giving up all claims to Bajaur, Dir and Chitrál. No doubt, it was then agreed to that he could, henceforth, consider Kafiristan as his own. To refuse these concessions was impossible, for the Amir was simultaneously told to evacuate Raushan and Shighnán which he had illegally taken. It was necessary to reward one’s ‘friend’; money he had already got, so Kafiristan was graciously transferred to him, *because it had no practicable road for the army*, and as to the fate of the Kafirs . . . *that is no one’s business*. England hastened to establish her power South of the Hindukush and to occupy Chitrál, on which

Abdurrahman made haste to conquer Kafiristan. What can the protests of noble minds do now, except wasting their voice in vain in the desert? The utmost the English Government can do is to express a wish to the Amir not to occupy Kafiristan and that too in a very cautious manner, because it would be dangerous to irritate 'the friend' at Kabul until . . . Russia becomes an enemy. This is another result of the crop of evil produced by the English attitude towards Russia. We, Russians, can only, against our wish, remain deeply sad spectators of the tragedy enacted in Kafiristan which is one of the darkest blots on European domination in Asia."

*The Riga Messenger* says that: "The friends of humanity and Christianity in England are much shocked at the Indian Government furthering the destruction of thousands of white men by the Amir of Afghanistan. These Kafirs are our neighbours and, like the Abyssinians, have been defending their religion for centuries against Muhammadans. The sympathy of Christian and learned Societies is enlisted against the Afghans plundering the Kafirs and filling their Harems with Kafir boys and girls. *The Times* and *Standard* are against interference in the domestic affairs of the ally of Great Britain—which so graciously permits the slaughter of white men. The English Press is dumb, but Exeter Hall will soon speak. The only object why Afghans are allowed to invade Kafiristan is to have a pretext for interference 'in order to restore order,' but really that England occupy the country between Afghanistan and Chitrál." *The Turkestan Gazette* also thinks that Exeter Hall will have to take up the question.

#### KAFIRISTAN AND THE KHALIFATE.

*The Petersburg Viedomosti* (Prince Ouchtomsky's organ) considers that the transfer of Kafiristan will not benefit England, for Russia will insist on a rectification of the boundaries laid down in the Convention of 1872. "Then, the delimitation of our frontier, on which England insisted, ran along the course of the Amu Daria, leaving a narrow strip of land between this river and the Hindukush. Between the left bank and the mountains are Badakshan, Wakhan and Shignán, then quite independent States, since usurped by Afghanistan. Chitrál, the direct route to the Panjab, according to Rawlinson, is now completely occupied by the English. Old neighbours have thus been displaced by new ones; the conditions of our frontier have thus changed; with new neighbours we must take new precautions. Kafiristan is the Montenegro of the Hindukush. Even English Missionaries have not settled there. Now to seize it, indirectly through Afghanistan, is a doubtful proceeding and may result in a political change of the State-frontier of Russia. Russia can be as little indifferent to these new elements on her boundaries, as Germany was to the Transvaal proceedings or the United States to those in Venezuela. For other reasons also we must curb the propensity for annexations of the great man Abdurahman. The Aryans of the Hindukush, by losing their independent nationality, also lose their religion and will be converted to Islám. The conquest of Kafiristan by Afghanistan means the expansion of the Khalifate. France may bow to it and England fear Indian Muhammadans, but Russia is recognised by the West as master of the position in solving the Eastern question, which is essentially a religious one. It is the old fight between Christianity and Islám. Both meet along our whole Eastern frontier and there can only be a truce between them. Russia cannot allow the Khalifate to take an inch more than it has, even if it be only small Kafiristan, which was so very cautiously separated from us (by England) with Badakhshan as a barrier" (between the Russian frontier and Kafiristan).

#### QUESTIONS ASKED IN PARLIAMENT.

##### AFGHANISTAN AND THE KAFIRS.—FEBRUARY 13TH.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY asked the Secretary of State for India, whether Her Majesty's Government had received confirmation of a statement made in several Indian newspapers, to the effect that, according to an announcement by the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, military operations would be resumed by the Afghans against the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush in the first week of March;

Whether the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafir race was contemplated as a possible contingency when the transfer to Afghanistan of the whole of the Kafir country up to Chitral was made under the Durand Agreement, as stated in the recently published Chitral Blue-book ; and, if so, what steps were being taken to save the people from such a fate ;

And, whether the text of the Durand Agreement or Treaty would be laid before the House of Commons.

LORD G. HAMILTON : (1) Her Majesty's Government has received no confirmation of the report that military operations will be resumed against the Kafirs in March. The latest report is that operations were practically ended on January 24th, troops withdrawn, and most hostages released.

(2) The main object of the Durand Agreement—the text of which I shall be glad to lay on the Table of the House—was to fix the limits of the respective spheres of influence of the two Governments, and thus put an end to the difficulties arising from the want of such a delimitation. According to the latest reports received from the Government of India no question of “the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafir race” has arisen ; and certainly no such contingency was contemplated at the time the arrangement was arrived at.

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KAFIRISTAN.—FEBRUARY 20TH.

SIR ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could give the House any information as to the losses of the inhabitants of Kafiristan during the recent invasion by the forces of the Amir :

And whether, if the military operations were renewed, Her Majesty's Government would arrange for a British officer to accompany the Afghan troops.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON : According to the latest information received from the Government of India, the Kafirs were being disarmed and the property of those who had fled was being confiscated ; but both the persons and property of those who remained were safe. No repressive measures are reported. About 150 Kafirs have sought refuge in Chitral. The Afghan troops under the Sipah Salar have withdrawn, and military operations are reported to be practically terminated. The Government of India have desired that telegraphic reports be sent to them from Chitral of any further operations.

It would not be possible to make arrangements by which a British officer should accompany any subsequent Afghan expedition.

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KAFIR SETTLERS IN CHITRAL.—MARCH 3RD.

MR. BAYLEY asked the Secretary for India whether information had been received by the Government as to the disposal of the people in the portion of Kafiristan taken possession of by the Afghans prior to the cessation of hostilities on Jan. 24 last, and the removal to Chitral of those who wished to leave the conquered country ; whether the Government would make arrangements with the Ameer of Afghanistan for the safe conduct of those and any other expatriated Kafirs into districts where they could be suitably provided for ; whether, as there did not appear to be accommodation in Chitral for any large number of Kafir settlers, the Government would consider the expediency of locating the exiles in Kashmir or some other district, less sterile and affording better facilities for peaceable residence than Chitral ; and whether, if the complete occupation of Kafiristan by the Afghans was inevitable, the Government would use its influence to secure the adoption of a policy not less humane than that which had been insisted upon by the Russian Government as regarded the evacuation of the Darwaz district of Bokhara, lately ceded to Afghanistan.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON : No information of a trustworthy character has been received as to the treatment or disposal of the Kafir prisoners ; as regards those who remain in Kafiristan I have received from no reliable source any information contradicting the statement I made on Feb. 20. The conditions connected with the transfer of the Darwaz district of Bokhara are so widely different from those surrounding Kafiristan that I should doubt the expediency of pressing on his Highness the Ameer the special arrangements suggested by the hon. member ; but any favourable opportunity of exercising beneficial

influence on behalf of the Kafirs will be made use of by the Government of India, and I will communicate with the Viceroy as to the possibility of providing for the peaceable settlement in suitable districts of such Kafirs as may have taken refuge in British protectorate.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN asked whether influence might not be used to prevent the expatriation of these Kafirs altogether.

LORD G. HAMILTON said he could not go beyond the answer he had given. He proposed to include the agreement with the Ameer in the Chitral papers.

KAFIRISTAN.—23 MARCH.

MR. A. PEASE asked the Secretary of State for India: "Whether the Government have information as to recent military operations by the Afghans in Kafiristan." "Whether they will make representations to the Government of the Amir with regard to the slaughter and enslavement of the Kafirs." [The *Times* omitted this question.]

LORD G. HAMILTON replied,—I received intelligence early this month that the Sipah Salar had again left Asmar for the Wai valley with a force, and that the Ramgul valley in the west of Kafiristan had been occupied after severe fighting by troops sent from Kabul. I have no later information which I can regard as trustworthy. In accordance with the undertaking which I gave on March 3 a communication was made to the Viceroy, who will use any favourable opportunity of exercising his good offices on behalf of the Amir's Kafir subjects; but I am afraid that under the circumstances I cannot promise more than this."

The above answers show what little attention has been really paid to the questions put on both sides of the House. Even as late as the 3rd March Lord G. Hamilton practically repeated the assurances of the 23rd February which had the effect of lulling the friends of the Kafirs in the Press and Parliament into a false security. Yet he had no real authority to contradict the announcement, published in the Indian papers, of the Afghan Commander-in-Chief that the campaign would be renewed with increased vigour in the first days of March. As a matter of fact, the slaughter then began in the South and West of Kafiristan, the East having already been depopulated and over 16,000 of the survivors having already been carried thence into village slavery. If Lord Elgin had no better information than the one which so misled the House, public confidence in his competence or desire to deal with the matter will be seriously shaken. However, on the 6th March he *did* telegraph to England about the severe fighting and loss in the Ramgul Valley and if Lord G. Hamilton had been sure of it, he would at once have communicated it to the House and not have waited till one of his supporters extracted the information from him on the 23rd. Nothing seems to have been done to stop the slaughter and enslavement of the

Kafirs and nothing, we fear, will be done. Some Russian and French papers explain this by the tacit connivance of our philanthropic and religious leaders in order to promote the absorption of Kafiristan whilst pretending to protest against it. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the news was concealed from both the Indian and the English papers for 23 days, for although the massacres had gone on for 7 days, those up to the 7th March in India, have no record of it. Let educated, farsighted and patriotic Englishmen now, in their own political interests and in those, far more weighty, of science, humanity and religion

AWAKE, ARISE OR BE FOR EVER FALLEN!

at any rate in the esteem of the civilized world.

#### DETAILS OF THE KABUL-BADAKHSHAN ROUTE.

The road is 253 miles long. The stages from Kabul to Faizabad are as follows by Charikar and the Sur Alang Pass :—(1) To Karabagh (200 houses), 23 miles by Deh-i-Khudadad and Khoja Chasht, a good road, passing Bimaru, the Turakhel and Deh-i-Aha villages, through a populated country. (2) To the large village Parwán (which is the beginning of the Saralang Pass), 21 miles, *via* Charikar, a town that has 100 shops; from here, by the Tutam Valley on the left, is reached the Kaoshan Pass, the easiest in the Hindukush, but famous for its robbers till the present Amir put them down. (3) The road before and after Parwán is rather stony, the villages are scattered, and fewer are passed, the valley narrows, and either the stream in the valley has to be crossed and re-crossed or horses find it difficult to go up and down the higher parts to Nawuch, eight miles from Parwán; but Russian officers and men have not our impedimenta, and would go on two marches for our one, to Alang, at the foot of the Hindukush, 13 miles further on, and encamp in its open valley on a plain rich in wheat, after passing a bad road up the stream and the villages of Dwas, Hijan, Ahengaran. (By Dwas is the Bajgah Pass, an even easier road to Inderáb than our Sur Alang Pass.) (4) Doshakh (nine miles) an easy road; breakfast at Camp, where the Alang and Kaoshan Rivers join. Wood and grass abound. Cross Alang Pass, 12,000 ft., on which little snow falls. (5) Khinjan, 17 miles; road stony, valley bare; pass Takhtsang. Khinjan is inhabited by Sunni Tajiks; roads thence go east to Inderáb and west to Ghorí, Heibak, and Khulm for Tashkurghan. (6) To Khushdara, 12 miles. The road, which lies up the Inderáb Valley, is fair; pass Khinjan Fort, a small village, then Dashti Amrud; cross stream coming from Bajgah Pass. Hazara shepherds and cowherds abound. (Inderáb is a day's march east of Khush Dara.) (7) Camp 20 miles. Road passes for 12 miles over a flat desert, a mile wide and 9,000 ft. above the sea; then ascend Buzdara Pass to "the spring of birds." West lies the Ghorí road. Thence the road to the camp is bad, but wood and grass abound, as also tents of nomads. (8) Sixteen miles from the camp to the small village of Narin, where a market is held twice a week; then come the Buz villages. The people are Uzbeks, and speak Turki. Road level to Chashma-i-Mahian (14 miles), passing a small village and hamlet of tents. Thence (9) to the market place of Ishkamish, 12 miles, over an easy plain, descending steeply to the Bungi River, crossed by a wooden bridge about 80 ft. long. After an arid tract, the grassy marsh of Khoja-Bandkush a village is reached. (From Narin, cross a low ridge along which the Kunduz-Inderáb road passes. From Narin to the River Bungi the road traverses a grassy plain, fringed by mountains.) (10) Khanabad 11 miles; road generally good near

Talikhan River, though from Khanabad to the camp (11) is 22 miles, over many bad ascents and descents. The ford that crosses the Talikhan is difficult and is some 80 paces wide; a salt-water spring is found. (12) From the camp, six easy miles bring one to the village and Fort of Kalaoghan or "Kalaafghan," where provisions abound; after passing Akbolak village, at the foot of the Lataband Pass, the main road from Kunduz to Badakhshan. The Mir of Kalaoghan is tributary to the Kunduz Mir. Thence eight miles take you to Mashad village over a good road to Mashad or Kiskin Valley. (13) From Mashad an uninhabited hilly country has to be passed to Teshgan, a small village in a fertile valley, 13 miles, but the Russian soldier will push on another 12 miles to Ballas, although the road is hilly, passing the vantage Darah-Darahim, where there was Afghan Cavalry, in a fine and fertile valley. (14) Now to Faizabad (12 miles), the road is good, passing Asgu Village and Baghi Shah. Faizabad is the capital of Badakhshan, with which it was often confounded before Jamshed brought the fact and the easy road to the notice of European geographers like Hellwald in 1877. Three Afghan infantry regiments and artillery were stationed here. There is a fort, and the town has a fairly large bazaar; it is now the principal slave-mart for Central Asia, etc., especially after the Afghan occupation. Behind Faizabad rise mountain ridges about 2,000 ft. high; before it flows the Kokcha, and to it leads a road from Kabul through paradises of fertility.

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The only variations of this easy road to a Russian invasion of Kabul (or to that of India by the Faizabad-Jelalabad road, which our betrayal of Kafiristan has created) are: KABUL to FAIZABAD by the SARALANG PASS: 1st stage of 15 miles to Kalakhan, a village of some 300-400 fortified houses; 2. Khoja Khidr 16 m. and 3. Nawuch 10 m. (passing Parwân, where the Saralang Pass begins); 4. Alang, at the foot of the Hindu Kush 15 m.; 5. Goro-Sukhta (*absit omen*) 16 m. and 6. Khinjân 19 m. (at the northern end of the Pass); 7. Khûsh Dara 19 m. (spring for travellers); 8. Narin 20 m.; 9. Jabaldâgh 20 m.; 10. Ishântop 23 m.; 11. Khanabad 2 m. (for a rest). This village is 15 miles E. of Kûndûz, on hills above its fens. (See first route); 12. Talikhan 12 m. (300-400 houses); 13. Karlûgh 20 m. on the Kokcha, there fast and wild, crossed by a wooden bridge; 14. Rostak 20 m. (a town of 5,000 houses. See Jamshed's account); 15. Aten Jalus 19 m.; 16. Faizabad 20 m.

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## NOTES.

### I.

The Amir would be, more correctly, an "Amir-ul-mumenin" or "Commander of the Faithful," although there have been simultaneous Khalifates in Muhammadan History, such as the Abbasside of Baghdad, the Omme-yade of Spain, the Fatimite of Egypt, etc. He is already the Amir of "God-given" Afghanistan. The Russian Press first spoke of the Khalifate in connexion with Kafiristan.

### II.

"Koreishi" is the tribe to which a "perfect Khalifa" must belong as a *sine quâ non* condition. "Might, however, is right" in this matter, as long as the *de facto* secular Head of the Sunni Muhammadan world, who can in theory only be one, has the power to enforce his decrees, provided he rules in accordancè with the Koran and the sacred traditions. He could not, like the Pope, define a dogma *ex cathedrâ* nor alter Muhammadan ritual. Curiously enough, the Kafirs are called by many Pathans "Koreishi" or the section of the tribe of the Arab prophet, that opposed his claim and, when defeated, sought refuge in the Hindukush.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE RACES IN AFRICA.

BY LT.-COLONEL H. ELSDALE, R.E.,

Fort Napier, Natal.

## I.

IN the opening chapter of Mr. Pearson's able book (1)\* on the unchangeable limits of the Higher Races, he has exposed at length the fallacy of the popular idea that the coloured races everywhere are destined to disappear before the conquering march of the white man. He thus summarises his conclusion :

"On the whole it seems difficult to doubt that the black and yellow belt, which always encircles the Globe between the Tropics, will extend its area, and deepen its colour with time. The work of the white man in these latitudes is only to introduce order and an acquaintance with the best industrial methods of the west. The countries belong to their autochthonous races, and these, although they may in parts accept the white man as a conqueror and organiser, will gradually become too strong and unwieldy for him to control, or if they retain him, will do it only with the condition that he assimilates himself to the inferior race" (page 64).

In the case of the vast Continent of Africa, whose latent possibilities have of late attracted so much interest, and given rise to a solemn parti-

\* The following is the List of books reviewed in this article. The books are referred to by the number prefixed to each in this List.—ED.

1. National Life and Character. Mr. C. H. Pearson. Macmillan and Co. 1893.
2. President Reitz of the Free State on the Native Question; article in Cape Illustrated Magazine, November 1891.
3. Sir Theophilus Shepstone in reply to the above, letter to Natal Mercury, dated 19th January 1892.
4. Sir Theophilus Shepstone in reply to his local critics, letter to Natal Mercury, dated 1st April 1892.
5. Report of the Superintendent General of Education, Cape of Good Hope, for the year 1892. W. A. Richards and Son, Government Printers, Capetown.
6. Report of the Inspector of Native Education, Natal, for the year ending 30th June, 1893. William Watson, Church Street, Pietermaritzburg.
7. The experiment of Native Education, by Dr. James Stewart. Lovedale: printed at the Mission Press, 1884.
8. Report of the Special Native Committee of the Council of Education, Natal. P. Davis and Sons, Government Printers, Pietermaritzburg.
9. Technical Instruction and Industrial Training, pamphlet by Sir Langham Dale, K.C.M.G., Superintendent of Education in the Cape Colony. Printed at the Missionary Institution Press, Lovedale, 1892.
10. Lovedale—Past and Present, printed at the Mission Press, Lovedale, South Africa, 1887.
11. The Partition of Africa. Mr. J. Scott Keltie. Edward Stanford, 1893.
12. The Rise of our East African Empire. Captain F. D. Lugard. Blackwood, 1894.
13. New Light on Dark Africa. Dr. Carl Peters. Translated from the German by H. W. Dulcken. Ward, Lock and Co., 1891.
14. Social Evolution, by Benjamin Kidd. Macmillans, 1894.
15. The Race Conflict in South Africa, by F. S. Tatham, Member of Natal Legislative Assembly. Munro Bros., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.



tion of it among the Great Powers, Mr. Pearson has argued that the white man cannot expect to hold his own in South Africa, which has already been exploited by the English and Dutch under the most favourable conditions, and where the climatic conditions are pre-eminently favourable to permanent white colonisation,—and if not in South Africa, then, “*a fortiori*,” he cannot hope to compete with the black man in the vast tropical regions north of the Zambesi.

We have had the advantage, not enjoyed by Mr. Pearson, of a personal acquaintance with the affairs of Africa, and South Africa especially, ranging over more than 25 years. We have employed large numbers of the natives of different tribes and been brought into personal contact with them. It is here proposed therefore to review Mr. Pearson’s conclusions in the light of this somewhat extensive experience, to give details upon the subject which may not be generally accessible to English readers, and to consider the probable future of the African races.

## 2.

Mr. Pearson is quite right in thinking that the experience of the various colonies and territories comprised under the term: “South Africa” is all important as a guide to estimating the probable future progress of events in the African Continent. Here, if anywhere in Africa south of the Sahara, we may expect that the white man will be enabled to maintain and perpetuate his supremacy. Here we find a vast region, containing extensive tracts of fertile and well-watered country, much of which has been for a long period well within his grasp. It includes the most valuable and extensive deposits of gold and diamonds in the world, which are now attracting, and are certain to attract in the future, an increasing stream of enterprising white emigrants. Large deposits of excellent coal and very rich copper mines have been found upon it. Great districts of it are excellent grazing grounds for sheep and cattle. Most of the leading products both of temperate and subtropical climates can be abundantly grown upon it, including excellent grapes, tea, coffee, tobacco, oranges, bananas, oats, and European fruits, vegetables, and timber trees, as oaks, of all kinds. The climate generally is excellent; in fact, South Africa is being increasingly resorted to as a sanatorium for invalids, consumptive or delicate persons sent out from Europe under medical advice. The country is being continually opened up by railways and telegraphs. The last stumbling block to the onward march of the white man has recently been removed by the destruction of the fighting power of Lobengula and the Matabele. If the white man cannot hold his own and establish a permanent white Empire in South Africa, he cannot hope to do so anywhere in Africa. It should be borne in mind throughout that South Africa is a whole century in advance of the rest of the Continent. There, on a large scale, are now being worked out, under the most favourable conditions, the problems which, *mutatis mutandis*, must govern and determine the whole future of the Dark Continent generally. Consequently we shall be wise to spend our time mainly in analysing the experience of South Africa.

The present moment, after Lobengula’s disappearance, is most opportune

for reviewing the general subject, and considering what the position of the white and coloured races south of the Zambesi is likely to be in the future, in the light of the proved facts and manifest tendencies of the present situation.

We find by the census returns of 1891 that there were at that date :

In the Cape Colony	...	376,987	Whites to 1,150,237	Natives and Coloured.
„ Natal	...	46,788	„	{ 455,983 Natives. 41,142 Indians.
„ Zululand & Tongaland	...	648	„	180,000 Natives.
„ Orange Free State	...	77,716	„	129,787 „
„ Transvaal (1890)	...	119,128	„ (1892)	649,560 „
„ Swaziland	...	600	„	60,000 „
„ Pondoland	...	100 (?)	„	200,000 „
„ Basutoland	...	578	„	218,324 „
„ British Bechuanaland	...	5,254	„	55,122 „
Total	...	627,799	„	3,140,155 Coloured,—

besides an immense mass of natives, with a scanty sprinkling of whites, within the enormous Sphere, actual or prospective, of the British South Africa Company south and north of the Zambesi, which exceeds 750,000 square miles. Omitting these it will be seen that in the British and Dutch communities, with their outlying dependencies, there was in 1890 an average of about six natives or coloured persons to every white man. If we allow for the confessedly imperfect enumeration of the natives, and for their subsequent rapid increase, the real proportion at present is probably not less than seven to one. In Natal the proportion was, in 1891, nearly ten natives and one Indian to every European, or eleven to one; at present it is about twelve to one.

Judging by all past experience this great numerical disproportion between the white and coloured races is likely to increase in future, not only from the high birth rate and rapid increase of the natives, but because they flock in from the neighbouring territories, to enjoy the peace and prosperity of the settled white communities, and to supply the increasing demand for labour caused by gold and diamond fields, railway works, coal mines, etc. The native increase from these causes is likely to outweigh any probable increment to the white population resulting from European emmigration. Thus a fresh gold mine or a new railway will make room for a few European Engineers, foremen, and overseers, but the rank and file of the workmen will always be natives.

It is clear that the future position of this vast mass of natives must mainly depend upon their courage, energy, and capacity as a race, and upon their capabilities for improvement and civilisation.

### 3.

We shall be largely guided in our forecast by their proved prowess in war. If we search the records of universal history, we find that the pre-eminence of races has been mainly determined by their fighting capacity. In this supreme quality the Bantu races of South Africa, as we have often proved to our cost, are well to the front. There is no more striking instance of prowess in war than the magnificent advance of the naked

Zulus at Isandlwana in face of the deadly fire of the white man's breech-loader. Perhaps in the pages of the philosophic black historian of the distant future, that desperate and successful struggle against the overwhelming power of the civilised white man will take a well-earned place beside the records of Marathon and Thermopylæ.

The long indecisive struggle of the ill-armed Basutos against the whole power of the Cape Colony, and the experience of Lord Wolseley's campaign among the Swazies, shew that these races are hardly if at all behind the Zulus in warlike capacity.

## 4-

Next in importance to the fighting value of the natives, in our estimate of their future, comes the question of their working power. It is the restless energy of the Englishman which, more than anything else, has built up the world-wide British Empire. Herein lies at first sight the weak point of the African natives. Their forefathers for untold generations have been accustomed to lead an idle life for the most part, leaving a good deal of the hard work to the women, in a country and climate where very little real continuous labour from anyone was required to supply all their simple wants. In this respect the patient hard-working Chinaman, whose ancestors for countless generations have been wont to toil fourteen or fifteen hours a day in a hard struggle for existence, lies at one end of the scale, and the African native, who has never experienced the necessity for hard work, at the other. Nevertheless we are firmly persuaded that the energy and capacity for work is in them, and only needs to be brought out. Thus, if we may be allowed to refer to our own experience, in the course of Sir Charles Warren's expedition to Bechuanaland in 1885, there was a sudden large demand for labour to construct a fort at Barkly, whereby to secure the line of supply and retreat of the force at the important crossing of the Vaal or Orange River. The responsible staff officers consulted the neighbouring white residents, who informed them that the native labour available in the locality was altogether refractory, and practically useless. However an effort had of necessity to be made, and at the shortest notice we ourselves applied for and obtained permission to engage a force of over 100 natives. They worked 13-14 hours a day in very hot weather extraordinary well, and the fort was finished in less than a fortnight, to the amazement of the white inhabitants. We then selected 50 of the best natives and went up country with them to join the General and the advanced force at Mafeking, marching 14-16 miles a day, and also spent hours of hard work daily at various places along the road, in cutting down the approaches to steep drifts or fords so as to render them passable to the wagons, and repairing boggy places with rough fascines cut from the neighbouring bush, etc. These 50 natives worked just as well under the burning sun of Bechuanaland as 50 Englishmen, in the cool English climate, could reasonably have been expected to do. They were most cheerful over their work and gave no trouble whatever. When, after many weeks of continuous hard work it was a question of how far they were willing to go away from home, as we were taking them beyond the terms of their original engagement, they said that they were perfectly ready to go to Moselikatse's country with us, a most expressive native phrase, which means that they would go any

where and live or die with us. Whence comes the extraordinary difference between our experience of these natives and that of the white inhabitants of Barkly? We believe that it was purely a question of treatment. The average low-class Englishman or Colonist is apt to treat the natives like dogs, which they naturally resent. Or he pets them one day, and insults them the next. And then he says that they are "spoilt," when he himself has spoilt them. We treated these natives throughout much as if they were our own children. We shewed care for their comfort; if they were good children we praised them, at which they were delighted, and if they were disobedient we punished them, with which also they were satisfied, and never manifested the slightest resentment. After a few days of such treatment the tribal instinct of loyalty to the chief, which seems inherent in every African native, asserted itself. Thenceforward they looked upon us as "the Chief" and were ready to follow us anywhere with the utmost devotion. Had any individual mutinied or insulted us, his own comrades, at a sign from us, would have been ready to knock his brains out. Far from this, these rude children, whom the white man at Barkly found so unmanageable, were one and all as loyal and obedient as the best Troops of the Old Guard.

From this and other experience elsewhere in South Africa, we conclude that the natives are capable of hard work, if properly treated. So also say numbers of humane residents in South Africa who have employed hundreds of natives and found no difficulty in getting excellent work out of them.\*

## 5.

But courage and working power are of little use without brains, so we must next consider the mental capacity of the native.

Any experienced resident in South Africa, especially among the missionaries and others engaged in education, can quote cases where individual natives who have had a really good education, which of course does not fall to the lot of one in a thousand, have proved themselves very capable and proficient. Most if not all of these individuals have been males. But we have lately made the acquaintance of a lady who is very literary and accomplished. In intellect and capacity she is considerably above the average of well-born and well-educated Englishwomen. She is a pure-bred Kaffir, adopted by an English lady when six months old, and sent to England for the best education. Anyone who knows her would conclude that if the red-blanket native women are, undoubtedly, a long stage behind cultivated English ladies, the difference is only a question of training and environment, and not due to any inherent race inferiority.

But we would not lay too much stress upon individual cases. We have collected the well-considered opinions of those who have been for years engaged in the practical work of teaching the natives, both in the Cape Colony and Natal. We here present the following statement as a fair summary of them, quoting our authorities for the leading points:—

\* Mr. J. Scott Keltie, who has studied the literature bearing on the question exhaustively, says—"We may banish the unfounded idea that the African native can never be trained to labour"—see (11) p. 454. Captain Lugard also expresses a very high opinion of the natives for discipline and work, see (12) p. 473.

"The native is 'a splendid student, he applies himself well to his books and is anxious to learn' (a). His memory and observation, or eye receptive capacity, are excellent for learning things by heart or by eye, much superior to that of an English boy. He is specially clever and apt at such subjects as mental arithmetic, shewing quickness of intellect as combined with memory (b). The average native learns as well as an average white boy up to the ordinary limits of a simple primary education. Beyond this, as regards higher education, in the first generation he seems considerably inferior to the English boy, especially in mathematics and, most of all, in geometry (c). But it does not necessarily follow that he will remain so in the second or third generation of educated natives. On a broad view it seems safe to say that, within the limits of an ordinary primary education, the average brain power of a native is equal to that of a white man (d); also that a few individuals who have had the rare advantage of a really good higher education have shewn themselves very capable, but that further experience and two or three generations of continuous education are required before we can say with any certainty that the average native will be found as competent in the higher or highest education as the average Englishman. The native, however, shews such intelligence and capacity in learning any kind of bookwork, that it seems probable that he will be found as capable therein, in all branches and all standards of education, as the European. It however by no means follows that in creative genius, or in the development of exceptional talent and power, calculated to fit him for original work in any department of literature, science, or art, he will be found equal to the white man. The experience of future generations alone can settle this point. There is no very marked difference in capacity between the various Bantu tribes.\* On the whole it would appear that the Bantus are a strong race 'as capable of education and civilisation as the Teuton, and more capable than the Celt' (e)."

## 6.

At present, the South African natives accept the white man's supremacy. The Matabele will doubtless follow the example of the Zulus, and now that they have been fairly beaten, will give no more trouble. But this does not imply in the least that there is anything servile in the spirit of these men. It means simply that they are, in the main, frank, honest, open-hearted races, who loyally accept the inevitable, and abide by their bargain, whether in peace or war, without bearing malice. It frequently happened in the old wars that a native, who had been entrusted by some white man with the care of stock, would voluntarily present himself with the cattle, complete and intact to the last calf, and ask the owner to take them back, immediately prior to the outbreak of hostilities. A day or two later, when war had actually been proclaimed, he would fight for and recover the cattle if he could, as he would know them and their peculiarities, and they would be more valuable to him than to another man. He would have considered it dishonourable to take advantage of the coming war to keep the cattle for himself or for his tribe. Similarly, when peace was once proclaimed with the Zulus, one or two solitary white men could forthwith ride anywhere through Zululand without anyone offering to molest them. The headmen

(a) Rev. W. Baker, Edendale Wesleyan Institution, Natal.

(b) Rev. F. Greene, St. Albans College, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

(c) Rev. W. J. B. Moir, Lovedale, Alice, Cape Colony.

(d) Rev. Charles Taberer, St. Matthews, Keiskamma Hock, Cape Colony.

\* The Zulu and the Gaika are more quick and clever, the Fingo less so, but more acquisitive and persevering, so that on the whole he makes better progress. The Gaikas and kindred tribes are nimble-minded, but proud and impatient. The Basuto is more plodding and slow, but industrious and reliable.—Rev. W. J. B. Moir, Lovedale, Alice, Cape Colony.

of any kraals they might visit would welcome them in a frank, dignified, manly way, without the slightest servility, or any sign of malice or revenge on account of the, to them, untoward result of very recent fighting.

Although therefore, as we have said, the natives at present loyally accept the white man's supremacy, they give abundant indication of a courage, force of character, tough fibre, and backbone, which will make them set themselves firmly to hold their own, once any considerable number of them get educated up to the point of feeling their own feet when confronted by the white men.

## 7.

We have had a most instructive experiment on a large scale in America, which is very conclusive as to the stubborn race-vitality and capacity for improvement of the African negro. In 1860 the black population in the seven Southern States of the Union, described by some writers as "the Black Belt," numbered about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions. They are now approaching 5 millions, and their general increase and prosperity, here and elsewhere in the Union, are, as is well known, giving rise to much anxiety and discussion among thoughtful Americans. The forefathers of these negroes mostly belonged to men of the weaker and inferior tribes of the western coast, who had been captured by stronger tribes and sold to the slavers. They were carried over to America in slave-ships, and they and their children worked, for a longer or shorter period, as slaves on the plantations prior to the Emancipation. The question therefore is,—if a comparatively small number of the weaker members of inferior branches of the general Bantu stock, starting under these extremely unfavourable conditions in an alien climate, have thus progressed and multiplied in a country where they have all along been in a hopeless minority as compared with the whites, what reasonable chance have a handful of whites in South Africa of permanently holding their own against an enormous majority of natives, consisting of much superior branches of the same race, in their own country, and under the abiding stimulus of freedom?

To summarise the argument so far,—we find in South Africa on the side of the coloured man an immense and increasing preponderance in numbers, a stubborn race-vitality which entirely refuses to die out before, or be displaced by, the white man, and which has shewn itself capable of adaptation to changed conditions, a high courage which we have experienced in many wars, and a proved capacity for education and improvement. Is it not altogether incredible that a small minority of whites will be able to keep such races permanently in an inferior position?

In such a situation as this it is no marvel that the native question has given rise to much discussion throughout South Africa. Many thoughtful men see clearly enough that as soon as any large proportion of the natives acquire education the days of white supremacy will be numbered. Accordingly there are numerous advocates of a repressive policy, designed to keep the natives in an inferior position. Should their views find overt expression in Colonial legislation, the relations between the races will be profoundly modified, with possibly the most disastrous results to the peace and progress of South Africa. Probably we cannot do better than consider the

views of President Reitz of the Free State, as being from his position, and as a leader of the powerful Dutch element, a recognised champion of such a policy. He tells us, in (2), that civilised South Africa ought to unite in the following objects of native policy :—

“To get rid of the tribal system, as an *imperium in imperio* of a most pernicious kind, and to abolish chieftainships.

“To apply to all men alike, irrespective of colour and race, the rule, ‘By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread,’ and with a view to this end to break up all locations great and small. [These ‘locations,’ or native reserves, are large tracts of land which have been reserved by the various South African Governments for the sole use of the natives.]

“To suppress by law all such heathen rites as are undoubtedly and flagrantly immoral and degrading. Especially to discourage polygamy, and the buying and selling of women which it involves.

“To adopt the principle, and maintain it steadfastly, that there shall be no equality between the aborigines of South Africa, and the people of European descent who have made it their home.”

To this the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the highest authority in South Africa on this whole question, has replied, in (3), most convincingly that as regards the abolition of the tribal system and the chiefs, all experience in South Africa has shewn that the natives cling so tenaciously to them that it is simply impossible to abolish them. He however agrees that the great military chiefs, or kings, are stumbling blocks, and indeed absolute hindrances in the way of progress and civilisation, and must sooner or later be abolished. He points out that this has already been done, or must soon be done. [We have since seen this carried out in the case of Lobengula.] Sir Theophilus further argues that the calm and sweeping proposal of President Reitz to abolish the tribal system and the chiefs, and substitute for it the Roman-Dutch civil law and the English criminal procedure, would revolutionize vast countries containing hundreds of chiefs and hundreds of thousands of natives, all living under an ancient system of tribal laws and tribal administration :—

“Substitute your magistrates and your codes, and your own police, for their chiefs and their ancient system of tribal responsibility, that turns every member of the tribe into an active policeman, and what have you? Flocks of sheep without shepherds, alien rulers of an estranged people, the cessation of all sympathy and frank intercourse. Dislike and mistrust inevitably beget misunderstanding, to end sooner or later in a death-struggle for existence.”

He proceeds to argue that, so far from abolishing the hereditary chiefs, they should be turned to account, as they are largely at present, as lieutenants of the Government, and subject to its general supervision. When fairly paid they will prove loyal and zealous. But witchcraft should be abolished, and then the chiefs, having lost their ancient engine of oppression and terrorism, will have nothing to lean upon but the power of the Government which pays and supports them. As to President Reitz’s next proposition, to break up all the locations in order to make the natives work among the farmers and as domestic servants, Sir Theophilus points out that this would be to rob the natives of the land which they have inherited from their ancestors from remote ages, and to reduce them to a condition of practical slavery. As to the suppression of immoral heathen rites this

should be done. Polygamy should also be discouraged, but polygamy cannot be done away with at a stroke without causing perhaps greater evils.

As to the last proposition that there should be no equality between the races, Sir Theophilus shews that there is practically no pretence of equality at present :—"The coloured men have accepted the superior position of the Europeans as a race and accept it now." And he argues most justly that if race supremacy is to be maintained, all intellectual education of the natives whatsoever must be abolished :—

"The human intellect cannot be fettered ; when aided by education it will rise to the level that is due to it, whether covered by a coloured skin or a white. To prevent the growth of that formidable thing, intellectual equality, the President to be consistent should adopt the principle and maintain it steadfastly that there shall be no educational establishments for natives, no mission or industrial teaching among them beyond what may be needed to teach them to handle the pickaxe and the plough, or to become domestic servants in towns and villages."

Sir Theophilus Shepstone has the best of the argument all round. We might add that, arguments apart, President Reitz's proposals are two generations too late. In order to give them any reasonable chance of success, race inequality ought to have been adopted as a cardinal principle, governing all relations with the natives, long ago.

8.

Again, there are numbers of white colonists in South Africa who, without being prepared to support such an extremely one-sided and retrograde policy towards the native as that advocated by President Reitz, would yet favour a policy which may perhaps be best described as putting the screw on him, especially in view of his well-known disinclination to continuous labour, which has led to the importation of tens of thousands of Indians for labourers in a country where there are hundreds of thousands of natives practically unemployed. Some of these gentlemen have also a strong objection to polygamy and the allied custom of "lobola," or a heavy payment, generally in cattle, made by the bridegroom to the bride's father or nearest male relative, whereby the bride is practically sold at a price. Here again it is desirable to consider how far such an advanced policy is legitimate and tenable, as, if these questions should be rashly dealt with, there will be very troublous times in store for South Africa.

The views of this section are well embodied in a letter addressed to us by one of the members of the Natal Legislative Assembly, recently elected under Responsible Government,\* which we here venture to quote as fairly representative :

"How are you to deal with the native ? Make him work and he will gradually learn to love occupation for its own sake. Make him work, not by telling him through missionaries that he ought, that will only make him hate Christianity, but by increasing his wants. Tax him, abolish polygamy, a system which enables him to live upon the work of his wives. Abolish lobola, a system which enables him to fatten upon the sale and barter of his children. Tax his assegais, his shields, his knobsticks. Tax everything that tends to keep up his barbarism. Make him dress whether in town or country. Tax his round hut, exempt him if he lives in a house. Tax his beer, forbid beer-drinking gatherings."

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\* This gentleman has since published his views at length ; see (15).



We quite agree that it is of the first importance that the native should be taught habits of steady industry, but entirely disagree as to the necessity or practicability of any such sweeping measures as those suggested. If our judgment as to the natural tendency of the South African labour market in future be sound, the stern pressure of the struggle for existence will be the best schoolmaster to teach industry to the Kaffirs. The number of natives seeking employment in future will increase in a far higher proportion, on any reasonable forecast, than the increase in the demand for their labour arising from the progress of the white communities. As soon as the great temporary demand for labour and correspondingly high rate of wages due to the sudden rise of the gold and diamond fields have had time to adjust themselves, the rate of wages for native labour generally will tend to fall. For the natives are multiplying fast and their wants are tending to increase. Moreover, the gradually widening area of education will increase their wants still further, and thereby drive more of them into the labour market. Consequently more and more natives will seek employment and will remain longer in any given employment at lower wages when they have secured it. For at present the bane of native labour is, that the Kaffirs work very well for a few months, and then just as they are getting properly trained to their work they throw it up, to return to their kraals for a holiday of long and uncertain duration.

But if their own increasing numbers and the natural tendency of things as they are should not prove sufficient, it will be easy to hasten the process by moderate and well-considered legislative enactments designed for the purpose, without having recourse to any such sweeping measures as those suggested. Such measures, especially the proposed abolition of polygamy and lobola, would provoke an immense amount of resentment among the natives, so as to constitute in our judgment a political danger of the first magnitude. It would most probably be found impossible to enforce them in practice, even if enacted. And their non-enforcement would bring the white man's law, and the white man generally, into contempt among the natives, which would be a most serious matter.

Fortunately for the peace and prosperity of South Africa, the older, more experienced and influential legislators and politicians are sobered by the responsibilities of office. They can be relied upon, we think, to oppose all sudden and rash experiments in repressive legislation, and their more cautious views will be likely to command a majority.

9.

The question of how best to wean the huge mass of unemployed natives from their besetting idleness, and get them to settle down to the proper cultivation of the large tracts of land throughout South Africa, which are now turned to very little account, is evidently one of the first importance. The progressive Natal legislator whom we have quoted above has favoured us with the views of his section upon it :—

“Establish agricultural schools at different centres throughout the Colony, and tax each district to maintain its own school. Teach him by this means that he cannot live without taking from this fertile soil the wealth which lies there latent.”

This is a most excellent programme as far as the progress of the native is concerned. It is a necessary part of the general question of the industrial training of the natives, the cultivation of the land being the great fundamental industry. It should however be carried out quietly and wisely, so as to stir up as little opposition as may be from the white farmers. For such instruction is bound to hasten the inevitable day when they will be slowly crowded out, by being undersold in the market by the products of cheap native farming, with no white man's profits and white man's expenses to bear. The economical advantages of "*petite culture*," carried on by a frugal race who can live cheaply, are well known. The more intelligent natives are already, as we have personally seen, beginning to use their own ploughs, of a good pattern imported from England or America, and their own teams of oxen, to grow mealies or Indian corn cheaper than a white farmer can grow them. The market for this leading and important South African product will be closed entirely to the white farmers as soon as any considerable number of natives take to growing them on such an improved system.

Similarly for all other crops and dairy farming. These will inevitably tend more and more to pass into the hands of intelligent and industrially educated natives. The advantage to the general revenue and development of these colonies of such a system will be enormous. Instead of the huge 7,000 acre farm of the past, owned by a Dutchman, or a slovenly Englishman, who would not take the trouble merely to grow enough fodder to save his cattle from dying of starvation every winter, or even the progressive 7,000 acre farm worked by the more enlightened modern farmers who are at present cultivating a portion of their land and feeding their stock properly, we might in favourable fertile ground have say 150 farms, or allotments of about 47 acres each, worked by natives, without a white man on the whole lot.\* The owners of land will soon find it, and are already finding it, to their interest, to subdivide and sublet it on such a system to the natives. The result will be a tendency to crowd out the whites in a few generations as tenants of the soil, if not as owners. Meanwhile the general revenue will be vastly increased, the more fertile portions of the Kaffir locations will be turned into gardens, and the proved economical advantages of the system will make reactionary legislation impossible. There is no sphere of industry, we think, in which it is more certain that the industrial education of the native will tend to crowd out the white man than the farming industry. All the small farmers at least will be displaced by coloured men, although a few large monied farmers may still find it pay to pit their brains, their command of capital, their superior knowledge of scientific farming, their command of expensive plant, and their large scale operations generally, against the small plots of the natives. We have already seen similar causes in operation with a similar result in the way in which industrious Indians, and coloured men generally, have supplanted the whites in the vegetable and fruit growing industry for the supply of various towns in South Africa.

\* Of course such a typical and extreme case as this could only occur on a few specially fertile and cultivable farms. †

Politically such a gradual settlement of the natives on the land would be an immense advantage, as every native who acquires a small piece of land with his own crops on it will become a conservative element in the State, and all the land in these colonies, including the native reserves, will be turned to much better account. Such however is the power of the rooted conservatism of the natives, that whole generations of gradual instruction and enlightenment will be required before we can expect to see any large number of them abandon their own meagre, slipshod, and childish systems of cultivation for the white man's improved system of farming.\*

## 10.

It is clear that the future progress of the natives in the above and all directions is mainly bound up with, and dependent upon, the question of their education. But in order that we may arrive at any sound opinion upon their present position and probable progress, it is necessary to glance at the educational machinery now actually at work, and review briefly the lines upon which it is being conducted.

In the Cape Colony it appears from the tables in (5) that the total number of native children attending school between the ages of 5 and 15 years, as nearly as the Superintendent General of Education can arrive at it in his Report for 1892, was 38,550. The total estimated number of coloured children, educated and uneducated, between these ages was 318,041. Hence the percentage of children attending school was 12·12. This is a small, but viewing all the difficulties of the case in the vast and scattered area comprised within the Cape Colony, perhaps not an altogether unsatisfactory percentage. It is reassuring to note that the Superintendent General is by no means satisfied with it. He and his officers also complain of the great deficiency in properly instructed native Teachers, as tending to lower the value of the work done.

In Natal we find by (6) that in the year ending June 30th, 1893, there were 27 State-aided Indian Schools with 2,706 scholars for a population of 41,142 Indians. As regards the vast mass of natives, Government grants in aid were made to 73 native schools, with a daily average attendance of 2,802 children. We have no return of the total number of native children of the same ages, but as by the census of 1891 the number of Kaffirs of all ages was 455,983 it is clear that the percentage of educated children is extremely small, or say roughly 1 per cent. The Government Inspector observes,—“Thousands of children are waiting to be taught to read and write.” For there are no schools for them. In the Free State and Transvaal there is no system of Government-aided native education, but missionary efforts are by no means lacking.†

As to the Educational programme, and standard attained, this is gener-

\* An important large-scale experiment in this direction of settling the natives on the land has recently been started in the Cape Colony by Mr. Rhodes under the Act known as the Glen Grey Bill.

† Thus in the Transvaal, British Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, the flourishing Wesleyan Communion has 41 native day schools with 1,505 scholars, besides a training institution for native teachers. In Basutoland also very good work is being done, mainly through the energy of the French Missions.

ally speaking low throughout both the British Colonies, although ambitious and somewhat overstrained efforts at a high standard have been made in both. Thus Dr. James Stewart, Principal of Lovedale, looking back at past efforts to teach Latin and Greek to natives who, on leaving school, became mere ordinary day labourers, confesses that it was a mistake :—

“Looking at this subject with calm eyes and sad reflections, over efforts wasted and education travestied, hopes disappointed and expectations unfulfilled, it is indeed a strange object of contemplation, Greek and grout of Portland cement, Horace and the hodman's load of mortar combined in the same life ;” see (7), page 18.

Similarly in Natal, where the general standard is very elementary. We find however by the returns in (6) that at the Edendale Training Institution there were last year classes in Algebra, geology, physics, and Latin. We should entirely agree with the Government Inspector's remark, “Too far advanced perhaps, Latin and Algebra having been added to the subjects taught,”—were it not for this consideration that in every Colony or leading Division of South Africa there ought to be at least one Institution for the training of qualified native teachers, and Edendale may be regarded as fulfilling that function for Natal, at least so far as the Wesleyan Communion is concerned.

For the present we think that every effort should be made to widen the area and extend the scale of native education generally, while restricting it ordinarily to a very simple primary standard. Otherwise, if we educate a few natives to a higher standard, we take them out of their own sphere, without introducing them to the society of white men, and leave them in a lonely and forlorn position. There is then some measurable risk of their relapsing into heathen barbarism, and the last state of the man is worse than the first. It is satisfactory to find that Special Commissioners, appointed by the Government to consider this whole question in Natal, have adopted these views : see (8) page 10.

Native education generally throughout these Colonies is purely voluntary. It is clear that any system of compulsion would at present overwhelm the Government with an immense mass of scholars for whom they could find neither schools nor teachers.

By far the most important special question connected with the subject in South Africa is the question of industrial education. It is highly satisfactory to find that Sir Langham Dale, K.C.M.G., the late Chief Superintendent of Education in the Cape Colony, has a very clear grasp of the radical difference between the position and requirements of the native boy and those of the corresponding white boy of the same age. He says in (9) :

“All the surrounding forces of the society in which he lives drive the educated white boy into a groove of labour, to supply some of the thousand and one wants of educated and civilised man. But the school-taught Kaffir lad, surrounded by no such influences, living in a social condition where there is little or no demand for the carpenter, the smith, the tailor, the gardener, or the shopkeeper, cannot, if he has the inclination, make a sphere of industry for himself, there is no demand among his people and therefore no supply, and the circumstances of European society throughout the Colony are so complex that there is as yet little chance for him, however well educated, to force a channel into which he may enter, and where others may follow. Among his own uncivilised tribe he finds neither room nor encouragement for industry, and his very education has made him

an alien. It is only by fusion in the ranks of ordinary civilised society that the educated native can find the influences which are to keep him from relapsing into heathenism, and that systematic idleness which appears to be the characteristic of a red Kaffir's life. You have placed your school Kaffir in mid air, between the heaven of civilisation and the hell of savagism, and will you leave him there? If this is to be the end and aim of native education, the Colony will be rearing and fostering the instruments of its own injury and ruin. The native, when he becomes an educated idler, is a greater pest to society than the red-blanket Kaffir ;" pages 9-11.

Sir Langham Dale here argues very forcibly and justly that if we are to give the Kaffir any intellectual education at all, it is essential that this should be accompanied by, and proceed "*pari passu*" with, some such moderate amount of industrial training at least, as will fit the native on leaving school for some sphere of usefulness in, or in connection with, the requirements of civilised life. Thereby he becomes affiliated, so to speak, to the superior advancement of the white man, and has some reasonable chance given him of keeping up and turning to good account that modicum of education and civilisation which he has already acquired at school.

It is equally satisfactory to find that similar ideas seem to find general acceptance in Natal, wherein industrial training for the natives forms already part of the recognised official programme of education.

This principle of combining industrial education with the intellectual education of the native has already been carried out in practice, to some extent, both in the Cape Colony and in Natal, and especially in such older and larger institutions as Lovedale in the older Colony. Lovedale has been engaged in this work for more than 52 years and there industrial training has been an integral part of the general educational programme from a very early period, having been first started at the instance of that able Governor Sir George Grey.

We may conclude therefore that it is being increasingly adopted by the British Colonies in South Africa, as a guiding star of principle upon this whole question, that if we incur the grave responsibility of educating the Kaffir, in the ordinary sense, we must also accept the additional responsibility of giving him such an amount of industrial training as will afford him a reasonable chance of finding some useful and profitable employment when he leaves school.

The important bearing of industrial education on the moral and spiritual life of the educated Kaffir, as tending to prevent him from relapsing into barbarous heathenism, after leaving school, will be apparent to every thoughtful reader. It has however been so well put by Sir Langham Dale that we cannot forbear from quoting his words :—

"Is it not essential that a life of honest industry should be the embodiment of Christian influences? If there be no real Christianity without work, honest work, in the vocation of each professing Christian, if there be an essential connection between faith in God and self-help, if the lessons of the Church are then only learnt when practised in the workshop and the field, the folly of attempting to Christianize the native races by the influence of the Church and the School alone, without the supplementary institutions of industry and honest handicraft, will recoil upon those who have spent their life-blood in a vain cause. The faith of the soul and the toil of the hand act and react beneficially on each other. It is maintained therefore that the missionary teacher is interested primarily in the question whether, when our mission work in School and Church is successful in elevating native children to a fair standard of religious and secular knowledge, we are not

wrecking every hope of progress, and running every risk of declension from the standard attained, if the school Kaffir goes forth with his modicum of book-learning and no training of his industrial capacities;" (9), page 11.

## 11.

But this question of education, and especially industrial education, thus conceded, brings us to the kernel of the whole situation in its bearing upon the subject of this paper. For it would be useless to blind our eyes to the obvious fact that native education will and must sound the death-knell of the white man's exclusive reign. Every industrially educated native will forthwith enter the labour market, and he, or more probably his better trained descendants, will by their lower paid labour displace the far higher paid labour of the white artisan, or, as we have already said, of the white farmer. Similarly all intellectually educated natives will become competitors, as they are even now increasingly doing, with the whites, for the lower grade Government clerkships, post-office and railway employment, and for situations in all the subordinate ranks of employés among private firms, warehouses, and shops. And once their feet are firmly planted on the lower rungs of the ladder, the more intelligent and capable among them, whether in this or succeeding generations, will to a certainty climb higher, and invade those superior grades of life which are now exclusively restricted to the white men. The best brains and most pushing and enterprising individuals out of a vast majority of natives will be increasingly brought into competition with the average ordinary intellect of much higher paid white men in a small community, and will to a certainty increasingly displace them in the labour market. The whites will tend to be slowly crowded out first in the lower grades of life and then in higher grades.

## 12.

Colonists in general are not perhaps a very thoughtful race. They are too much immersed in the daily struggle for existence to find much time for study and reflection. The magnitude and importance of the coming native competition with the whites have hardly therefore been generally realized at present, although in articles in newspapers from time to time, and in such writings on the subject as those from which we have quoted above, we have clear indications of a possible future storm. But once let the shoe begin to pinch, and the white colonists see the young educated natives crowding them and their children out, first in all the lower walks of life and then in all grades, it is inevitable that the instinct of self-preservation will strongly assert itself on the part of the threatened whites. But before we attempt to form any notion of the probable results of such an awakening, it is desirable that we should first review briefly the present conditions of the labour market as between the whites and coloured races. These conditions differ greatly in different parts of South Africa, and the difference will have an important bearing on the development of this whole question.

In Capetown, and for a long distance outside it in the adjoining provinces, skilled coloured labour in some shape is now firmly established and much too strongly rooted to be upset by any possible action or com-

bination on the part of the whites. Thus out of let us say two dozen men, whether artisans or labourers, employed on any new building in or near Capetown, we shall only find a couple perhaps of white men, these being the contractor's foreman, and probably a foreman or leading hand among the carpenters. All the rest of the artisans will be coloured men, chiefly Malays, or half-castes, and the labourers will be natives.

The Malays have nearly a monopoly of the bricklayer's, mason's, and plasterer's work not only in Capetown but for a long distance outside it in the southern and western provinces.

These Malays and half-castes have in the Cape Colony been the connecting-link or stepping-stone to bridge over the gulf between white and native skilled labour. For if a white artisan submits, as he is compelled to do, to work on the same job side by side with a Malay, an Indian, or a half-caste, it is clear that he cannot refuse to work with a pure bred Kaffir. As soon as any number of natives have been trained to the necessary technical skill, they will have no difficulty in taking their places in the ranks of skilled artisans. All this is illustrated by the fact that a strike among the white carpenters in Capetown was recently defeated, owing to the circumstances that the employers had so many skilled, or half-skilled coloured or parti-coloured tradesmen to fall back upon, that they were enabled to replace and therefore to defy and beat the white men. The net result is that white and coloured artisans now work side by side in the Old Colony at lower average wages than in Natal, since the infusion of coloured labour has inevitably tended to bring down the general rate of remuneration.

In Natal the conditions are very different. There the white artisans in the building trades have all along had things all their own way, with the result that the wages of an ordinary carpenter, bricklayer, or smith are enormous, averaging about twelve shillings per diem. Natal is a veritable white artisan's paradise at present. If therefore the enthusiastic advocates of native education, and especially technical education, should proceed at this moment, or for some time to come, to train natives as bricklayers, carpenters, and so on, to compete directly with the whites, they will infallibly, as we think, be beaten and checkmated by a powerful combination among the threatened white artisans. These will refuse to work side by side with a coloured man. They will unite in demanding that native labour should be restricted, as heretofore in Natal to the labourers and attendants on the white men. The employers having no reliable reserve of coloured labour on which to depend, like that at Capetown, will be driven to accede to their demands, the native artisans will be dismissed, and the progress of native industrial education thrown back. In this situation the supporters of native education in Natal will do well to proceed cautiously and gradually. They should content themselves, as we think, with giving the native such a moderate amount of industrial and general education as will qualify him for the position of a superior and reliable "handy man" on a country farm, or for the very numerous lower grade employments, whether in town or country, where the services of a highly paid white man are hardly necessary.

At the gold fields and diamond fields, again, the conditions are different. There, the demand for any kind of labour is so pressing and urgent that the natural tendency is to accept it, whether skilled or unskilled, from any quarter and ask no questions as to colour.

Now as intercolonial railways and intercolonial communication generally increase, as they are now doing and bound to do in future, it will obviously be impossible for Natal to shut herself up, as it were, within a ring fence, on this or any other large question. The average of the labour market, whether as regards the personnel employed or the rate of remuneration will inevitably tend to equalize and adjust itself throughout South Africa, although no doubt in such cases as the gold fields we may expect to see higher rates ruling than elsewhere for a long time to come.

The special conditions of Natal, therefore, in which we find the white artisans in exclusive possession of the labour market, must tend to disappear, and adjust themselves to those of the larger and stronger communities surrounding her. Indeed it is very remarkable that the white artisans have so long succeeded in keeping out coloured competition. At Durban we already see an instalment of the inevitable change in the extent to which Indians are now employed. In any case it is clear that as soon as any number of coloured artisans, whether Indians, Malays or Cape half-castes, find it worth their while to invade the labour market in Natal, the reign of the white artisans will be over. And thenceforward every native who can acquire the necessary training and skill will have his fair chance in the market for skilled labour. Meanwhile the British occupation of Natal dates only from 1842, the gulf between the raw red-blanket Kaffir, ignorant and barbarous, and the skilled artisan is very wide and deep; it is therefore no marvel that it has not yet been filled up, and it will probably be a whole generation further, at the least, before it is filled up.

## 13.

We are now perhaps in a position to take a broad view of this all-important question of native education, whether intellectual or industrial, and of its certain results. It is, as we have seen, in progress on a considerable scale absolutely, especially in the older Cape Colony, though on a small and very inadequate scale, especially in Natal, if we were to apply the standard of any educated European race, which, in the present case of small white communities face to face with immense masses of total ignorance and barbarism, would clearly be very unfair. Probably in Natal, where, as we have seen, the existing educational machinery is absurdly inadequate, no serious effort will be made to grapple with the question until the Government feels strong enough to levy an educational rate on the Kaffirs and to force them to maintain their own Schools. Education continues at present, in spite of the protests of a minority of anxious whites, because its results are not as yet very apparent in the elevation of the native to a point at which he will begin seriously to compete with the white man. Once the gravity of the threatened competition becomes apparent, it is as certain as any human thing can reasonably be that the instinct of self-preservation on the part of the white men will assert itself, and the ranks of those colonists



who are even now in favour of a retrograde native policy, will be strongly reinforced. It is possible that they may then command a working majority either throughout South Africa, or in more limited sections of it.

But whether it be a question of education, or of the progressive enfranchisement of the native, the ball now fairly rolling will then have gathered such momentum, that it will be quite impossible to stop it. For the conferring of education is like the letting out of waters: we cannot say: "thus far shalt thou go and no further." The friends of native progress generally will have the following arguments to rely upon:

(1) Justice to the native demands it. We white men have left our own country and forced our presence upon the coloured man in that Africa which is his home. We have monopolised by far the larger portion of the land which was his heritage. The remainder is even now insufficient for his maintenance, and is bound to become increasingly so in the future. If therefore he is not to be reduced to a position of practical slavery, we must side by side with, and as a set-off against the glaring disadvantages to him of the white man's occupation of his country, give him the advantages of the white man's civilisation and enable him to compete in the labour-market on fair and equal terms with the white man. This means that we must educate him and train him to the white man's industries. If we are not to do this, then justice demands that we should restore to him his land, and enable him to live happily in his own rude way upon it. It is a glaring injustice that we should make him the victim of the drawbacks of our superior civilisation, including the white man's drink and the white man's vices with which we have plentifully deluged him, and then shut him out from all its corresponding advantages.

(2) Legal and moral consistency demand it. It is a first principle, accepted by the whole Anglo-Saxon race everywhere, that all men are free and equal before the law. But class legislation on an enormous and unprecedented scale would be required to shut out the native from our schools.

(3) The only possible alternative to such a system of progressive education and enlightenment for the native, culminating eventually in his admission to the full rights of citizenship, would be a rigid system of repression, whereby he would be kept always in an ignorant, barbarous, and servile position. Such a system would have been considered natural and proper in Ancient Greece and Rome, but we can hardly thus set back the clock 2,000 years, and revert to antiquity in our dealings with inferior races. Short of this, and failing the consistent and uniform adoption of such a cast-iron system of repression, we stand at present on a slippery inclined plane, which must ultimately land us in a full recognition of the rights of the native; and we have already gone too far down this inclined plane to stop. The alternative policy of repression ought to have been adopted long ago, very early in the history of these Colonies, to give it any reasonable chance of success.

(4) The law will be on the side of the native. The Home Government has expressly reserved the dealing with these large questions of native policy in its own hands. And by the Royal Instructions, dated 19th May 1873, a liberal policy towards the natives, and the promotion of religion and education among them are expressly enjoined upon the Colonists. If peradventure the alarm of any British South African Colonies at the advancing tide of black competition should assert itself in the future in an attempt at special class-legislation, designed to keep back the natives, it is incredible that any such legislation will be allowed by the Home Government. Any English Government which should lend its sanction to such laws would hardly be able to face the House of Commons, and would imperil its own existence.

(5) The natives themselves will lend an increasing support, as the years roll on, to their own well-wishers. The Natal Kaffirs, who are proportionally far the most numerous, are hardly yet educated up to the point at which they begin to have any very general appreciation of the value of education. They are naturally a long stage behind the native races in the older Cape Colony in this respect. For there, the value which these races set upon education is clearly shewn by all such facts as that for many years

past the average contribution of the natives in school-fees to the Lovedale Institution alone has averaged over £1,000 a year; see (10) Introduction, page xi. Whereas in Natal the total contribution from natives to all the schools in the Colony only amounted to £853 for the year 1892-3.

On the whole the claims of native education will be irresistible, and they are bound to prove too strong for any future opposition or attempted retrograde legislation. It must be recollected in furtherance of this view that the Dutch party who, as we have seen, are strongly opposed to native progress, are likely to be swamped more and more by the influx of Englishmen to the Gold and Diamond Fields, and by the progress of the British element in South Africa generally.

14.

Now arises an all-important question;—will not native education once conceded and already in full progress ultimately involve the franchise? This is the question on which the whole future of South Africa must inevitably hinge. To us it seems to admit of only one answer. It is incredible that free Anglo-Saxon communities reared in free Anglo-Saxon traditions, will, if they maintain popular representative institutions, be able permanently to withhold the franchise from educated and law-abiding taxpayers. Nevertheless we cannot thus settle and dismiss the matter. For it is certain that there will be a storm of white opposition throughout South Africa to the concession of the franchise on any considerable scale to the coloured man, and it seems probable that the advocates of an exclusive policy, designed to maintain and perpetuate the white man's ascendancy, will command a working majority. If so, the franchise will be withheld for a long period which may cover two or three generations. It is clear that the only chance for the present success of such a policy would be that all the settled white communities in South Africa should unite and be prepared to support each other *à outrance*. The coming development of intercolonial railways will facilitate this, and for a time at least will strongly reinforce the position of the white man. Such a policy moreover will demand drastic measures in the way of class-legislation to protect the interests of the whites. Thus the existing laws against the sale of rifles and ammunition to the natives must be reinforced, and carried out with Draconian severity.

The inevitable result of such a league and such a policy among the white men will be that the natives, as they become increasingly educated, will draw together in a counterleague, and South Africa will be divided into two hostile camps, the prelude to a war of races. All the ablest and most enterprising and influential men among the educated natives who, if wiser councils should prevail and a liberal policy be adopted, would one by one be enlisted on the side of law and order, by being admitted to the franchise, and perhaps retained as paid agents of the Government in Government appointments, will, if their claims be withstood, become centres of disaffection and rebellion. Arms and ammunition will to a certainty by hook or by crook be procured. For in a vast continent like Africa the whites cannot possibly close every avenue, and there will be underhand modes of conveying arms into the country, if necessary from

beyond the Zambesi. The natives will probably find it to their interest to make their first overt stand against the white man in such a country as Basutoland, where from the difficult and defensible nature of the terrain, and the hopelessly scanty number of white men, they will have every possible advantage. Judging by actual experience in the past Basuto war, wherein the whole power of the Cape Colony was found practically insufficient to force the then ill-armed Basutos to give up their arms, it is difficult to believe that the whites in South Africa will be strong enough to put down such a rising among the natives in Basutoland, supported by improved rifles, directed by educated leaders, and aided and abetted by the outside natives everywhere. For all the available white troops at a distance will be fully employed in watching the natives within the borders of the various States, since these will then be in a state of dangerous ferment, if not of overt rebellion. But once the natives have made a successful stand, whether in Basutoland or elsewhere, and established an independent Government, the reign of the white man in South Africa will be over.

We cannot further argue this question, which must ultimately hinge in such a case on the fighting value of the natives. If our judgment of their military value be sound, all the power of all the civilised whites in South Africa will be insufficient to put them down, once they are armed with modern weapons, and their leaders and any considerable fraction of the rank and file have acquired the necessary education. Thus education, whether the evolution is to be peaceful or bloodstained, must ultimately involve the franchise. But let us hope and assume that wiser counsels will prevail, before any great or irretrievable mischief has been done. We are strongly fortified in this view by the patent fact that a coercive and arbitrary policy designed to keep the Kaffirs back would be opposed to the whole stream of modern progress, which, as Mr. Kidd has shown us at length in (14), is setting steadily in the direction of humanitarianism and altruism.

In the actually existing situation the course of prudent statesmanship will be not hastily to enlarge the franchise, whereby a dangerous amount of political power would be placed in hands too ignorant and barbarous to be fitted for it; and not unduly to restrict it. For if unduly deferred the long consequent struggle for it on the part of the natives will, at least, leave memories and traditions of race-hatred behind it, calculated to embitter the relations between the races in future. The policy which has already been tentatively followed for years past, both in the Cape Colony and Natal, should apparently be adhered to, namely a limited but increasing number of those natives who may prove their fitness by superior education, character, and position, should be individually exempted from native law, and admitted to an equal footing with the white man, including the franchise. The vast residuum should be kept in tutelage under the power of their own chiefs, subsidized and supported by the Government, until by slow degrees, they also qualify themselves for admission to the full rights of citizenship.

But, it may be asked, is there no other alternative, no means whereby political power may be withheld from the natives and the white man's supremacy maintained? Yes: there is an alternative, but it is not one

which is likely to commend itself to South African Colonists generally, and it is quite outside the range of practical politics at present. Let the Responsible Governments of the British Colonies pass a self-denying ordinance. Let them decree their own prospective abolition, and request the Home Government to appoint a Governor-General of South Africa to rule the whole Country with the aid of a Council on an Indian footing. Let Mr. Rhodes, let us suppose, as a well-informed and capable Colonist, be appointed the first Governor-General with very large powers. He and his successors in office would then be in a very strong position and could perpetuate white rule. They might raise a good and cheap fighting force of Zulus, Swazies, or Basutos, who under white officers would make most excellent troops and prove thoroughly loyal to the power which pays and maintains them. They would be supported by the whole power of the British Government in the background which, at a pinch, could send over 20,000 men to support them; though such a contingency would hardly happen. The natives would then have no grievance. They would be on the same footing before the law as the white man. All alike would be ruled under a paternal despotism. Such a régime would be far better suited to the genius and racial instincts of the native than would representative institutions in any shape, and they would loyally accept it. The Free State and the Transvaal would then be hemmed in by the British Power, and would be practically in a position very similar to that of the semi-independent Feudatory States in India.

Such a system of government would be stable and might last indefinitely. But the moment we introduce Responsible local governments and the franchise, coupled with native education, we educate the native up to the franchise, and sooner or later he will demand and secure it.

We have said that such a solution as this of the South African problem is out of the question at present. But should the Responsible local Governments, by a mistaken policy of first educating the native up to the franchise, and then refusing it, bring matters to an *impasse* with a war of races full in view, it is possible that it may ultimately be found the best way out of the difficulty. As things stand at present the franchise must eventually be conceded. But once the franchise has been conceded to the natives on any extended scale, it is clear that they will have things all their own way. The laws, institutions, taxation, and all the destinies of the country will be in their hands. The white man, if he remain, must remain only on sufferance, and on a footing of perfect equality with the black man. This is the condition of things to which, as we think, native education is bound ultimately to lead under Responsible representative Government, unless the white man's power and position should be supported by some powerful external causes or conditions.

15.

Here however comes in a very important consideration which has yet been only alluded to, but which should on no account be left out of sight in a general view of the whole situation in South Africa. The Natives, in their present very backward stage, are easily subject to demoralization by

the fiery poison which is sold to them as drink by the white man. The sale of this compound, which is often so vile that no respectable white man would touch it, is permitted on a large scale throughout the Cape Colony, to the lasting disgrace of the Cape Government. The result has been a most deplorable amount of degradation to whole tribes, partly from the drink and partly from the vices, whether native or acquired from degraded white men, which largely follow, like foul and unclean attendant spirits, in the wake of the intoxicating and maddening liquor. We cannot swell this already lengthy paper by giving details and statistics on this question. But it is well known to every resident in South Africa that the facts are as we have stated. In Natal the picture is far brighter. There, to the great credit of the Government, the sale of liquor to the natives is prohibited. And although there is some not inconsiderable amount of evasion of the law in practice, the net result is that there is no large demoralisation among the natives from this cause. They are not confronted everywhere by temptations to drink, which these grown-up children cannot resist. They have only their own native beer, which is a far less injurious beverage, and of which their tough constitutions can consume great quantities with no very untoward result.

The white man has much to answer for in his dealings with native races generally. But the sale of poisonous liquor to the African natives is by far the heaviest item in that long roll. If all civilised white communities would now unite to put a really effective stop to the sale of drink in Africa, it would perhaps be of more real advantage to the natives than any praiseworthy efforts which we may make to put an end to the great acknowledged cruelties of the slave trade.

Meanwhile it is difficult to say what amount of allowance we ought to make, as against the black man, and in favour of the whites, in the future competition of the races in South Africa, from this consideration of the demoralisation of the natives caused by drink and vice.

We have assumed throughout this paper that these evils will tend to cure themselves, as has been largely the case in the experience of Englishmen in the past. We have assumed that the tough vitality of the negro will survive these present untoward influences, and that with increasing education and enlightenment, he will outlive and overcome them. In favour of this view we have the important precedent of the negroes in America, where unrestrained drink, idleness, licence, and debauchery, have not as a fact demoralised and ruined them, as many or most people thought they would at the time of the Emancipation.

Experience only can show whether the African natives will live down and ultimately overcome these evils, as their cousins in America have done to some extent. Meanwhile we must freely admit that the favourable forecast of the future of the natives given above is, and must be, subject to an unknown and incalculable amount of possible discount from this consideration.

We have been fortified in a favourable view of the last question by a consideration of the great inherent stamina and strength of constitution of the

negro races. This has been clearly shown by their proved fecundity under changed climatic conditions in America. For it is well known to every student of physiology that such changes are unfavourable to reproduction. This question of the birth-rate is one of great importance in any general view of the relative position of the black and white races in Africa. For the birth-rate is tending steadily to decline in all the nations of Western Europe, with France at their head, wherein at the end of a whole century of continuous decline it falls below the death-rate at this moment, so that the population of France is declining. Now the Anglo-Saxon communities generally, including the United States, occupy a middle position, about halfway between France with the lowest, and Russia with the highest birth-rate in the civilised Aryan world. But Anglo-Saxons cannot compare with the fecundity of the Kaffir, and from this cause alone, apart from the great existing disparity of numbers, it seems certain, that young, vigorous and fertile races like these natives must tend to swamp and crowd out the older and less prolific Aryans.

In educating the Kaffirs we are now wedding the advanced intellect, the accumulated experience, and garnered up knowledge, resulting from 1,000 years of steady progress on the part of the white man, to the inexhaustible fertility, the rude health and vigour which the black man inherits from a corresponding period of barbarism.

If therefore it be said: "You make no allowance for the tide of white immigration from overcrowded Europe," paradoxical as it may seem we yet contend that any future in-coming tide of white immigrants will only hasten the day of the black man's coming equality. For the natives at present need the whites as schoolmasters. Every additional white man who comes into South Africa will only be another trainer to show the black man the way. And no number of whites, for whom we can reasonably imagine that room will be found in South Africa, will ever be sufficient to do anything more than provide additional trainers and instructors to an overwhelming majority of the prolific natives.

## 17.

But although in all the lower walks of life, involving manual labour of any kind, the native seems bound to crowd out and supplant the white man, and has already done so in the main, and although there will presently be a steadily increasing competition wherein the native will contend with, and largely supplant, the white man in all grades, it by no means follows, nor do we here argue, that there will hereafter be no room for white men in South Africa. Provided always that in the long interim the relations between the races are ordered with justice and harmony, so that there be no evil traditions of oppression and wrong to make the native hate the white man and set himself to put him down when he gets the chance, there would appear to be no reason why a fair proportion of white men should not remain in Africa indefinitely. Capital is cosmopolitan. It goes anywhere where it can find the most promising field. So do intellect, trade experience, mining, manufacturing and mercantile talent. Our engineers, our merchants, traders and manufacturers, our large scale stock

breeders, sheepfarmers, wine or fruitgrowers, agriculturalists, tea and coffee planters, our skilled physicians, lawyers and legislators comprising a large proportion of the existing white population,—may find an everwidening outlet for their energies in Africa for an indefinite time to come. But it will be on the condition of competing with the native on his own ground in a fair field with no favour. Capital and brains however will be likely to hold their own, especially when united.

Here moreover comes in a cardinal and all-important consideration arising from the laws of evolution. Mr. Kidd, in his able work (14), has powerfully and convincingly argued that the well-established supremacy and vast progress of the leading European races is not due to superiority of intellect but to superior organization, co-operation and hereditary transmission of accumulated knowledge, which qualities he compendiously describes as 'social efficiency.' This vastly better social efficiency of the white man, as compared with the Kaffir, is the product of an age-long evolution in which the native has had no share; and it is quite certain that the native is and must remain, for many generations at the least hopelessly inferior to the white man therein, whatever may be his progress in education and enlightenment. All through the 20th Century therefore, which is as far ahead as we can reasonably look in our present forecast, the social efficiency of the whites will be a necessary and ruling factor in the development of Southern Africa.

It seems quite incredible that the organising talent and proved ruling capacity of the Anglo-Saxon will be found unequal to the task of establishing some system of government and administration which, while satisfying fairly the legitimate aspirations of the better educated and advanced natives, will yet keep the reins of empire mainly in the hands of the whites—whether by the abolition of Responsible Governments as above suggested, or by a modified and readjusted representative system. Even should the existing system be retained, and the natives by and by be admitted universally to the franchise and to all the rights of citizenship, it is probable that a ruling caste of white men will continue to direct the destinies of the country in practice, provided always, as above, there be no bad blood between the races, as an evil legacy from past abuse of the white man's power. Of this happily, we have at present seen no sign. Happily also the native is open-hearted and unvengeful. He will not cherish animosity against the white man, unless he is treated with manifest and glaring injustice. Nevertheless the extent and duration of the white man's power and prestige in South Africa, will be likely to depend ultimately on the degree in which he may now, in the day of his undisputed reign, treat his black brother with justice, wisdom, and liberality.

Long before the relations between the races in South Africa have worked out to any such consummation as this, all the Anglo-Dutch countries south of the Zambesi, including the present Free State and Transvaal, will doubtless be joined together in a Dominion or Federation, of which the present British Colonies or Dutch States will be semi-independent self-governing

members. The whole may or may not be under the British flag according as Britons use or misuse the present magnificent possibilities of their position, and succeed or fail in holding together the British Empire generally. This stage will probably be reached early in the next century. It will be generations later before the natives will be educated up to the point at which they will be in a position to claim and secure any very considerable or preponderating voice in the central Government, although their voices will be heard earlier in local Governments.

Whenever this happens there will be a strong tendency to the centralisation of the Governments, and the formation of a great South African Empire or centralised Dominion under the flag of the British Empire. For the entire Anglo-Saxon system of electors, and representatives, and government by party, is alien to the instincts and traditions of the African native. Look where we may, from one end to another of Africa, we shall find everywhere despotic governments on a smaller or larger scale. The traditional ideas and racial instincts of the native may and will, no doubt, be overridden for a time by the very different system and ideas of the white man; but in the long run they will be likely to assert themselves. The centripetal forces will be very strong, and this more or less loosely knit Federation or Dominion will in all probability resolve itself into a more or less despotic Empire or independent self-governing member of a Federated British Empire. Probably the constitution of the Government will represent a compromise between the despotic one-man-power ideal of the native, and the liberal decentralising tendencies of the English and Dutch. Such a compromise would be represented by a constitution similar to that of Germany, where there is a strong central executive with a Representative system and decentralisation behind it.

This Empire or Dominion will be very powerful. For it will comprise within its limits large, fair and fertile regions with great possibilities. The Transvaal alone is a country as large as France, and perhaps rivals France in natural advantages.

The South African Dominion will be a whole century at least in advance of the dark Continent generally, and will exercise a very powerful influence up to and beyond the Equator. It may probably, if it be so minded, extend its sway over the whole of the Bantu districts of Africa, even perhaps including Uganda where the population is mainly Bantu. For the great solid backbone and substratum of the Empire will be Bantu, and will have a strong and natural affinity with all the Bantus. Moreover the South African Federation will, through the extended operations of the British South Africa Company, or of the protectorate which may hereafter replace it, have long been in the closest political and commercial relations, if not in absolute union, with the whole of the vast area of 750,000 square miles now assigned to the Chartered Company, and extending on the north-east to the Stephenson road joining Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. This immense region will naturally gravitate to, or form part of, the Federation or the Empire or self-governing member of a Federated British Empire which replaces it. Should the Germans, the Congo Free State, and the Portuguese not succeed in permanently holding their own in their respective



territories, the whole of Africa south of the Equator will fall into this Empire. In support of this calculation it must of course be recollected that the power, revenue, influence, and prestige, of the combined Anglo-Saxon dominions will, on any reasonable calculation, be enormous, as compared with the position which any of these other Powers can expect to occupy.\* The African natives have a very keen eye to the strongest power, and any small ruling caste representing the then surviving weaker foreign powers in Southern Africa will be unable to stem the irresistible set of their Bantu subjects towards the great Bantu Empire of the South. For race affinity, though at present buried and lost, in the main, under the pressure of local and tribal differences among an ignorant and barbarous people, will, in the long run, with increasing progress and enlightenment, be likely to assert itself. If this should happen the Empire will extend from the Cape of Good Hope up to about 5° or 6° north of the Equator, and may possibly include the whole African Continent south of that limit.

If South Africa generally therefore continue to develop along its present general lines of progress, and no unforeseen causes or conditions come in to mar the calculation, the most probable issue in the future will be the formation of such a great South African Anglo-Dutch-Bantu Empire, comprising all the countries south of the Zambesi, and extending to an unknown and uncertain distance north of it among the Bantu districts of Equatorial Africa. This Empire will, let us hope, be still under the flag of a then happily federated British Empire. The Anglo-Dutch element will be a small ruling caste, with a growing contingent from the ranks of the most advanced and educated natives. This calculation however presupposes always that meanwhile racial hatred and race struggles will be avoided by a liberal and generous policy towards the natives.

#### 19.

All adherents of the Christian faith will be glad to think that the religion of this great Empire is likely to be Christianity. For there is nothing in the way of the spread of the Gospel among the natives except their own childish and debased superstitions. These, with increasing education and enlightenment, we may reasonably suppose that they will abandon, to embrace the faith of their white instructors and rulers. Hence a common Christianity will be, or ought to be, the cement to bind together in harmony these diverse elements, and check any untoward tendency to race animosity.

May we be pardoned if we here add a few words upon the bearing of this native question on the future relations and comparative position and progress of the great internal divisions of the Christian Church.

The Protestant Communions have been early in the new field afforded by Africa in general, and South Africa in particular. They at present occupy, in a broad view, a very favourable vantage ground of position and progress, as compared with the Roman Communion. Should however these Protestant Churches, including the Church of England, take up a

\* The Germans however are a strong and thorough-going people, so it seems more probable that they will maintain their hold upon their territories.

half-hearted, a temporising and procrastinating position on this great question of the claims and rights of the natives, a course to which the Dutch Protestant Churches will of course be very prone,—above all, should they lend themselves in any degree to an illiberal and reactionary policy on behalf of the whites, we cannot but think that it will be otherwise in future. Rome will take up the cudgels on behalf of the natives. She will pose as their champion. She will thereby gain an immense extension of progress, power, and influence in South Africa, and ultimately in Africa generally by their aid, and her progress will be likely eventually to swamp and displace the Protestant Communions.

For that liberal or democratic movement in the Church of Rome, which La Mennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert tried in vain to initiate a generation ago, which Pius IX. toyed with in the early days of his pontificate and then abandoned, has now, under the influence and advice of all such leaders as Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland in America, and through the proved success of their policy, been, as we think, definitely adopted by the Holy See, and will henceforward constitute a most formidable accession of strength in aid of the future progress of Rome, especially in new fields. Of the development of this policy we have recently seen a most notable and significant instance in the extremely liberal or, *quâ* Rome, extremely democratic line taken by the present Pope, in his very remarkable encyclical “*De Conditione Opificum*.”

If our judgment of the probable attitude towards the Christian faith of a half-educated native only just emerged from barbarism should prove correct, Rome will be apt to overawe him by the majesty of her spiritual claims, and to fascinate him by the splendour of her ritual. If to these attractions she be able to add in the future the overwhelming political and social advantages of being his recognised champion, our descendants will be likely to see her rise to a corresponding position of power and importance in Africa by his aid. We think that the able and far-sighted Cardinals in the Roman curia will be likely to recognise betimes, if they have not already recognised, that the exclusive rule of the white man, though certain in the present and in the immediate future in Africa, is yet only temporary and provisional, doomed to extinction at no very remote date. They will recognise that if they want permanently to win the vast Continent of Africa, or any considerable portion of it, they must ally themselves betimes with the black man, and they will take their measures and shape the future policy of the Church accordingly.

All Protestants will argue that it will be an immense misfortune for the Christian Church as a whole, if Rome be thus allowed in the future to bring vast regions of Africa under her sway.

It would most unduly extend the limits of this paper, if we were to pretend to discuss in detail the destinies of the rest of the African Continent. Very probably the leading future divisions of Africa will follow the lines traced out by ethnological, religious and climatic conditions, and men will smile at the recent solemn partition of the Continent among the Great

Powers, as a temporary and ephemeral arrangement of the exploded past. Any reader who wishes to form a judgment on these or other connected questions will do well to refer to the valuable works of Mr. J. S. Keltie (11), and Captain Lugard (12) besides the numerous well known writings of African travellers and explorers generally, to which it is not necessary to refer in detail.

Thus in northern and north-eastern Africa we may have by and by another great Empire, with possibly a ruling caste of whites at its head for a longer or shorter period, consisting of the leading Semitic or Hamitic descended races. Throughout the Niger basin there may be a Negro Empire, running up into the Central Soudan and downwards through Senegambia and along the Gold Coast, with dependencies or outlying portions extending to the region round the Victoria Nyanza, and northwards into the Tibbu Country of the Sahara. Or very probably in the Central Soudan, in Sokoto, Kanem, Wadai and the neighbouring states, there may be a Great Muhammadan Empire, running up into the country of the Mahdists and Senoussis in the old Egyptian Soudan on the east, and including Morocco on the north-west. For the advent of the white man, his powerful influence in widening the native horizon, and his improved weapons will tend towards centralisation, towards the breaking down of local and tribal barriers, towards the opening up of the country generally, towards the development of military power among the more warlike races. Thereby we shall presently strengthen the hands of any fighting tribe or of any specially capable fighting member of a fighting tribe, and enable them or him to extend their power and influence indefinitely among their co-religionists or cognate tribes or even to undertake a career of aggression and conquest outside these limits.

The superior fighting races will not be slow to adopt, and are even now eagerly adopting, the white man's most improved and deadly weapons. These really contain the key to the whole African situation at this moment. For the white man's occupation of Africa anywhere is fundamentally a military occupation. But once they acquire these improved firearms we may rely upon it they will not be very long in learning also the proper use of them, and then their overwhelming numbers may enable them in their own country, to laugh at the white man.

This calculation however applies only to the equatorial regions generally, not to those more favoured and high-lying portions wherein white men can live fairly well. Roughly speaking this will be mainly a question of altitude. Wherever the elevation is 4,000 feet above sea level and upwards, the whites can live, and from these elevated and salubrious regions, as centres, they may extend their power and influence to a greater or less degree according to circumstances, in the lower-lying regions immediately around them. The maps and details as to climate etc., given in Mr. J. Scott Keltie's valuable work (11), will enable any reader to judge of this question for himself, so we will not argue it in any detail. Our Empire in Uganda and the adjoining territories, when connected with the coast by a railway, is probably secure. Similarly the Germans, based on such elevated regions as the slopes of Kilimanjaro, may

consolidate their rule in German East Africa if they manage the Native question wisely. Ruwenzori, Kenia and the other mountain regions in our protectorates will then occupy a position similar to that of Simla and the rest of the hill-stations in India, as centres and health-recruiting grounds for the whites. On the other hand it is not very likely that the French will be able to maintain any permanent hold on the vast and generally low-lying region of more than two millions of square miles included within their sphere of influence, and outside Algeria, Tunis and their other possessions immediately bordering on or connected with the coast—although they may easily squander further vast sums of money in the attempt.

It will be seen that in our general forecast of the future of Africa we here occupy an intermediate position between the somewhat gloomy and pessimist views of Mr. Pearson in (1) and those of Mr. Kidd in his able and interesting work (14). Mr. Pearson thinks that the black man will presently establish powerful governments, maintain fleets and armies of the first class, and be admitted on a footing of equality in the courts and salons of Paris and London. Herein he ignores the doctrines of evolution,—the immense power and importance of the social efficiency of advanced western civilisation, as resulting from an age-long evolution in which the black man has had no share. On the other hand Mr. Kidd argues that the increasing pressure of the struggle for existence in the 20th Century will cause the leading European races to exploit the food-producing capabilities of equatorial Africa for their own benefit, while ruling and administering it from the European Capitals as centres. Herein he makes no sufficient allowance for the gigantic difficulties arising from the deadly climate, the vast distances, and the increasing power of the native races as they get better armed. His forecast therefore is apparently only tenable in the case of limited portions of the more elevated and salubrious regions, occupied by the strongest and most successful colonising powers as above.

Europe has just had a valuable object-lesson on the folly of underrating or despising the power of coloured races, once they have adopted western improvements in war, in the case of the exploits of the Japanese in their war with China. The lesson holds good, although no doubt in comparing the Japanese with the African races we must make a large allowance for the well-known fact that the former had an advanced civilisation of their own prior to their sudden rush into western methods.

## 21.

Whatever be the course which the future of Africa may take, one point is perfectly clear, unless all the experience which we have derived from our study of South African conditions is to be thrown away. This is that the white man's rule in any given portion of central or tropical Africa will only be local and temporary, except, as above, in the case of a few regions where the climate and conditions are specially favourable. If he attempt to settle down elsewhere and colonise or administer any given region, then he must do so under far more unfavourable conditions than those which prevail in the South African Colonies. And if, there, white colonists can only hold their own permanently in the competition of the races by putting

forward their best energies, and walking warily and wisely in their dealings with the natives, then "a fortiori" nowhere else in Africa can the white men pretend to do so. They can never hope to do more than give a ruling caste, for a longer or shorter period, to an overwhelming majority of natives, whom their example and influence will presently educate to a point at which they will crowd out and supplant their white instructors.

The truth is that the very wide-spread idea among white men generally that the coloured man everywhere is bound to go under, and to remain under or die out, beneath the advancing tide of white progress and supremacy, is a hasty and erroneous generalisation based upon an imperfect and superficial view of a limited and partial set of facts. It has been generally accepted without due examination, as it harmonises and falls in with the arrogant pride of race of the Englishman. Because in a few well-known cases, such as the Maories in New Zealand, the Red Indians in North America, etc., the coloured man has died out or is dying out and disappearing, before the white man, it no more follows that the African natives, with their more tough, stubborn, and prolific race vitality, and in many instances higher capability of improvement, will do so, than that the Chinese or Japanese will. On the contrary, all the facts, and all the very considerable experience which we have already acquired in Africa point diametrically the other way.

The present universal supremacy of Europeans, due to the overwhelming advantage temporarily conferred upon them by their deadly weapons and their higher intelligence, will soon be a thing of the past; and the major part of Africa, including all the low-lying equatorial regions will, in the future as of yore, be the home of the Africans, and not of the white man.

## THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS:—II. THE PROTECTED MALAY STATES.

By W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.

*(Continued from our last issue.)*

We have much pleasure in continuing, from our last issue, Mr. W. A. Pickering's account of the manner in which the Protected Malay States came under the Residential system, owing mainly to the energy and far-sightedness of Sir Andrew Clarke and of his able Colleagues, among whom Mr. Pickering's modesty has almost suppressed the great part that he himself bore in the consolidation and perpetuation of a policy, which has been so well carried out by Sir A. Clarke's successors. It will be remembered that Mr. Pickering's article in our January number concluded with a Commission consisting of himself, Capt. Dunlop and Mr. Swettenham to at once proceed to Larut, disarm all the combatants, rescue the 'Si-Kuan women and children and make a division of the mines between the two Chinese factions.—Ed.

SIR ANDREW CLARKE having set in order the affairs of Larut, the Chiefs of Perak proceeded to arrange about the disputed succession of the Sultanate. Abdullah was elected as lawful Sultan of Perak, and it was agreed by the principal high officers of the State that Ismail should retain the honorary title of Sultan Muda, and, in addition to a pension, be allotted a part of the country as an appanage.

An engagement, since famous as the Pangkor treaty, was then entered into and signed between the British Government on the one side and Abdullah with certain Chiefs of Perak on the other, by which it was agreed that British officers should be appointed respectively as Resident and Assistant Resident in Perak, whose advice was to be taken and acted upon in all questions other than those touching on Malay customs and religion. Among other things it was arranged that the collection of all the revenues and the general administration of the country should be regulated under the advice of the Resident and Assistant Resident ; and that the Sultan and high officers of the State should receive adequate allowances from the revenues of the State. This treaty having been signed,

Sir A. Clarke escorted the newly-elected Sultan to his residence on the Perak River, and then returned in the "Pluto" to Singapore where he arrived on the 23rd January.

The Governor then immediately began to concert arrangements for the suppression of piracy and the restoration of order in the State of Salengor, in which work he was cordially assisted by Admiral Sir C. Shadwell who arrived in the Straits with the China squadron.

Nine Malays, supposed to have been concerned in the case of piracy and murder mentioned in my last article, had been recognised at Malacca by a survivor of the plundered boat's crew, and having been arrested, were awaiting trial by our Supreme Court, and one of them had turned Queen's evidence. There was some doubt as to the jurisdiction of our Courts in the matter, and Tunku-Udin, the Viceroy of Salengor had applied to the Straits' Government, for the extradition of the prisoners under the terms of our treaties with his country, and had also expressed his desire to make an example of the men if they were found guilty of the crime. Sir Andrew Clarke considered this a good opportunity for testing the sincerity of the Viceroy's repeated protestations that he wished to put down piracy, and he also thought that by complying with the request, he might induce the Sultan to carry out all the other conditions of our treaties. For these reasons the Governor determined to hand over the prisoners.

On the 6th February, Admiral Shadwell in the "Iron Duke," with H.M.S. "Thalia," "Salamis," "Rinaldo," "Avon," "Midge," and "Frolic," arrived off the Klang Straits on the coast of Salengor; and the Governor, taking with him the nine prisoners and two members of his Executive Council, Mr. Braddell, the Attorney General, and Major McNair, the Colonial Engineer, joined the fleet, in the "Pluto," at the rendezvous.

As the Viceroy for some time had not been able to visit his father-in-law, the Sultan, owing to an estrangement

caused by intrigues in the royal household, Sir A. Clarke took the opportunity of this visit to bring the two rulers together again.

The Admiral, Governor and suite visited Langat, the residence of the Sultan, who, after some hesitancy, paid his respects by calling on board the "Pluto," where he was quickly reconciled to his son-in-law and expressed his willingness that the affairs of the country should remain in Tunku-Udin's hands. The Sultan proved to be a shrewd old Malay who was quite content to let things go on according to old customs, and seemed to look on the feuds, raids, and piracies of the young Rajahs as the natural escapades of spirited youths of good family; indeed, much in the same way as an old Highland Chief of the 17th century would have regarded a clan-fight or a foray into the Lowlands,—the natural adventures of "pretty men." After several interviews the old man seemed more and more to appreciate the motives of the Governor; and it was agreed by him and the Viceroy that the nine prisoners should be tried by a Court, consisting of Salengor Chiefs, with Tunku-Udin as President, while Major McNair and Mr. Davidson, a member of the Singapore bar and legal adviser to the Viceroy, acted as assessors on the part of the British Government. The Sultan promised to do all in his power to put down piracy, to restrain, or drive out the intriguing and turbulent Chiefs, Rajahs Mahdi and Mahmoud, and, indeed, to keep the peace in every possible way.

The Viceroy invited the Admiral to destroy the piratical stockades at the mouths of the rivers, after doing which the Governor and Admiral returned to Singapore, one or two men-of-war being left on the coast to patrol until the result of the trial should be ascertained and the promises made by the Sultan and his Viceroy fulfilled.

The trial of the pirates was conducted with the greatest fairness, and the prisoners had every opportunity for calling witnesses, etc.; they were all found guilty by their own



countrymen. One was spared on account of his youth, and the others were executed near the scene of the crime, the Sultan giving his own *Kris* for the execution.

As there was no clear evidence as to the Sultan's son being an actual participator in the piracy though there was much cause for suspicion, he was warned by the Court and advised to avoid any liability to suspicion of lawless action in the future. \$5,000 were paid as compensation to the relatives of the murdered boatmen and the boat was handed over to our Government. The effect of the execution was such that piracy ceased in Salengor from that date.

With the good advice of Mr. Davidson and the countenance of our Government, the Viceroy was enabled to restore order in the country, the Chinese flocked to the mines, and prosperity soon returned. Mr. Swettenham, who was appointed to reside temporarily with the Sultan, exercised such an influence over him that the old man, who had rather a reputation for parsimony, in a few months actually sent \$1,000 to Singapore, asking that a British Resident might be permanently appointed to advise in the Government of his State, and promised to provide whatever money was necessary for his salary and expenses. The Sultan's request was granted and under the Residential system, Salengor has annually increased in peace and prosperity, till, at the present day, its revenues are equal to those of the Straits' Settlements.

There now remained the small State of Sungei Ujong, where, owing to intestine quarrels and disputes with Rambau and the Negri Sambalang, the Chinese miners had stopped working and taken sides with the Malay Chiefs who by their exactions and petty feuds had brought to a stand-still the lucrative trade with our settlement of Malacca.

Capt. Shaw, R.N., the Lieut. Governor of Malacca, had made many vain attempts to settle affairs, and Sir A. Clarke with H.M.S. "*Charybdis*," and "*Avon*," had, in

May 1874, proceeded to the Lingi River, the trade route of the State, on which stockades had been erected, and all traffic stopped.

Satisfactory arrangements were made between the Datu or Chief of Rambau, and the Datu-Klana, recognised ruler of Sungei Ujong, who both agreed to come to Singapore to sign a treaty of amity; all stockades and barriers were destroyed, and boats containing \$50,000 worth of tin for Malacca were released.

The Datu Klana was anxious to put his country under British protection and to receive a Resident; but his rival, the Datu Bandar, a kind of Mayor of the Palace and a stubborn old chief, without daring to oppose the Klana openly, created divisions amongst the Chinese miners, and also harboured the notorious Rajah Mahmoud who had fled from Salengor and whose very name was a tower of strength.

The Bandar was a most truculent man. He had spent his life in violence, piracy and oppression over the Chinese, and had amassed considerable wealth, which gave him a superiority over the weak Klana. Seeing plainly that, with a British Resident in the country, his occupation would be gone, the Bandar determined to prevent any settlement, while he pretended to concur with all the good advice tendered by the Governor.

In September the Klana hoisted the British flag, and proclaimed the country under our protection; but as the Bandar immediately threatened to attack him, he was obliged to pull the flag down and to apply for assistance and protection from Singapore.

On the 3rd October, I was sent up to Ampangan, the residence of the Klana, with an escort of 50 Malacca Police under Sergt. Kiernan, to advise the Datu, and also to present a letter to the Bandar asking him to meet Sir A. Clarke either at Kapayang, his own stockaded residence about 3 miles from Ampangan, or at Singapore. On my visiting the old man, he said plainly, after many subter-

fuges, that he would allow no changes in the country, as he was quite contented with old customs and the "white sepoy" could not reach him. After I left him he, with the assistance of Rajah Mahmoud, some Rambau chiefs and their followers, fortified his place with a deep ditch and extra stockades and also strengthened other positions, taking from the Klana the Port of the country, Rassa. The Klana again hoisted our flag, called together his Chiefs and retainers, and with his body-guard of 50 Arabs and Somalis, prepared to enforce his authority. The party was wonderfully armed, with rifles, fowling pieces, and flint-guns. Some of the Malays charged their guns with pieces of silver for Rajah Mahmoud, as that hero was supposed to be invulnerable by baser metal. One Malay Chief was in chain armour, and several of the Arabs had cross-hilted two-handed swords. Two beautiful brass pieces lately arrived from Germany were the source of much courage to our party. On the approach of the Klana, Rassa and one or two other places were at once evacuated. The Bandar was then invited to a parley, but returned an insulting reply, on which the Klana decided to attack Kapayang in force. With Sergt. Kiernan and the Police, I accompanied the Klana to see that no cruelty was exercised towards the old Bandar or his women.

On our arrival within half a mile of Kapayang, the sight of the mangled corpse of the Klana's scout checked the ardour of the Chiefs and their retainers,—so much so, that half of them decamped. When in sight of the Bandar's house, the attacking party was saluted with such a smart volley from rifles, *lelahs* and cannon, that they began to turn back, and on some one raising the cry "Rajah Mahmoud is coming," the Malays fled; and, to our disgust, even the Malay part of the Malacca Police shed their uniform, threw away their Snider rifles and disappeared in the jungle. The poor Klana was left to his Arabs, Sergt. Kiernan and myself. We tried for 3 hours to do what the Malays had refused to attempt; but as we had

no cover, and could not get near the stockade, owing to the swampy paddy fields, we had to retreat with the loss of one brass gun, and retired to Ampangan, a ruined party. By the next day every adherent of the Klana, except his nearest relatives, had abandoned his cause; Rassa and all other strongholds were taken by the Bandar; and we, with the Klana and his Arabs, were hemmed in by his and Rajah Mahmoud's party. With the greatest difficulty, on the 19th November, I managed to get a letter taken to Malacca, reporting our position to Captain Shaw. Sergeant Kiernan and I were in a critical position; and besides this it took all my powers of persuasion to prevent the Chinese from mixing in the quarrel, as the Bandar's party were anxious to attack the mines belonging to the Klana's Chinese.

After some days' detention in the Klana's stockade on short commons, the Arabs agreed with Sergt. Kiernan, the few Tamil Police we had, and myself, to resume the offensive and get a little more freedom. These Arabs were most unmitigated scoundrels from Aden, Lahej, the Somali coast, and other parts of the Red Sea littoral, but they turned out to be capital fighting-men; in a few days we had stormed every stockade and position but Kapayang, and had recovered our own gun, and taken 35 of the enemy's brass and iron guns,—with a loss of one killed and a few wounded. The Chinese now furnished us with provisions, and the Klana issued orders that all men should prove their loyalty by wearing a yellow band on their arm; and soon, the whole district was conspicuous for its signs of zeal for the winning cause and the British Protectorate. Capt. Shaw, on receipt of my letter, forwarded it to the Governor and sent up a detachment of the 10th under Lieut. Peyton to my relief, *via* the Lingi River. Sir A. Clarke received the news on the 23rd Nov. and at once leaving Singapore with H.M.S. "Charybdis" and "Hart," landed a force of 140 men,—blue-jacket, infantry and artillery, under Lieut. Brook, R.N., Capt. Tatham, R.A.,

and Lieut. Palmer of the 10th Regt., accompanied by Capt. Dunlop, R.A., Inspector Genl. of Police, S.S., as Civil Commissioner. The force landed at the mouth of the Lukut River in Salengor, the nearest spot on the coast to Ampangan; and when, after an arduous march through swamp and jungle, it arrived at the Klana's place, on the 28th,—Capt. Shaw's relief having reached there 2 days before—it found that the Klana had regained his proper position, that we were safe, and that the Bandar and Rajah Mahmoud were confined to Kapayang. A few hours after their arrival, Capt. Dunlop with some blue-jackets and men of the 10th made a reconnaissance of Kapayang, which drew on them the fire of the stockade; whereupon the whole force, with its rocket-tubes, was brought into action; but the Malays kept up a very brisk fire; our rockets had no effect on the houses in the stockade; and night coming on, we had to retire with the loss of one blue-jacket, mortally wounded by a rifle-bullet.

The next day every preparation was made for a regular attack: but we found that Kapayang had been evacuated during the night and that the Bandar, Rajah Mahmoud and their men had fled to the jungle. Small parties of our soldiers and sailors followed them up in various directions without success; but this marching to and fro had a good effect in showing the Malays that the jungle was no hindrance to European troops.

On the Bandar's flight the Klana's Chinese miners attacked their countrymen belonging to his party and some lives were lost and property destroyed. Capt. Dunlop and I were obliged to adopt very summary measures towards the Chinese and to disarm the whole population. Peace was soon restored and no further disturbance has since taken place.

On the 15th Dec., all stockades in the country having been destroyed, the Malays and Chinese disarmed and internal affairs arranged, the troops and blue-jackets returned to the coast, and Capt. Dunlop and I were able

to resume our duties in Singapore, leaving Capt. Tatham as temporary Resident with the Klana. On embarking at Malacca in the local steamer for Singapore, we were surprised to find Mr. Swettenham with the Datu Bandar and Rajah Mahmoud! They had taken refuge with the Sultan of Salengor but he had at once handed them over to Mr. Swettenham, who induced them to go to Singapore and surrender themselves to Sir A. Clarke, submitting to his decision as to their future. The old Bandar consented to receive a pension and reside at Johore, where he died of old age some years after. Rajah Mahmoud after a short stay in Johore, was enabled to do us much service during the Perak war, when his loyalty and usefulness were rewarded by a sword of honour; he returned to his country of Salengor, and, as far as I know, he is living quietly there, devoting himself to the improvement of his estates.

Sungei Ujong, though its tin mines are of comparatively small value, has made steady progress in agriculture; Europeans have succeeded in establishing coffee and other plantations; and this, after all, must be the ultimate permanent source of prosperity for the Malay Peninsula. I may mention that the success attained in the three States was greatly facilitated by the cordial co-operation which Sir A. Clarke always received from the naval and military branches of H.M.'s Service. On the 2nd of March, 1874, he was able to report to the Secretary of State that the Commissioners had returned from Larut, having rescued 53 women from slavery, disarmed the belligerents, razed all stockades and settled the mines; also that immigration and capital were flowing into the country. During the year, the Colonial Secretary, S.S., Mr. J. W. Birch, a most able officer with a long and brilliant record of service in Ceylon, was appointed Resident at Perak, Mr. Davidson at Salengor, and Capt. Murray, R.N., at Sungei Ujong.

In May, 1875, Sir A. Clarke, unfortunately for the complete success of his policy, left the Straits for the appoint-

ment of Minister of Public Works in India, and was succeeded by Sir W. D. Jervoise, who had the disadvantage of being obliged to take over the most delicate task of carrying out a new policy ; one which he had not inaugurated, and which required some experience of the circumstances under which it had been introduced. In November, 1875, the assassination of Mr. Birch caused a great shock ; and the revolt of the Perak Chiefs led weak friends, and opponents of the Residential policy, to believe that the new system was a failure ; but fortunately Sir W. Jervoise had, by this time, fully grasped the whole situation and was convinced that there was no alternative for the interests of the Peninsula or our Colony between annexation and a complete development of his predecessor's policy. "There can be no doubt that the loss of Mr. Birch's valuable life was a gain to Perak, and to the whole of the Peninsula as the considerable military expedition which followed and the temporary occupation of the State by our troops, did more to secure permanent tranquillity than fifteen years of advice by British Residents without it."\* Sir W. Jervoise was enabled to put everything again in working order by the middle of 1876 ; and since then the most uninterrupted prosperity has followed.

At the date of signing the Pangkor treaty, the revenues of the three States were nominal, as the only prolific source of taxes, the Chinese and the Tin they produced, had been cut off. Perak, for instance, produced an annual revenue of \$80,000, squeezed from the most insignificant articles of daily use amongst the Malays,—saucers, cups, tobacco, salt and rice ; and the *rayats*, with their property, lives, and the honour of their wives and children, were absolutely at the mercy of any sorning petty rajah or scion of royalty. Debt-slavery was universal, and no Malay felt secure in leaving his house without an armoury of spears and daggers. The same conditions existed in the other States, and exist now in that part of the Peninsula outside of our

\* "About Perak," by F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.

influence. Now, in the Protected States, all vexatious impositions are removed, debt-slavery has been abolished, and arms are difficult to be procured as curios.

The rayat may now cultivate their padi, fish in the river, or sit under their betel-nut palm and banana tree, without fear of any one. The following are the statistics of Revenue and Trade for 1894 :

	Revenue.	Imports and Exports.
Perak ... ..	\$3,542,114	\$26,447,232
Salengor ... ..	\$3,334,468	\$25,065,288
Sungei Ujong ... ..	\$397,130	\$4,242,730.
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$7,273,712	\$55,755,250
Straits Settlements ... ..	\$3,904,774	\$410,937,356
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$11,178,486	\$466,692,606

Since 1886, the Negri Sambalang and Pahang have come under the Residential system, and in to-day's "*Times*" (Feb. 7th) I see that all the five States "have formed," a confederation under a Resident General, Mr. Swettenham, C.M.G.

I must express the opinion, that it seems a pity that advantage has not been taken of the death of the late ruler of Johore, to include that State in the Confederation. The fascinating and genial manners of the deceased Sultan, which endeared him to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance, together with his lavish state and hospitality, cast a glamour over the government of Johore ; but, possessing an intimate knowledge since 1875, of the real condition of things, I am persuaded that, whether for the happiness of the inhabitants or the development of the resources of the country,—no Malay State would more benefit by the presence of an able and conscientious British Resident than Johore.\*

\* As warm supporters of the autonomy of Native States, we cannot agree with the remarks of our esteemed contributor regarding Johore, a State which, we hope, will ever continue to enjoy its full measure of perfect independence.—ED.



## ZOROASTRIAN LORE; YASNA XLIII.

BY THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.

DISTINGUISHED scholars who, though not specialists in Zend, are collecting items for a general view of ideas in divinity, that is to say, for a history of doctrines, will be glad to know a fact which must be of the first importance in that department of their theme which concerns antiquity. It is this (and I trust that no specialist will venture to deny it) "*no differing translations, which are at all reasonable, can destroy what we most value in such fragments as the Gâthas. While alternatives may be offered in almost every strophe, they concern philology alone or concern it almost entirely. There is not an alternative which can be offered by anyone who has any reputation for judgment in the matter which can mar their quiet majesty or indeed greatly vary their meaning. If one translation does not hit the exact point, the next will present a sentence so closely allied to it that for purposes of comparative theology they are practically identical.*"<sup>1</sup> Let me also make a remark which I hope critical readers will welcome, and I do not hesitate to say that the circumstance which I recall is again most exceptional; it is this: all the words which I have rendered as concretes, such as "the obedient" or "the Loyal one" (the messenger sent from the scattered tribes to question Zarathushtra)<sup>2</sup> and "the good-minded one," "the zealous," *etc.*, are literally and verbatim in the abstract in the original, so that "the obedient" is positively "Sraosha, the listening (to obey)"<sup>3</sup>; "the zealous," "the heart-devoted partisan" is literally "devotion"<sup>3</sup>; "the alert and ready mind" and "the good-minded," "well-affected citizen" is Vohu Manah, "the well-affected mind."<sup>3</sup> Now of course in translating "the Loyal one," "the zealous," *etc.*, I am letting down the sublimity materially, and I do so solely for the purpose of being "on the safer side," avoiding a feared exaggeration. For no reader can fail to see how much finer everything becomes if we dared to render literally, "when Obedience," that is to say "that state of mind," or "when with Devotion joined,"<sup>4</sup> *etc.* And I would also insist on a further point, namely, that Zarathushtra while using Sraosha, Vohu Manah, Ar(a)maiti, *etc.*, throughout the Gâthas, could not possibly have failed to feel those ideas which lie in the actual syllables that he pronounced.

No sound psychology would accept such an assumption for a moment. The man who muttered these strophes to himself in his rude tent or ruder palace, working them into shape before delivery and delivering them again and again to comrades before he had them chanted among the tribes, or sang

<sup>1</sup> See my *Gâthas*, Introduction, p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly an ordinary poetical conception in that sense.

<sup>3</sup> The terms are almost identical in Sanskrit; see Roth's memorial volume *Festschrift*, page 193, where I have translated all of Yasna xxviii. into the Sanskrit forms.

<sup>4</sup> Is not this use of the abstract for the concrete unique? I do not forget either the Vedic or the Latin abstract names for deities; but here we have persons meant and familiarly grouped as the Devoted, *etc.*, the word used being the abstract.

them himself before the chief assemblies, could not have failed to apprehend or even to intend their doubled meaning. Physiology has shown that gifts of intellect come out in spite of all conceivable hindrances,—witness some of our modern poets; and this person was beyond any question a case in point. He belonged to what we call the seer-class, the cerebral character happening to fall into this type. Or again the entire group may have been more cultured; compare the Rishis of the Ṛg. But be this as it may, the pleasing fact remains that we have a mass of strophes in one of the oldest Aryan metres, the Trishṭup,<sup>1</sup> which cannot be forced to mean only common-places; nor can they be forced to exclude the loftiest abstract conceptions.

When Zarathushtra, then, worked up those strophes which contain the line “when with the good minded one the obedient came to me,” the ideas of inspired benevolence and fidelity, as graces personal to himself, did most certainly pass through his thoughts,—as if he had sung in another voice (in harmony) “when obedience to Thy law and will came to my inner self”; and when he said “With the devoted joined, I seek a mind alert for action,”<sup>1</sup> he surely felt the sentiment “when the devoted gift of all I have and am, I seek full readiness”;—for these ideas are the first and immediate meaning of his words. If this be true it seems to me that we ought to listen for an undertone throughout the Gāthas, and should never fail, while teaching, to call attention to it as filling out their impressive character.

If I am not entirely mistaken these points, so familiar to specialists, will be of much interest to scholars engaged in historical research. I have obscurely involved them in what I have already written in this Review; but they cannot be too plainly put or too firmly grasped, if the dearest lessons of the Avesta are to do their work.

There is also a remark touching a question upon which the whole of the above depends for its significance, and which as a specialist I ought to have put in more pointed light. It has reference to the supreme question of the “moral idea” in the Gāthas. The large group of non-specialists who are keenly searching the Gāthas see at once that their *polemik* is an *odium theologicum*, literally arrayed in arms and seeking to enforce its conclusions with bloodshed.<sup>2</sup> A political-religious, civil or border war is

<sup>1</sup> The very distinguished scholar (who while himself not a Zend or Sanskrit specialist, yet suggested, in private conversations, a startling theory which was adopted by a great Zend author, to the effect that the Gāthas, while the oldest part of the Avesta, were of the time of Christ) has utterly forgotten their metre, the one most striking proof of antiquity. The Gātha Spenta Mainyu is exactly Trishṭup, the prevailing metre in the Vasishṭa hymns of the seventh book of the Ṛg Veda. And the Gātha Ushtavati is precisely the same (eleven syllables to the strophe, with cæsura after the fourth) only that the strophes are one line longer (five lines instead of four) possibly the older form. I ought to add, however, that the decisive bearing of this argument (metre) upon the question of antiquity would, in the opinion of the eminent savant referred to, have put back the antiquity of the Gāthas only so far as the time of Alexander, for he holds that the Ṛg Veda dates only from that epoch. The Ṛg Veda, I need hardly say, is generally put at about B.C. 2,000 for its oldest hymns.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yasna xxxi., 18, etc.

going on. The old, or new,<sup>1</sup> religion is struggling for life against the new, or old, Vedic worship. All their forces,—partisan, doctrinal, military,—were strained to the utmost to destroy their opponents. There was no space in their thoughts for the reproof of common moral delinquencies. The *dregvant* is, therefore, largely the “infidel,” “the accursed rebel.” He was judged in the bulk as Catholic judged Lutheran. That is to say, this is the case throughout the more impassioned parts; they leave the chastisement of bad Zoroastrians for later days when the “Cause” had triumphed; see the *Vendîdâd*, *etc.* But although the acumen of the denunciation in the *Gâthas* is of this special type, in those calmer intervals where Zarathushtra is less ruffled by technical opposition, the moral idea comes out with a sublimity unsurpassed in works of similar age:—see the distinction as “to thought, as to word, as to deed,”<sup>2</sup> and “gifts for this bodily life and the mental,”<sup>3</sup> *etc.* The conceptions are perhaps more than moral: they are philosophical<sup>4</sup> and spiritual. I hope I have made myself clear.

In the piece which I give below from the *Ushtavaiti* I have modernised to a slight extent for obvious reasons, but I have marked such places carefully. I do not apologise at all for particles thrown in, necessary inversions, *etc.*, to meet the needs of rhythm; nor do I hesitate to use differing but synonymous terms for the same original, such as “the loyal one” for “the obedient,” the “zealous” for “the devoted,” “Faith’s messenger,” *etc.*; for these changes not only make rhythm possible where it would be otherwise difficult but they assist the sense.

<sup>1</sup> We are logically compelled to consider the question whether the *Gâthas* do not antedate Mithra who as Mitra appears in early Vedic hymns. Nothing is more curious than the fact that Mithra, Haoma (Soma), and other gods who are familiar to the *later* Avesta and the oldest portions of the *Rîg Veda*, are totally absent from the *Gâthas*. Is it conceivable that they were deliberately expelled from the Religion and then crept back again? So I was forced to hold, see Introduction to S. B. E. xxxi., p. xxvi. and following; but are such conscious reproductions at all possible under primitive conditions and at remote periods?

<sup>2</sup> Yasna xxx.

<sup>3</sup> Yasna xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> A remark touching the “philosophical” character of the *Gâthas* was made by a distinguished scholar in the *American Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. III., No. 12, 1882. It is contained in a letter kindly describing my studies before I had published any of their results. This gentleman was perfectly justified in what he wrote. The great philosophical or theosophical distinction of Dualism made in Yasna xxx. pervaded the controversy which excited and sustained the entire movement so far as it was religious; and in Yasna xxx. we have its statement; but of course the main bulk of the *Gâthas* would not be the vehicles of detailed analysis and discussion. They are the passionate or pathetic expressions of party feelings, hymns to be sung in metre for the purpose of arousing drooping enthusiasm or keeping it fervent where it was earnest. This is the case, for the most part, where they are not purely religious; they presuppose discussion, but the fragments which are left to us do not contain it; and so they are not of a character which would correspond to our usual impressions when we hear of writings being “philosophical” or “metaphysical.”

## YASNA XLIII.

## A HYMN OF ZOROASTER.

*Greeting to an expected champion.*

1. Hail then to this one; salvation! to whom he may be<sup>1</sup>:  
Let the all-ruling send it, He supreme o'er<sup>2</sup> strife.<sup>2</sup>  
Long lasting strength be ours; of thee I ask it;  
For the upholding Right,<sup>3</sup> this, Piety,<sup>4</sup> vouchsafe us,  
Distinctions,<sup>5</sup> blest rewards, the Good Mind's life!
2. And for this saint that best of all things,  
Glory,<sup>6</sup> the glorious one<sup>7</sup> shall gain<sup>8</sup> who<sup>2</sup> may.  
Reveal Thou, Lord, to us with spirit bounteous<sup>9</sup>  
What truths by Right Thou givest with Good<sup>10</sup> Mind's<sup>10</sup> wisdom  
With life's rejoicing increase and on every day.
3. Yea, that better than the good<sup>11</sup> may he gain<sup>12</sup> surer<sup>12</sup>  
Who hath for us straight paths<sup>1</sup> of grace explored<sup>13</sup>  
Of this life bodily the use, of that the mental  
In the eternal<sup>14</sup> Realms where dwells Ahûra  
Like<sup>15</sup> Thee,<sup>15</sup> noble and august, O Mazda Lord.

*Means of Grace.*

4. Yea, I conceive Thee mighty, Ahûra Mazda,  
When aids Thine hand hath nurtured close<sup>16</sup> appear<sup>16</sup>  
Aids which as rewards Thou'lt give for good or evil  
Thy Fire's flame therewith, the strong in justice  
And when to me Thy Good Mind's strength draws near.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hardly "to everyone"; see my *Gâthas*, p. 154. Some preceding verses have evidently been lost; for introduction, see S. B. E. xxxi., pp. 91 to 106.

<sup>2</sup> Words added from other Gâthic places.

<sup>3</sup> Asha, the holy Order of the Law of God.

<sup>4</sup> So literally Piety, Devotion, or zeal, the inspired "alert" or "ready" mind; but meaning the alert and holy public enthusiasm of the tribes.

<sup>5</sup> Or if "riches" were meant then they were consecrated offerings for "the Holy Cause," see Y. 46, 2, *etc.*

<sup>6</sup> "Glorious beatitude," "god-sent welfare."

<sup>7</sup> The Deity, in frequently recurring passages is called the "glorious," in the later Avesta.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Comm., p. 510.

<sup>9</sup> Others render "holy"; the above is safer; yet it must be remembered that Gâthia holiness was practical; the one who "bountifully increased" good things was "holier" than the talker or the ritualist.

<sup>10</sup> So literally, but, as always in the use of these impressive abstracts, meaning "the orthodox saint inspired by the Good Mind," the first, properly, the second Ameshaspand.

<sup>11</sup> So literally,—the "summum bonum."

<sup>12</sup> So rhythmically, for "attain to."

<sup>13</sup> Literally "given."

<sup>14</sup> So for "safety," literally the "real," "really existing."

<sup>15</sup> An oblique way of saying "Thee," or possibly meaning the saint of line 2, "like Thee," "Thy servant," "worthy of Thee."

<sup>16</sup> Rhythmically supplied from line 2.

<sup>17</sup> Or "comes."

*Judgment.*

5. So,<sup>1</sup> in creation's birth when first I saw<sup>2</sup> Thee  
 Bounteous<sup>1</sup> in vision<sup>3</sup> later<sup>3</sup> things portend,<sup>3</sup>  
 When deeds most just rewarding and words Thou givest  
 Ill to the evil, pure blessing to the good  
 By Thy just wisdom<sup>4</sup> in this world's last end.

*Advent.*

6. In which last changing Thou a spirit bounteous<sup>5</sup>  
 Comest with Thy pure Realm which wrong<sup>6</sup> retrieves<sup>6</sup>  
 By deeds of whom<sup>7</sup> the settlements in Right are furthered;  
 Laws unto these to teach Devotion<sup>8</sup> striveth,  
 Laws of Thy wisdom which no man deceives!

*Suspense.*

7. Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahûra Mazda  
 When the true-hearted searched<sup>9</sup> my spirit's<sup>9</sup> inner self<sup>9</sup>  
 Asking "Who art thou then? and whence thy coming?  
 How for their questions now signs shall I show them,  
 Signs in thy settlements and in thyself?"

*The signs.*

8. To him I, Zarathushtra, then answered foremost;  
 Torments in very deed the faithless I will send,  
 But to our saints would be a joyous power,  
 Since with full care I toil Thy Realm awaiting<sup>10</sup>  
 While I my woven<sup>11</sup> praise<sup>11</sup> to Thee shall blend.
9. Yea, I conceive Thee bounteous, Ahûra Mazda,  
 When the true loyal came my mission's<sup>12</sup> call to ask<sup>12</sup>  
 Saying what aim hast thou? what wilt thou gain in this?<sup>13</sup>  
 Then for Thy Fire praise-offering I besought him,  
 Planning Thy Law's advance<sup>14</sup> this be my task<sup>14</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> The recurring formula "Yea, I conceived . . ." shortened for space.

<sup>2</sup> Retrospective; cf. the vision of creation in Genesis.

<sup>3</sup> Rhythmically supplied to fill out the sense.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, "Thy good manhood" or "honour," but later use renders the above idea more probable.

<sup>5</sup> See note above on "bounteous," Strophe 2nd, line c.

<sup>6</sup> Rhythmically supplied from ideas elsewhere expressed in the Avesta.

<sup>7</sup> Of God (?).

<sup>8</sup> The prophet specially inspired with the "alert" or "ready mind." "When inspired by Thy Good Mind the questioner approached me."

<sup>9</sup> To point the sense.

<sup>10</sup> Rhythmically supplied to fill out the sense.

<sup>11</sup> Literally, "so long as I may weave (in metre) my song, and may praise Thee."

<sup>12</sup> Rhythmical and explanatory, for "when with the Good Mind Obedience (the questioner) approached me."

<sup>13</sup> Literally, "What for thy gaining or knowing."

<sup>14</sup> Rhythmical, and to point the sense.

*"Search me."*

10. Do Thou Thy Holiness revealing teach me,  
 Since with the zealous<sup>1</sup> joined to rise<sup>1</sup> I seek.<sup>1</sup>  
 Ask Thou yet questions, such that Thou<sup>2</sup> may'st<sup>3</sup> search us,  
 For questions Thine are thus as of the mighty,  
 As when their searching words Thy rulers speak.

*"Prepared."*

11. Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahûra Mazda,  
 When the true Loyal came with Spirit<sup>3</sup> blest<sup>3</sup>  
 And with your words my soul I first instructed  
 Woes that devoted one<sup>4</sup> midst foes forwarned me,  
 Yet will I that fulfil named by Thee best !

*Fears.*

12. And since Thou saidest : Come for guide to Asha,  
 Command me not yet to speak veiled truths abroad,  
 Nor to go forth e'er he that friend approach me,  
 Obedience<sup>5</sup> hand-joined with Weal and Splendour<sup>6</sup>  
 Whereby, for strivers'<sup>7</sup> help, he gives reward.

*Success.*

13. Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous,<sup>8</sup> Ahûra Mazda,  
 When the Faith's messenger<sup>9</sup> my spirit neared ;  
 Aims of my will to gain, this gift then give me  
 Long life, Thy boon by man | yet never wrested ;  
 Gifts in Thy Realm give too, most choice<sup>10</sup> declared.

*Light.*

14. As the possessor gifts on friend bestoweth  
 So give to me, O Lord, rejoicing<sup>11</sup> "Light"<sup>11</sup>  
 When in Thy kingdom, righteousness my motive,<sup>12</sup>  
 Forth to approach I rise 'mid chiefs of doctrine,<sup>13</sup>  
 With all whose memories Thy words recite.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally, with "the inspired readiness," the "alert mind," (one of the Amesha Spends), I seek "alertness."

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "that we may be asked of Thee"; or it may mean, "Ask Thou the questions which are to be asked by us"; "inspire our prayers": see Comm., p. 517.

<sup>3</sup> "With the Good Mind" (for "Good-minded one"),—the orthodox, holy and "well-affected" saintly citizen.

<sup>4</sup> So more safely, but the original will bear the finer sense "*my heart's devotion*," so, more literally perhaps.

<sup>5</sup> The loyal messenger from the tribes; see above.

<sup>6</sup> The splendour of consecrated riches (?). The analogous Vedic is supposed to mean "riches."

<sup>7</sup> Possibly, "from the kindling sticks" which lit the sacred fire, but it should have been a word in the dual in that case; see Commentary, p. 518.

<sup>8</sup> See note above, on Bounteous.

<sup>9</sup> Explanatory; see above.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, "the best" which might pass also as rhythmical.

<sup>11</sup> Grace-giving instruction, etymologically "ravishing," but this would be exaggerated.

<sup>12</sup> "For the sake of the holy law."

<sup>13</sup> Or, "as chief of doctrine," the chief of the groups of priestly politicians and warriors: see Comm., p. 519.

<sup>14</sup> With all who recite Thy Manthras; the word etymologically recalls "reciting from memory": see Comm., p. 520.

*Staunchness.*

15. Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahûra Mazda,  
 When the obedient came with Faith's accord<sup>1</sup>  
 And through his wisdom best with patience showed me  
 "Never your chieftain be of foes the pleaser":  
 Yea, saints should hold at worth yon faithless horde !

*Result.*

16. Thus Zarathushtra, Lord, adores the spirit  
 And every man most bounteous prays beside ;  
 Be the just Law life-strong ; yea, clothed with body,<sup>2</sup>  
 In sun-blessed land of ours be there Devotion,  
 In deeds to Holy Right may she be guide.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Varied for rhythm.

<sup>2</sup> Incarnate in the Faithful.

<sup>3</sup> For alternatives, close discussion, *etc.*, cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI., 1887 ; also "*The Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian texts, with literal and free translations, and critical commentary*", pp. 622+xxx., by L. H. Mills, D.D. ; Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1892-94, 30/-. (The Pahlavi text is deciphered and edited with all the known MSS. collated.) Cf. also the Ancient MS. of the Yasna, generally quoted as J. 2, collotyped with introductory note by L. H. Mills, D.D. ; Clarendon Press, 1893 ; (Ten guineas). The Zend in this MS. is all translated in S. B. E. xxxi. ; and both Zend and Pahlavi in my *Gâthas*. For further metrical illustrations, cf. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January and October, 1895.

## THE MAHÁBHÁRATA.\*

BY C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

THIS work is decidedly conservative in its tendency. It might perhaps be considered in some quarters reactionary. For the author rejects the theories of successive revisions, and numerous interpolations, and, if we understand him aright, holds the view that the Mahábhárata was put together in the 5th century, B.C., from previously existing materials. He remarks on the last page of his book: "Why should not, under the influence of the advancing developement of art and poetry that we have just described, the Mahábhárata have been produced as the work of one poetically creative genius? In its genuinely epical elements the traces of a harmonious individual literary activity are clearly seen. Law on one hand, art on the other, stamp this poem with a consistently characteristic impress. It was a genuinely poetical genius, that made trial of his skill in our Epos. Why should it have been impossible for a single individual in the midst of a school of rhapsodists, to create a Mahábhárata?"

We are probably right in assuming that these words contain the author's, summing up of the result of his investigations. But the interest of the book lies much more in the investigations than in the result. Even the advocate of successive redactions must allow that the writer's remarks on the Mahábhárata as a manual of Law, on the philosophical doctrines of the Mahábhárata, on the social and economical system, literary advancement, and general civilisation of the period described in the poem, possess an abiding value, whatever may be thought of the author's main thesis.

That the arguments in favour of this thesis are very strong, admits, in our opinion, of little doubt. It would be impossible to notice all of them, even briefly, but we desire to call attention specially to the section in which Dr. Dahlmann shows that the principal heroes retain their distinguishing characteristics throughout the poem. This seems a little difficult to explain, if the poem were constructed piecemeal, by means of successive additions and reconstructions. The first character that the author analyses is that of Bhíma. He shows that the son of the wind is characterised throughout by the same reckless impetuosity, always exerted, be it observed, on the side of justice.† Dr. Dahlmann pertinently asks, with reference to a theory adopted, we believe, by Köppen in his work on Buddhism, "We beg to ask those, who consider that the whole poem has been recast in the interest of the Pándavas, to which party they consider that Bhíma originally belonged?" The same treatment is then applied to the character of Dhṛitarástra. It is then shown that the characters of Yudhishthira and Duryodhana are equally consistent throughout the poem, the former being the impersonation of justice, the latter of the opposite quality.

\* Das Mahábhárata als Epos und Rechtsbuch: ein Problem aus Alt-Indiens Cultur- und Literaturgeschichte, von Joseph Dahlmann, S.J. Berlin, Verlag von Felix L. Dames, 3, Koch-strasse; 1895.

† His justice was not in all cases tempered with mercy.



It is well known that the Mahābhārata contains portions devoted to the exaltation of Śiva, others to that of Viṣṇu. Of course it has been urged that these passages are later additions, and that the epic has been edited, so to speak, in the interests of these gods and their worshippers. But observes Dr. Dahlmann, on this supposition we should expect that in those books which contain the kernel of the old poem,—in other words, in the portion extending from the sixth to the tenth book,—the old epic gods would be most faithfully preserved. But this is by no means the case. The protagonist of the later addition theory is obliged to use a good deal of special pleading in the attempt to explain away this troublesome fact. "On the other hand, in those parts which, according to Holtzmann, are of the most doubtful character, we find the old epic god Indra occupying the foremost place, according to the frank admission of that *savant*. 'We admit that Indra is very nearly connected with the purely epical element.' Moreover we receive the following assurance. 'That Indra in the first place favours the Pāṇḍavas but shows a hostile disposition towards Duryodhana and Karna is obviously a feature that characterised the old poem.' We should have rather expected, if Holtzmann's view is correct, that Indra would have stood on the side of Duryodhana." Dr. Dahlmann then proceeds to show that Holtzmann is involved in the same difficulties with regard to the god Brahmā. "Similarly one should have expected that Brahmā the old god, would in the 'older portions' have retained his predominance. But as a matter of fact Holtzmann has to report that the direct opposite is the case. In X. 6. 25, Aśvatthāman addresses his prayer to Śiva. Holtzmann remarks here with considerable *naïveté*, 'But in the old poem to which this passage and its context undoubtedly belongs, Brahmā no doubt stood in the place of Śiva.' How does Holtzmann know this? Brahmā belonged only to the 'old epic poetry.' He may with little labour (*sic*)\* like Śiva and Viṣṇu be cut out from all the portions of the poem that can make any claim to antiquity and comparatively pure tradition. On the contrary the belief in him pervades the whole poem in its older portions and those that are preserved in their original condition. Brahmā no doubt pervades the whole poem, but in such a way that, according to Holtzmann's own testimony, he is everywhere subordinated to Viṣṇu or Śiva. Śiva is the creator and lord of Brahmā, and all the divine beings from Brahmā down to the Piśācha revere Śiva. Even if sometimes a certain glimpse of the supremacy of Brahmā is allowed to appear, 'much more often the opposite view is expressed which conceives of Brahmā as decidedly subordinate to Śiva.' Śiva has entered into the whole of Brahmā's inheritance; he receives his characteristic name; he is, as Brahmā was in earlier times, the god of fate; he, not Brahmā, has created the world; to him now repair all the gods when oppressed by the Asuras. Śiva is not only superior to Brahmā: he is himself Brahmā and Brahma,† the Akshara, the highest Brahma, that is at the same time existent and non-existent, setting in motion, through his power, the two

\* Apparently Dr. Dahlmann here wishes to point out that his adversary has said the opposite of what he intended to say.

† The neuter, not the masculine: the masculine denotes a personal being.

original principles matter and spirit, *prakṛiti* and *puruṣa*. The proofs of this statement run through the whole poem." Dr. Dahlmann goes on to show that Brahmā is in the same way subordinated to Viṣṇu. In this way he pursues, with his remorseless logic, in various parts of his book, the writers who mangle the Mahābhārata on the principles of "the higher criticism." Sincerely do we sympathise with his efforts. We often long for a "lodge in some vast wilderness," where the words "Einschiebsel" and "Umgestaltung" are unknown.

Seriously, we think that Dr. Dahlmann has given those critics who would treat the Mahābhārata, as Paley and other critics have treated Homer, some terribly hard nuts to crack. But unfortunately the nuts are scattered all over the book. For in this particular respect the arrangement of Dr. Dahlmann's treatise appears to us a little wanting in system. But it is a rich mine of learning on all points connected with the Mahābhārata. Take for instance the second section of the book in which he deals with the general character of the Mahābhārata epoch and compares it with that of the Jātakas. Here we have in the first chapter an account of agriculture and trade, town life and architecture, navigation and foreign trade, loans upon interest, and writing as a means of intercourse. It must be remembered that the passages which Dr. Dahlmann quotes from the Mahābhārata, in order to build up his theories, are culled from a poem which, according to the late Professor Goldstücker, consists of about 100,000 verses, each consisting of thirty-two syllables, and is seven times as large as the Iliad and Odyssey combined. Yet Dr. Dahlmann shows that he has the whole of this gigantic work at his fingers' ends.

In his preface Dr. Dahlmann acknowledges in the first place his indebtedness to Hofrath Dr. Georg Bühler of Vienna. It is perhaps not too much to say that, without Hofrath Bühler's investigations, this book could not have been written. To take an instance. If the date of the Mahābhārata is to be thrown back into the fifth century B.C., it is, of course, important to prove that the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects existed many centuries before our era. This has been clearly shown by Hofrath Bühler. His argument, as reproduced by Dr. Dahlmann, runs as follows, "The names Vinhukā (an abbreviation for Viṣṇudattā or Viṣṇurakshitā), Upidadata or Opedadata (Upendradatta), Balaka or Balamitra (connected with a hero of the Krishna-legend, Baladeva or Balarāma, also called simply Bala) furnish a proof for the development of the Viṣṇu-cult; whereas Nadiguta (Nādigupta), Namdigiri, Sāmidata (i.e. Svāmidatta or Kumāradata), Samika and Samikā, Sivanadi (Śivanandi) prove the same for the worship of Śiva. The fact that in these old inscriptions Buddhists use names which are connected with the old Vedic religion, as well as specially those names which are connected with the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva, is undoubtedly to be explained by the assumption, that the bearers of these names, or their forefathers, belonged to these sects before their conversion, and received their names in accordance with the old custom of their families . . . . . Their historical importance consists in this, that they form a link in the chain of evidence, which makes it possible for us to demonstrate, not only the existence, but the prevalence of the religions of Viṣṇu and Śiva, not only in the third century B.C., but in a much earlier epoch, and that they

confirm the view, supported by a large number of Orientalists, that Vishnuism and Śivaism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. With the help of the same method, which is here applied to the names on the Sānchi Stūpa, it is possible to elicit, from the names occurring in the canonical books of the Buddhists, the proof that the religious system of the Purāṇas was in existence, when those works were composed."

Hofrath Bühler's investigations into the age of the Indian Kāvya have also been of great service to Dr. Dahlmann. The results of these investigations were reproduced in an article in the *Calcutta Review* some years ago. They are thus summarised by Dr. Dahlmann: "In the second century before Christ, there existed a form of Sanskrit poetry, closely resembling that, which owed its origin to the favour of sovereigns, and was zealously cultivated in Indian courts. The cultivators of this form of poetry were not poets inspired by Nature only, but professional *savants* or *paṇḍits*, who had studied the Śāstras, at any rate *vyākaraṇa*, *kośha*, *alaṃkāra*, and *chhandas*, and wrote according to fixed poetical rules." Dr. Dahlmann then observes: "This result of Hofrath Bühler's investigations is of the highest importance for the history of our Epos. If there flourished in the second century before Christ a style of poetry which, compared with the epic poetry of India, shows a great advance in artistic development, both forms of poetry cannot be contemporaneous." Dr. Dahlmann goes on to express his opinion that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between the epic period and the development of classical or artificial poetry.

As we have before intimated, the principal result of Dr. Dahlmann's discussions is to show that, from whatever point of view the Mahābhārata is studied, there is nothing to make the theory of its composition in the fifth century B.C. improbable. A striking feature of his book is his skilful treatment of the legal element. He considers that the age of the Mahābhārata is an age of Law, in opposition to the preceding epoch, which was evidently an age of religion. He shows good reason for believing, that before the Mahābhārata was put together by its Diaskeuast, there existed metrical treatises on law, which were recited by rhapsodists.

Though we can acquiesce in his general view that the theme of the Mahābhārata is the triumph of right, we feel great difficulty in understanding that portion of his work in which he deals with the marriage of Draupadī to five husbands as illustrating the "institution of the undivided family." Surely the old view,—that the polyandry of Draupadī is a relic of barbarism in the old Saga, which could not conveniently be eliminated,—is much simpler.

Whatever view may be taken of the worth of Dr. Dahlmann's main conclusions, we feel convinced that his careful study of the great Hindu epic will be of the greatest service to all subsequent inquirers.

# THE SĀMKHYA-PRAVACANA-BHĀSHYA.\*

By C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

THIS is the second volume of a series which is being published by Professor Lanman, with the assistance of various scholars: it is printed in Roman character. We confess to a preference for Devanāgarī, which is also much more popular in India than the Roman character. In most cases the editor seems to have accurately foreshadowed the text of this edition in the admirable translation of this work, which he brought out in 1889, with useful notes. This translation serves indeed the purpose of an edition as well as a translation. The present edition is, as far as we have been able to ascertain, singularly free from typographical errors, which, the editor tells us, is due to the unselfish assistance which Professor Lanman has rendered to him in the proof-reading.

For a discussion of the questions that concern the Sāmkhya system in general, the editor refers us to his work "*Die Sāmkhya Philosophie*," published in 1894. In the introduction to the present edition he confines himself to remarks necessary for enabling us to understand Vijñānabhikṣu's philosophical point of view. *The Sāmkhya-Pravacana-Bhāshya* contains the Sāmkhya Sūtras, together with the commentary composed by Vijñānabhikṣu himself. In spite of the denial of the existence of God contained in the 92nd Sūtra of the first book, called, we believe, in Bengal "the black Sūtra," Professor Garbe gives reasons for thinking that the Sāmkhya Sūtras, the date of which he places at about 1400 A.D., show traces of Vedāntic influence.

"In still larger measure do Vedāntic influences manifest themselves in Vijñānabhikṣu's commentary on the Sūtras which is, as stated above, about a century and a half later than the Sūtras themselves. Here, as in his other works, Vijñānabhikṣu contends with the utmost determination for the truth of the theistic Vedānta. This is near akin with the Yoga philosophy, and is held by Vijñānabhikṣu to be the ancient, original, and genuine Vedānta, while the doctrines of the non-duality of Brahman and of the cosmic illusion are pronounced by him to be modern falsifications. Indeed the adherents of the genuine Vedānta are called by him 'pseudo-Vedāntists' and 'masked Buddhists' (*vedāntī-bruva, pracchanna-bauddha*)."

Professor Garbe shows that, in order to bridge over the chasm between the Sāmkhya system and his own theism, Vijñānabhikṣu does away, in an ingenious but somewhat shameless manner, with one of the fundamental doctrines of the genuine Sāmkhya, which is the denial of God. Vijñānabhikṣu considers that this denial is only a concession to current views or a bold assertion; and he maintains, on the strength of a passage in the Padma Purāṇa, that the doctrine of atheism was promulgated in order to close to evil men the way to the knowledge of the truth. A theory more distinctively Indian is his view

\* *The Sāmkhya-Pravacana-Bhāshya*, or Commentary on the exposition of the Sāmkhya Philosophy by Vijñānabhikṣu, edited by Richard Garbe, Professor in the University of Königsberg, Prussia. Published by Harvard University; 1895.

"that the doctrine was set up merely to encourage among men an indifference to the attainment of the dignity of a god, on the ground that the belief in God and the desire to raise oneself in future existences to the dignity of a god would be, according to Sāṃkhya opinion, a hindrance to the practice of the 'discriminating understanding.'"

The reader who has the patience to follow Vijñānabhikṣu through the whole six chapters of this work will, we predict, consider him to be one of the most ingenious, if one of the most slippery, of disputants. In spite, however, of all his "false assumptions and errors" Professor Garbe considers that Vijñānabhikṣu's

"commentary on the Sāṃkhya Sūtras must be declared to be not only the fullest source that we have for a knowledge of the Sāṃkhya system, but also one of the most important of such sources."

Perhaps the most business-like chapter of the whole work is the sixth, in which the essential doctrines of the system are summed up. The easiest is, undoubtedly, the fourth. This consists of short stories, only briefly indicated in the Sūtras, of course, but set forth at sufficient length by the Commentator. We give one for the benefit of folk-lorists.

"This is the story of the female frog. A certain king, who had gone out hunting, saw a beautiful girl in the forest. He asked her to be his wife. But she made the following stipulation, 'If you show me water, I must leave you.' Once it happened that, being wearied with play, she said to the king, 'Where is some water?' The king, forgetting his agreement, pointed out to her some water. Then the girl, who was really the daughter of the king of the frogs, and could change her form at pleasure, entered the water. Then the king dragged the pond, and tried many other methods to recover her, but did not succeed."

We cannot take leave of the book without pointing out that, in addition to its typographical perfection, it possesses four most elaborate appendixes which will greatly add to its usefulness in the eyes of the serious student.

# SCHLEGEL'S "PARALLELISM IN CHINESE STYLE."\*

BY PROFESSOR J. LEGGE.

PROF. SCHLEGEL has, in this Work, rendered a most important service to Chinese philology, besides acting as a generous disciple towards a master, who, though never slow in self-defence, passed, fully 20 years ago, beyond the reach of controversy. We do not know if Prof. Schlegel ever sat at the feet of Julien; but he has carefully studied and learned much from all his writings and especially from his translations of Chinese books.

The most valuable of all Julien's translations is, in my opinion, that of the pilgrim Hsüan Chwang's narrative of his travels in the Western regions (Si-Yü Ki) published in Paris in 1857 under the title of "*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*." All subsequent Sinologists competent to judge the matter have acknowledged the correctness of Julien's version of the Chinese text. Here and there, an improvement might be effected in a phrase or a sentence, but, as a whole, it could hardly be altered for the better. Prof. Schlegel, however, deals only with the rendering of the short Preface which was composed in the reign of the well-known Emperor, Hsüan Tsung (A.D. 713-755), by Chang Yüeh, a distinguished Minister whose services, at some time, secured him the titular dignity of "Duke of Yen." The Note of authorship prefixed to the Preface is simply to this effect:

"Composed by Chang Yüeh [or Youeh, as Schlegel transliterates the Chinese character], President of a Board, and Poh-yeh of the Left, Duke of Yen." Julien, by mistake, calls the writer's name *Choue*, and translates Schlegel's Poh-yih simply by "ministre." What the office so denominated was, it is hard to say; but Schlegel's *yih* should be pronounced *yeh*. So we are told in the K'ang-hsi dictionary; and Mr. Giles, in his recent large dictionary, reads the two Chinese characters *p'u-yeh*, interpreting them as meaning "a Major-domo." So the brief Note remained till nearly the end of 1894, when Father A. Gueluy, of the Louvain Seminary of Missions to China and the Congo, published in the *Muséon* what he conceived to be a correct version of the whole Preface under the title of "A propos d'une Préface." There the Note was rendered:—"Prologue de Ien tchang, Duke of the Empire, Censeur des livres, Conducteur de gauche du char (de guerre)." I could hardly believe my eyes on reading this, and I was satisfied at once of the Father's incompetence to criticize any translation of Julien's, or even to attempt a version of any Chinese document beyond the most simple passages in a Novel. He contends, moreover, that the famous Pilgrim was a Tâoist, and finds a proof of this assertion in the clerical or monkish name of "Hsüan Chwang," given to "the doctor of the three

\* La loi du Parallélisme en style Chinois, démontrée par la Préface du *Si-Yü Ki*. La traduction de cette Préface par Stanislas Julien défendue contre la nouvelle traduction du Père A. Gueluy. Par Gustave Schlegel, Professeur de langue et de Littérature Chinoise à l'Université de Leide: E. J. Brill; Leide; 1896.

Pitakas," just as his pilgrim predecessor was denominated Fa-hsien,—“Illustrious master of the Law.” The Father certainly was no foeman worthy of Prof. Schlegel’s steel; and I have admired the patience of the latter in taking his version clause by clause, and exhibiting it side by side with that of Julien. He sometimes expresses himself strongly, indeed, on the ignorance and “fantastic” errors that abound in it; but he also acknowledges and calls attention to every instance where his “quarry” happens to be right. Does he himself fall into an error, when, evidently on the authority of the “Chinese Reader’s Manual,” he says that Chang Yüeh, “the statesman and scholar,” was “equally celebrated as a painter, and that this artistic quality has had its influence on his Preface?” There is a long memoir of the man in the fiftieth Book of the Biographies of the T’ang dynasty, where such a statement should be found, if it were a fact.

The greater part of Schlegel’s Treatise is occupied with an examination of the Chinese preface, character by character, to fix the real meaning of its different clauses, and to show, in so doing, what rule must be followed to arrive at the right understanding of such Texts. This rule he set forth in 1892 in his translation and discussion of “*La Stele Funéraire du T’eghin Giogh*,” where he formulated his law in these words:—

“When two phrases are parallel or in juxtaposition, the laws of Chinese style require that all their parts mutually correspond,—subject to subject, verb to verb, adjective to adjective, adverb to adverb, name of place to name of place, sign of the genitive to sign of the genitive, object to object,” etc.

This is Schlegel’s rule, and its correctness cannot be questioned. It is the most important addition yet made to the principle laid down in 1814 by Dr. Marshman, in the Preface to his *Clavis Sinica* (p. viii), that “the whole of Chinese Grammar turns on Position.” Julien, in his “*Syntaxe Nouvelle de la langue Chinoise, fondée sur la position des mots*, 1869” (the last work, I believe, that the great scholar wrote), says that

“this sentence of Marshman’s was to him as a beam of light which opened his eyes, and permitted him to commence, at the end of three months of study, his Latin translation of the Writings of Mencius.”

Still this discovery of Marshman and its appreciation by Julien were not followed up by students of Chinese as they might have been. One and another continued to write of “the Grammar of Chinese,” as if it were like the grammar of alphabetic languages. An able missionary like Dr. Mateer of T’ang-châu in his valuable “*Course of Mandarin Lessons, Based on Idiom*, 1892,” says:—

“Grammatical science has never been applied to the Chinese Language. There are of course principles of construction embedded in it, but they have never been developed and systematized.”

In a language where the words are written without letters; and whose characters are without inflection, “monosyllabic, indeclinable, and inconjugable,” as Julien calls them, nothing at all of what we call Grammar could be predicated or treated of. Through their versatility, the same character may perform the part of many, if not all, of our Parts of Speech,—now with a substantival, now with an adjectival, now with a verbal and other usages; but to call them nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, preposi-

tions, etc., always grates upon my ears and pains my eyes. And this is the only thing that has at all occasionally annoyed me in Prof. Schlegel's book. In itself it is a great advance in the analysis of Chinese composition from the pencils of the most skilful authors, and may be expected to give an important impulse to the study of the masterpieces of this literature.

Schlegel says that he has demonstrated the Law "for the first time," and that the greater part of Sinologists had never been aware of, or even suspected, it, as appears from their inexact translations. I freely accord to him the merit of his claim to have been the first clearly to formulate the rule; and yet I have known one and another who knew it well, even if they did not enunciate it formally. In illustration of this, here is a paragraph from the "*China Review*" of 1878, in an Introductory Notice about the Maxims or Precepts of what is called the K'ang-hsi "Sacred Edict." The writer says:

"Each of the sixteen maxims consists of seven characters, and they all present the same construction. There is no other language where, in good composition, sentences may be produced to such an extent, following one another as in a string, all containing the same number of characters or words, the individual characters and the phrases being symmetrically arranged and having a similar force, performing in their several places the same rôle."

But *revenons à nos moutons*,—to Chang Yüeh's Preface,—in the fresh elucidation and translation of which Prof. Schlegel has expended so much ability and research. Julien was well aware of the difficulty of dealing with the Preface:

"I have translated it," he says, "as faithfully as possible without flattering myself that I comprehended it from one end to the other. In reality, such compositions are the most difficult to translate, not so much from a grammatical point of view, as from that of their material and technical peculiarities."

To this Schlegel subjoins that "the writer of a Chinese Preface does not wish to be comprehended." In this there is, perhaps, some exaggeration; the meaning of a preface is intelligible enough to those whose reading has been as extensive as was that of the writer, but to ordinary readers it is hidden as a sealed book. To use the words of Mr. Giles, in reference to much abstruse writing, not in Prefaces only but in hundreds of Chinese Compositions:

"The meaning is so involved in quotations from, and allusions to, the poetry or history of the past 3,000 years, as to be recoverable only after diligent perusal of commentary and much searching in other works of reference."

To a foreign student pursuing such an investigation, the help of a thoroughly educated and extensively read Chinese teacher is as invaluable as the use of a large Library is indispensable. It is especially to the latter advantage that Schlegel is indebted for the success of his study of the Preface of Chang Yüeh, in his discovery of the mistakes made occasionally by Julien, and of the absurdities of Father Gueluy.

Among the aids which a large library affords, the chief is that derived from the *P'ei Wän Yün Fô*, the "Grand Thesaurus of Phraseologies," prepared by order of the K'ang-hsi Emperor, and first published in 1711. Mr. Wylie describes it as "probably the most extensive work of a Lexico-



graphical character ever published." To this Schlegel has had constant recourse, and he has consulted also other similar, though smaller, Encyclopædias. His labour must have been immense, and his success is proportionately great.

As translated and explained by him, the Preface obtains a new interest. Not only does it show the extent and profundity of Chang Yüeh's knowledge of the earlier Chinese literature, but the account which it gives of Hsüan Chwang's character and career,—from his youth till his return from his Indian travels and quest,—together with the distinction with which he was received by T'ai-Tsung, the second and greatest of the T'ang Emperors, sets him before us as a fine instance of a studious scholar, whom no difficulties could daunt and no flatteries spoil. The explanations of the recondite allusions and meanings throughout carry in themselves the best evidence of their correctness. I have paused for some time over several of them, but ended in accepting them: save in one case,—the former of the two parallel lines on p. 106, which our author interprets of Confucius. He does this very ingeniously; but he fails to substantiate his view. I cannot, however, myself suggest any better interpretation; and so I blame Chang Yüeh who wrote the line, more than Prof. Schlegel for the meaning which he forces out of it. What he says on the last line is also open to criticism. It is "*et mes pensées restent avec lui, ma foi!*" That the "*restent avec lui*" was derived from the words of Yü about *Kão-yáo* in the tenth paragraph of "The Counsels of the Great Yü" in the *Shü King*, there can be no doubt; but I fail to see how Prof. Schlegel could say of them, that "Chang Yüeh, in inserting cleverly the words from the *Shü King*, recommends Hsüan Chwang to the favour of the Emperor." But Hsüan Chwang and the Emperor with whom he had to do must have been dead well on to a century before the Preface was written. In the line Chang very naturally expresses his admiration of the man whose eulogy he had just written; and perhaps he was willing to lead the Emperor Hsüan-Tsung also to admire him, but we cannot suppose that he was recommending the deceased pilgrim to his favour. According to Schlegel's view also, Chang was "an *inveterate* Confucianist." He could admire the Buddhist scholar, but was not likely to follow him in his religion or to desire the Emperor to do so.

On the back of the last page of Prof. Schlegel's Publication is given the correction of two misprinted Chinese characters. Of such *errata* we apprehend there must be not a few:—two, more important, took our eye, though we were not looking for them:—the second character in line 13, p. 131, and the fourth character in line 17, p. 150. But such errors of the compositors are nothing more than oversights; and I conclude by repeating what I said at the beginning of this notice, that Prof. Schlegel's book renders a most important service to Chinese philology. I know of no Work that is likely to do so much good to students of the language. It is, indeed, a *liber perlegendus*.

Oxford, 26th February, 1896.

## QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

THE Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in 1891, introduced, among other new matters, the happy idea of preparing a general report on the progress made, between 1886 and 1891, over the whole of the wide field of Oriental studies; and the writer of these lines was charged with the task of arranging for the successful accomplishment of this scientific Inventory, if I may so term it. Summaries have, in consequence, been successively published in the following branches:—Arabic, Berber and Æthiopian by Prof. R. Basset,—Hebrew and Aramaic by Prof. E. Montet,—Egyptian and Coptic by Prof. E. Amélineau,—Assyriology by Dr. A. Lincke,—Sanskrit by Prof. G. Vasconcellos-Abreu,—Turkish by C. Huart,—Sinology by Prof. H. Cordier,—Indo-Chinese by E. Aymonier,—Malay by J. J. Meyer,—African Languages by G. de Guiraudon,—Polynesian by Dr. E. Schneider,—Comparative Philology by Dr. Ziemer,—Oriental Archæology by W. Simpson,—Indian Numismatics by V. A. Smith. Since these were written, however, the work, notwithstanding its evident utility, has not been continued.

I purpose to resume this work, interrupted since 1891, but only *in part*—confining myself to Semitic questions to which must be added the history of Oriental Religions in their relation with the Semitic East, and *only very briefly*—because, far from trying to exhaust the subject with a comprehensive review, I shall indicate solely the more important works that have come under my eyes and which I consider deserving of the notice of the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. It would require many specialists to produce a complete statement of the work done, month by month, even in the field of Semitic Studies. The *Orientalische Bibliographie*, indeed,—that valuable collection edited by Dr. L. Scherman and Prof. E. Kuhn of Munich,—gives us a complete list of all the publications—great and small, books, pamphlets and articles in Reviews—dealing with Semitic matters. Here, however, we do not want a mere list or catalogue, my object being to draw the attention of those interested in these studies to all publications regarding them which are in any respect whatsoever remarkable. As a matter of fact, during the last months of 1895 and the beginning of 1896, there is but a small number of such publications of importance.

Among the works treating of these subjects in general and embracing the whole of the Semitic languages and Literature, I must rank among the best the two volumes of Prof. H. Müller of Vienna, on the principles of Semitic poetry,\* where he treats of its fundamental laws in antiquity, as seen in the Bible, the Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Koran, and institutes ingenious comparisons with the Chorus of Greek tragedy. That the author has

\* Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form; 2 vols. in 8vo., Wien, 1896.

settled the question of the source and the internal construction of Biblical poetry, I will not venture to say, as the problem to be solved is most difficult and the subject has been so often closely studied and treated by many scholars deeply versed in such researches. In the Introduction of his book, Prof. Müller speaks with sincere enthusiasm of having made a discovery which he presents as a kind of revelation that came to him. Till now, the only peculiar characteristic noted in Hebrew poetry is the *parallelism* of thought and form in the members of which the verse consists,—a parallelism seen in varied and differing combinations, together with some other characteristics, such as an assonance which resembles a sort of rhyme. Prof. Müller believes he can go further and more into detail. He thinks that the fundamental law of ancient Semitic poetry, whether in the Koran, the Cuneiform Inscriptions or the Bible, is an arrangement in Strophes and Responses (Strophenbau und Responsion), such as he finds in some fragments of the Gospels and especially in the Strophe and Anti-Strophe of the Chorus in Greek tragedy. Both his volumes are but illustrations in proof of this thesis,—the first being chiefly filled with translations of Cuneiform, Arabic and Hebrew texts, arranged according to his system, with notes in support of his points and containing his theories, while the second gives the original texts, arranged in the same order. From the author's conscientious labours it is seen that the grouping of verses by Strophes lead to very varied results. If in some texts, the arrangement is regular and easily perceived, with the *crescendo* and the *diminuendo* quite visible, in other cases it is doubtful and the form of the *Responsion* is open to question. Briefly, while I hold Prof. Müller's work to be a very important contribution to the study of Parallelism in Hebrew and, in a more general way, in all ancient Semitic poetry, I question the title of *law*, given to this poetical construction or mode of composition; and it strikes me that there is, relatively, a great deal that is arbitrary in this kind of literary work, or, in other words, that there is a great want of rigorous exactness in its character.

The work of E. Niebuhr\* deals also with a general question—a difficult question, already often attempted. His very interesting book shows once more and most clearly, the already established fact that it is only by means of Assyriology that we can settle the chronology of the history of Israel.

As usual, the Old Testament is the subject of many works of various kinds, among which we note the following:

One of the languages in which the Bible is written has been the subject of a new work by Prof. Strack,† containing a grammar of the language, the Aramaic texts of the Bible, corrected according to 4 manuscripts and a vocabulary. Of the MSS. used by him, three belong to the Royal Berlin Library (one of them coming from the south of Arabia) and the fourth was the property of the late Joseph Derenbourg. The part which treats of grammar has a wealth of observations in its concise form, restricted to 24

\* Die Chronologie der Geschichte Israels, Aegyptens, Babylonien und Assyriens, von 2000 bis 700, vor J. C., 8vo., Leipzig, 1896.

† Abriss der biblischen aramäischen Grammatik, nach Handschriften berichteter Texte, Wörterbuch, 8vo., Leipzig, 1896.

pages ; and his very carefully edited correction of the text is a real progress, in advance of the excellent edition of these fragments by Baer.

The magnificent edition of "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament," a critical edition, printed in colours, under the editorship of Prof. P. Haupt, and the work of several most distinguished scholars, has recently issued some more numbers of great interest. The first, the Book of Psalms, by Prof. Wellhausen, is an edition of the Hebrew text of the Psalter which constitutes one of the best portions of this splendid Bible, showing clearly all the best qualities of the eminent Orientalist of Göttingen, and the next is the Book of Chronicles, by Prof. Kittel. These editions of the text will be of the utmost service to all students of the Sacred Texts, though it by no means follows that we can use them as the expression of the last word that science has to say on the matter. The editors sometimes seem to have become hypercritical,—to have suppressed, without sufficient reason, certain passages or relegated them to notes,—or to have reconstructed quite arbitrarily lines which appeared to have been changed. Such reefs, however, are difficult to avoid altogether in the reconstruction of such ancient texts as those of the Bible.

H. Winckler has collected together a number of articles written by him at various times.\* The subjects treated are :—the immigration of the Israelites into Palestine,—the Davidic idea of unity among the prophets and contemporary witnesses,—Jahvism and the prophets in relation to political life,—the origin and migration of the Semites,—the kingdom of Damascus and its relations with Israel,—a glance at the political destinies of the peoples and states of Palestine (Israel, Juda, Edom, Moab, Madian and Amalek, Ammon and the Philistines). In the preface, the author tries to excuse the form of his book by asserting that the history of Israel, owing to the want of sources of information, can deal only with isolated questions. We cannot protest too strongly against so gratuitous a statement. Doubtless our existing sources for the history of Israel are often scanty, as is indeed the case with all history of high antiquity and especially Eastern ; still they are quite sufficient to allow us to follow the destinies of Israel from their origin to the destruction of Jerusalem, and to trace their development. And what shall we say of this idea of the author, after so many scholars—e.g., Graetz, Renan, Stade and many others, to mention only recent ones—have actually written the history of Israel, in no fragmentary form but as a regular, consecutive and progressive statement of the evolution of the political, moral and religious destinies of Israel ?

Prof. Augustus Dillmann has left a posthumous work† recently edited by Prof. R. Kittel. I cannot, in the necessarily restricted limit of an article, give even a short analysis of a book as rich in the knowledge which is therein accumulated, as it is judicious in its interpretation of Biblical texts. It is divided into three parts : (a) the Introduction ; (b) the essentials and the general character of the Old Testament religion, with an account of its development ; (c) Biblical dogmatism,—on God, man and salvation ; and

\* *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, I. 8vo., Leipzig, 1895.

† *Handbuch der Alt-testamentlichen Theologie aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben*, 8vo., Leipzig, 1895.

under these general heads are classed all the religious ideas and notions of the Israel of the Bible. We find in this work of the lamented master all the scientific qualities which characterized his pregnant teaching as well as his special and, in part, questionable theories on the formation of the Hexateuch.

Before leaving the Old Testament, let me notice an interesting Dissertation presented in 1895 to the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Paris, by M. F. Macler, "On the Apocryphal Apocalypses of Daniel,"—a comparison of the Persian, Coptic, Armenian, and Greek texts, several of which are translated entire. Lastly, I note Fascicule viii (C-Carmel) of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," edited by the Abbé F. Vigouroux, which is of the greatest interest, especially from the archæological point of view—a work which does honour to the knowledge of theological science among French Catholics.

In the immense field of the history of Religions, I shall confine myself, this time, to mentioning the first Fasciculus of the 2d part of Prof. Tiele's history of ancient religions,"\*—a number of the greatest importance, dealing with the Avesta and Mazdaism. As the author had already stated, in 1894, in the "Revue de l'Histoire de Religions," he rejects the daring theories of Darmesteter and proves, as I think with good reasons, the relative antiquity of the Avesta and the religion it contains.

In conclusion, let me call attention to some interesting publications of the Beyrouth Press :—(a) "Commentaries on the Diwan of Al-Hansa," now first published, from 5 Arabic MSS., by Father L. Cheikho, 1895 ; and (b) "The Proverbs of Maidani, versified, with notes by Sheikh Ibrahim-al-Ahdab."

\* Geschiedenis van den Goldsdienst in de Oudheid tot op Alexander den Groote ; II., 1, 8vo., Amsterdam, 1895.

## CHAVANNES' "MÉMOIRES HISTORIQUES DE SE-MA-TS' IEN."\*

BY THE RIGHT REV. MONSEIGNEUR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.

Professor in the University of Louvain.

It is with sincere pleasure that I announce the appearance of the first part of this great work which the French Asiatic Society had entrusted to this young and learned professor of the Collège de France. The way in which he has executed the task shows that this learned body could not have made a better choice. All who are versed in historical studies know the importance of these *Mémoires* of Se-ma-ts'ien, the most ancient, as they are the most certain, source of Chinese history in antiquity. They are known for their extent and variety; for they contain, besides the history of the Chinese Empire and principalities, a whole collection of monographs on subjects of extreme interest. Prof. Chavannes gives us a translation, with notes which constitute quite a commentary; and the whole is preceded by an Introduction which is in itself quite an important work in philology, in which he treats successively, in good method and with correct erudition, the lives of the two editors of these *Mémoires*,—Se-ma-ts'ien and his father,—the condition of China at the time and its history,—the sources whence the *Mémoires* were derived,—and the critical and explanatory system of the work.

With the translation, of which I have compared quite two-thirds with the original, no fault can, in my opinion, be found. If I should myself have translated some passages somewhat differently, that simply shows that the ambiguity of the sense admits of two different interpretations: I do not specify any instances, for they would be interesting only to Sinologists.

On one important point, however, I cannot agree with the learned author:—regarding the nature of the god, Shang-ti, whom I cannot admit to be a mere personification of the material heaven or of the Polar star. I hold with Dr. Legge's view, which I consider unassailable; but I need not give here the reasons that prove its correctness, as I have already stated them several times elsewhere. It is, however, impossible to consider Shang-ti as anything else than a personal spiritual Being, superior to all others and without an equal in the world of spirits. Our disagreeing, however, on this abstract subject does not affect the value of our author's work. He very rightly avoids both absolute confidence in evidence which is by no means infallible and the scepticism which rejects everything, to the great loss of science and knowledge.

Several very useful Indices at the end of the volume facilitate reference. It only remains for me to congratulate this young professor on his brilliant beginning, and to express my hope that he may have long life to complete this work so well begun, and many another one likewise.

\* *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma-ts'ien*, traduits et annotés par Edouard Chavannes. Tome Premier. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, Rue Bonaparte; 1895.

ELEVENTH REVIEW ON THE  
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

BUDDHIST SUTTAS, TRANSLATED FROM THE PÁLI BY  
 T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

(VOL. XI.)

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

ALTHOUGH fifteen years have passed since this admirable selection of Buddhist texts was published, a brief note on it will be found useful at the present time, not only on account of its intrinsic excellence, but as illustrating the wideness of the field covered by Prof. Max Müller's now famous Series, and the sound discrimination exercised in the choice of truly representative works. This latter quality is especially called for in respect of Buddhism; for the Scriptures of that creed are so voluminous that an ordinary life-time would hardly be long enough for the study of them all. Muratori, or the interminable Guicciardini, or Hansard, or the Mahábhárata, or even—to rise to the highest flight—the Dictionary of National Biography when completed, would seem brief and slight beside the vast bulk of the Pitakas. Life in Europe is too short and too hurried for such colossal study. For that singular but very obtrusive creation of modern times, the general reader, whose appetite for what he considers to be knowledge is like that of the daughters of the horse-leech (whom also he resembles in the manner in which he disposes of what he swallows), somewhat condensed information, prepared after the fashion of the German soldiers' *Erbsteuurst*, or Brand's concentrated essence—a leg of mutton boiled down to a teaspoonful of jelly—is required. Under these circumstances it is at least advisable that the material should be of the highest quality and prepared by the most skilful hands. Such a work, in one sense at least, is that now under consideration. Not that there is in it any mere superficial treatment or attempt at "popularizing" the subject. On the contrary the texts are old and genuine, they are translated with the ability for which the name alone of the eminent translator is a sufficient guarantee, while the introduction and notes supply all the information necessary to their perfect comprehension. But, to quote the introduction, an endeavour has been made—and most successfully made—"to bring together in one volume a collection of texts which should be as complete a sample as one volume could afford of what the Buddhist Scriptures, on the whole, contain." There are seven of these texts. The first and longest is the "Book of the Great Decease," an early and interesting account of the death of the Buddha, due apparently to dysentery brought on by eating pork (!). Then the "Turning of the Wheel of the Law," or as Professor Davids prefers to call it "the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness," a translation which to many European readers will seem objectionable, because it

employs, in a different connexion, phrases which have acquired a sanctity from association with Christianity. The subject of this text is the teaching of the Buddha at Benares, containing the essence of his religion :—the noble eight-fold Path, and the four noble Truths. It is followed by a discussion on the “Three Vedas,” which led to the conversion of certain Bráhmans through an exposure of the errors of Hinduism ; and by the curious tractate entitled “If he should desire”—which contemplates, if it does not affirm, the possibility of acquirement of miraculous powers by dint of solitary contemplation. The treatise on “Barrenness and Bondage,” which comes next, deals with the ten fetters, which according to the Buddhist doctrine, must be broken by the disciple before he can attain to sanctity or the degree of an Arahāt. The legend of the “Great King of Glory” with his wealth and splendour and how it all passed away, is a singular Buddhist adaptation of a sun-myth, very similar to the Sukhāvātī-vyūha mentioned in a previous number of this Journal.\* The selection is closed by a discourse on the *Āsava*s, a word for which it is difficult to find an exact equivalent in English. Its general meaning may, however, be pretty accurately inferred from the various terms suggested by the learned editor. These are “sin, fault, imperfection, stain, evil”—none of which quite corresponds to the exact meaning. Perhaps “wrong tendencies” or “evil influences” might, with reference to the derivation from a root meaning “to flow,” be nearer the mark.

Taken together these seven treatises exhibit a fairly clear and comprehensive compendium of Buddhist doctrine in its earlier and purer type. Only two of them,—the fourth and sixth,—are at all tainted with Mahāyāna extravagances, and even they are so only to a comparatively slight extent.

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THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS,

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

EDITED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY, CHULĀLANKARANA,  
KING OF SIAM.

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VOL. I.

THE JĀTAKA MĀLĀ BY ĀRYA ŚŪRA,

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT BY J. S. SPEYER.

THIS is the first volume of a proposed new Series of translations of Buddhist religious works, undertaken at the expense apparently of H.M. the King of Siam, and edited by Prof. Max Müller. The object of the Series is “to spread a more correct knowledge of the religion of Buddha”; and it is proposed to publish three volumes of the Series : after that, “it will mainly depend on the interest which the public may take in this work whether it can be continued or not.” The selection of the Jātaka mālā of Ārya Śūra does not seem a very happy one. The original and probably only authentic text of the Jātakas exists in Pali and has already been edited by Dr. Faus-

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October 1894, p. 404.



böll, while a translation of it is now being brought out at Cambridge, under the editorship of Professor Cowell: two parts, or 300 tales, have already been issued. Of the 550 stories which, according to ancient tradition, were contained in the original work, thirty-four only are included in the present work, which is translated from the Sanskrit text of Ārya Śūra, edited and published in 1891 by Professor Kern. It is the version used by the Northern Buddhists. Ārya Śūra's rendering of these tales is highly ornate and artificial, consisting partly of elaborate verse, partly of flowery prose,—far less attractive to the European mind than the simple directness of the plain, unadorned Pali version. Each story is duly provided with a moral which is noted at the end, with instructions as to the occasions on which it can appropriately be addressed. For instance, at the end of story xxviii it is remarked: "This is to be said when discoursing on the virtue of forbearance, taking the Muni for example. On account of the vices of rashness and wrath, taking the King for example, this story is also to be told, and when expounding the miserable consequences of sensual pleasures saying 'in this manner sensual pleasures lead a man to become addicted to wicked behaviour which brings him into ruin.' It may also be told with the object of showing the inconstancy of material prosperity." The tales are translated into excellent English and the notes and introduction are copious and comprehensive. At the end there is a synoptical table showing the correspondence between the stanzas of the work and the verses of the Pali Jātaka, which will be useful to those who wish to compare the two. For it is evident that Śūra's stories, if not in every case directly translated from the Pali, were taken "from the old and traditional store of Jātaka tales" common both to Northern and Southern Buddhism. They thus have occasionally a critical value in assisting in the interpretation and restoration of the older collection. Beyond this, however, it does not seem probable that they will be found particularly valuable to the student or attractive to the general public, particularly when it is remembered that the "Sacred Books of the East" Series already contains a large and fairly representative selection of genuine Buddhist texts, and that there are numerous works in existence (such as Hardy's "Eastern Monarchism," Oldenberg's "Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde") from which a full and clear idea of the tenets of Buddhism may be obtained.

For facility of reference we propose to publish at the end of some of our quarterly reviews of one or more of "The Sacred Books of the East" Series, a complete list of them, brought up to date, which we hope our readers and Oriental scholars generally will consider to be a useful addition. The Series now stands as follows (1st April, 1896):

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## JAPANESE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

BY B. H. BADEN-POWEL, C.I.E.

THE belief that "village communities" observed in various countries, are in general to be regarded as survivals of an archaic "community" or "collective ownership" of land, and that individual property has only slowly developed out of this ownership in common, is one that has curiously taken hold on the minds of many. Its effect has been such as insensibly to colour the translation of documents used in evidence. Meanings have been given to terms, which in the absence of any such influence, they would never have been thought to bear. Wherever there was any appearance of a clan or a group of families holding land in any kind of union, it was taken for granted that there was "common ownership" of the soil. I am not urging that the whole theory is wrong, still less that there may not be a true kind of union in early land-ownership which is however unconnected with any communistic or socialistic ideas: but the nature of the "common ownership" has never been determined: it is always assumed as a known thing. Naturally enough, the time came when a reaction set in; and students—such as the late M. Fustel de Coulanges—set themselves to re-examine the documentary evidence as regards European tenures; and they obtained quite different results. The phenomena observed in different countries also proved at least fairly capable of receiving a different explanation. Then too there was the case of the Indian village communities; and by confining attention to those of Northern India, and ignoring the whole bulk of villages in Bombay, Madras, Central India, Bengal and Assam, it was supposed that we could here establish a distinct survival of archaic community in land. There was indeed some ground for this supposition, because (without going into any detail) it is true that a number of villages exist which are owned by joint-bodies (in some cases, undivided bodies)—the result of the custom of joint inheritance and the "family" idea of property: and there are others (in reality quite distinct) in which a tribal or clan connection exists, which might also be mistaken for a right "in common." It is not my object however to discuss the Indian village, but rather to show by another little known history, how possible it is that a "community" of agricultural land holders may exist and that there may be a certain co-operative action in a village-area, and a good deal of joint responsibility may be recognised which nevertheless may have nothing to do with any supposed archaic collective ownership. Such examples are useful as warnings to theorists; and they are not without interest in themselves, especially when they come from such a country as Japan, and when the evidence relates to a state of things fast passing away into the shadows of the bygone ages. The "*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*" are little known in this country; and it seems worth while to call attention to the inquiries made by Dr. D. B. Simmons, who himself has passed away, but who during his life in Japan made a curious study of the old village system in

that country. Unfortunately he never worked up his materials into a whole, but left them in the form of a mass of separate notes.

In 1891, Mr. J. H. Wigmore printed in the Japan Asiatic Society's Journal\* a collection of Dr. Simmons' notes with a summary of his own. The present paper merely aims at giving a brief outline of the most important features of the Japanese system in its several varieties as thus originally described by Dr. Simmons. I think the subject itself, apart from any bearing on theories of ownership, is worthy of treatment; but even regarding it as having such a bearing, since the account comes from one who thought the Japanese form to be parallel to that of (Upper) India, it is certainly not liable to the reproach that (in so far as is against the theory of collective ownership) it is that of a witness already hostile to such a belief.

After quoting the late Sir H. S. Maine on the importance of the "discovery and recognition of the village communities of India" Dr. Simmons "admits with no small satisfaction that he discovered, the village communities of Sir H. S. Maine to exist in Japan." The Editor (Mr. Wigmore) however, warns the reader that the parallel is not exact, and so indeed it appears.

It will be remembered that land holding began in Japan as elsewhere in a distinctly tribal stage of society; and afterwards there arose an ever growing class of chiefs and "lords of the manor" who altered not a little these original institutions.

That anciently there was a local distribution of the clans into small groups there can hardly be a doubt. The village-area or *mura* is a well known aggregate. And doubtless here as well as in India, it indicated the area of lands held by a group of families within the clan, which for some reason or another was separated from other similar groups. So much is clear as regards the village area, that there were allotments made to the members of the clan and that the lots were not in one piece, but in small patches scattered about; and if we may judge by the analogy of Indian cases where the cause of a precisely similar arrangement is well known, we can hardly doubt that it was to secure each lot being as nearly equal in value or advantages as might be. Otherwise a certain number of the members would have had all their allotments in good land, and all the others in bad or indifferent soil. As to what the precise nature of the allotment was, there is now much difficulty in determining. Dr. Simmons' account is rather inferred by him than based on quoted authority; and the figures as they appear in his notes are not always consistent. The plausible statement that there was a standard unit of 10 *tan* = 1 *chō* = 2.4507 acres, and that every holding was made up of fractions or multiples of this, appears not to be tenable. But from the distinct provisions on the subject in the Code *Taiho-ryō* (published 702 A.D.) (before the system of "lords of the manor" began in the 9th and 10th century A.D.) it is clear that the "idea of a lot for every individual was a still surviving one. This system in fact was known as the *Ku-bun-den* or "mouth-share-land"; and it

\* Vol. xix. Part 1 (March, 1891). It is to this that the page references subsequently given apply.

exactly recalls the *Khulā-vesh* or mouth shares (or allotment *per capita*) observed among the tribes on the N. W. frontier of the Panjab.\* It was at first accompanied by a periodical redistribution of lots, doubtless chiefly intended to remedy the inequalities of value which would exist in spite of the efforts to equalize the lots by assorting the soils of which they were made up. But by the time of the Code another object is declared for the exchange. "A piece of land" says the Code "shall be given to each person in the district where he lives. . . . Every six years an examination will take place and the number of those who have died will be ascertained. Their land will then be given to those who have reached the proper age or who have immigrated since the last distribution. Every male of 5 years of age or over, is to receive 2 *tan*, and each female of that age one-third of the amount." Slaves belonging to family were counted (for the purpose of reckoning the lots) as members. The system seems to have lasted some time after the Code, as various proclamations relating to it are on record ; but it died out after the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. This was the period when local chiefs began to assume powers. Soon too fresh conquests of territory were made, and a system of military and official grants began : the cultivation of new waste (*Shin-den*) was encouraged, by exemption from taxation ; and rich men began to aggregate lands in their possession, while the poorer gave up the ownership and were reduced to being tenants, because they found the rent they had to pay was less than the Government taxes which fell on the owner—and the noble owner was usually exempt from paying anything. The temples too began to receive large endowments, the owners finding it profitable to record themselves as having given their land to the temple and retaining possession as tenants subject to a *chishi* or rent in kind.

But I must return to the *Ku-bun-den*, noting first Mr. Wigmore's remarks : —"We cannot help feeling that in the epoch before the seventh century where records are not plentiful, the system of allotment was in full force ; and that the *Taiho* legislation was merely a strong effort to preserve from dissolution a system against which circumstances were too powerful."

The counting up of separate lots, was merely the means by which the actual extent of land for each *family* was ascertained. Thus if a "family" consisted of five (say three males and two females) the whole holding would be (on the *Taiho* Code rule) 8 *tan*, i.e., 6 for the males + 2 for the females. But unfortunately we are much in the dark as to what constituted a "family," and it may have varied at different periods or stages of social development. Possibly it may be that when the system began, the "family" embraced the whole number of relatives directly connected with the eldest living ancestor. But however the "family" was constituted, there was no such thing as joint family property, nor sharing of profits : the head of the family, or the heir, (the eldest son) held it all, and was responsible for everything.

\* The tribal villages on the frontier, it must be remembered, are officially included in the general class of "joint-village" to which the N. W. Revenue System is applicable ; but in reality they form a group apart and have nothing really to do with the "*pattidār-ī*," etc., of official classification.

Each of the different holdings had its own name (and so was denominated "name-land") usually that of the first clearer or original occupant; and the name was retained ever afterwards.

The gradual lapse of the system of periodical redistribution, aided by other circumstances, soon caused the family holdings to be very unequal,—even while the principle of *per capita* allotments was acknowledged; for families would not give up the lots that properly lapsed on the death of a member; or they would invent fictitious names, or even hold without any disguise at all.

It is curious that originally the family land was regarded as inalienable: indeed in the 17th century (if not before) a law expressly prohibited the sale of holdings, on the ground that "otherwise a merchant, rich farmer or other person, might become possessor of a whole district, and thus be able to defy the government and sow the seeds of disturbance."\*

All the "name lands" were originally carefully recorded in registers and shown on a rude kind of map. They were also measured by the very primitive device of setting up stakes from point to point round the boundary, and then extending a rope made of straw all round the stakes.

The *mura* or village composed of the holdings of a certain number of families, had a central (or at any rate a more or less aggregated) group of dwelling houses. At one time a limit of fifty houses (and therefore of fifty holdings) was fixed by law; but in fact the size was variable.

Then as to the organization of these associated families: at first they lived under a system known as *gonin-gumi*. The resident families were made up into groups or companies called *kumi*, each containing five (sometimes more) households. Each *kumi* had its own headman (seal-bearer or *go-chō*). His seal was in general necessary to validate any bond, mortgage etc. And as a rule, the *kumi* was jointly (as a body) "responsible for the defaults of its members and even of their wives children and servants."† Over this organization there was what I can only call a series of presidents, or headmen of the whole *mura*: they do not appear to have had distinctive functions, as one for accounts, one for police and so on. First there was the *nanushi* (locally called *shōya*): he was recognised by the Government; and was held responsible for the good conduct of the village and for the payment of taxes. He was representative of the village in dealings with the authorities, and was patriarch or chief in "matters of local autonomy." The office was originally hereditary and belonged to the oldest and most respected family in the *mura*. But there was some indica-

\* Page 74. An interesting footnote suggests that the prohibition of sale was introduced when the nobles had reduced the people to something like serfdom, and made them "glebe-ascripti"—sale was then out of the question.

† At page 97 of the *Journal* is an interesting description of the origin of this grouping, which is not certain. [It is curious to compare it with the groups of *Pāik* which the old Ahom rulers enforced in Assam; and it is not unlike the *Khel* groups in Kāchār villages, only that in the latter case, the responsibility of the groups was probably voluntarily assumed as a means of defence against rapacious land-officials.] Dr. Simmons remarks that in China and Korea there exists (or once existed) a grouping of towns and villages into fives, each bound to furnish one soldier for the army. Dr. Simmons thinks that in any case the grouping originated with the rulers either as a means of getting a complement of men for military service, or for securing order and good conduct.

tion of an elective element in the appointment (as there usually is in such cases for the "heir" may be incapable). Since the 18th century election has become the rule. The salary is paid by Government partly by direct payment; partly by an exemption from some of the village taxes. In some cases a plot of land is set apart so that the State Revenue due on it may cover the salary. The rate varies with the size of the *mura*, and its assessment which is calculated in a certain number of measures of rice.\* This official headman much resembles the old "Pātēl" of a Central Indian village, who had a plot of land set apart for his *ex officio* holding (there is reason to think this a Dravidian institution). Nothing of the kind properly existed in the North-Indian joint-village; the headman of which is a Government officer added in late times for revenue and administrative purposes. The co-sharing proprietary body were too jealously equal among themselves to have (as a natural custom) allowed any one of their number to exalt himself as a real chief. In Japan the headman has a real and ancient position; though it may be suggested that the *most* ancient is the *toshiyori* presently mentioned, who evidently represents the old *tribal* authority.

The *nanushi* might have one or more deputies or assistants; the latter were chosen by the "seal-bearers" of *kumis* above mentioned.

Besides the *nanushi*, there was a sort of unpaid "elder" (called *Toshiyori*) "whose advice was of moral rather than legal effect": he was chosen by the people: but his position was one of much dignity. Nor did the series stop here: as all the people in the village were not landowners or cultivators, the agriculturists (as such) had a specially elected and unpaid representative, whose important function was to watch the assessment of the village as made by the *nanushi*, and object if he thought the demand excessive. Even so the farmers were not represented enough; the largest and richest of them was recognised as *Hyakushō-dai*; and he "assisted" at all elections in the *mura*.

No definite information was given by Dr. Simmons as to whether there was a fixed resident staff of artisans and menials as in (every form of) the Indian village. The editor of these notes thinks there was, and that there was some indication of their being allowed a certain exemption from village taxes.

It is interesting to observe that just as in the old Dravidian villages in S.W. Bengal, the "original settler" families were privileged and always furnished the village officers, so in Japan, the descendants of the first soil-clearers of the village were pre-eminent, and usually furnished the *nanushi* or headman above described. One point does not seem to have its counterpart in India. (The Japanese landholders are not merely in different relations as in a Panjāb village, where one set represent the "khātē-dār" (co-sharers in the estate) and the other the tenants (with or without occupancy rights or other privileges) and where possibly there may be an "alā māhk" or person† who has acquired certain overlord rights

\* The assessment was paid in rice. Each holding was reckoned as in one or other of four classes,—good, bad, etc., and an average produce in rice estimated. The Government fixed the share that it took, which was sometimes as much as one half.

† Or a whole class of persons all descendants of one ancestor.

over even the co-sharers or direct proprietors. In Japan we have original founders-kin ; other owners ; persons who rent land but are not owners ; owners of large holdings ; owners of small ; owners who have had a sort of "agrarian nobility" conferred on them, and so on ; but there is no subordination of one whole group to the other—as of a class of tenants to a class of co-sharing proprietors *of the whole village*.\*

One matter connected with village management appears to have been more strictly controlled in Japan than in India. I allude to the common expenditure of the village-body on festivals, entertaining strangers, repairing public buildings, etc. In old times the pātel of the raiyatwari villages used to expend what he pleased, and levy a "cess" all round to recoup himself, often making a large (unauthorised) profit in this way. In the joint-village of North India, the village expenditure (called *malba*) is incurred by the headmen, who afterwards submit their expenditure to a sort of audit by the village assembly, and doubtful items may be refused. But in Japan, an estimate was made out beforehand, in writing, by the village officers, and laid before the farmers ; if agreed to by the majority, the estimate became binding and could not be exceeded. Owing to the *kumi* system above noticed, there was an exceptionally strong spirit of co-operation. If one of the villagers fell sick "the members of his *kumi* gave him all possible assistance and cultivated his land for him if necessary. But if this continued and the burden became too great" the headmen were appealed to, the matter was represented to the villagers at large, and they all contributed. "Whenever a farmer built or repaired his house, his fellow-villagers joined in and helped him : the beneficiary supplied food, but gave no payment to anyone but the carpenters employed. If he were very poor, even the carpenter was paid out of a village-fund—a sort of provident fund established for such purposes as well as to give relief in emergencies such as plague, fire, etc.

The paper contains other details about the judicial cognizance of civil disputes, and about local taxation ; but none of them bear on the question of any indication of communal or collective ownership of the land in the *mura*. I find it stated that if a man abandoned his holding, the rest of his family, or in default of that, his *kumi*, worked the land : ultimately if he did not return, the land fell to the whole *mura* ; and it appears that they worked it by letting out to tenants or renters, and after paying the Government taxes, took the surplus for the village fund. Such land was "common" to the whole *mura* and there were sometimes plots of swamp and other such lands reclaimed by the common exertion (*shin-den*) ; the temple lands were "common" in the sense that the proceeds did not go to any individual ; and there was the waste and grazing land, which in the nature of things, belonged to the whole body, and would have been rendered useless by partition. Sometimes it was enjoyed jointly by two or more adjacent *mura*. No one could appropriate a piece of the waste for extension of his cultivation, without the permission of the *mura* ; and if it was thought desirable to sell a plot, the village was assembled (the *nanushi*

\* Mr. Wigmore's remark at p. 170, I think proceeds from his not quite knowing about the Panjab village.



presiding) to give consent: in that case the sale price was paid over to "the Government bankers" to be used for paying village taxes.

The separate families—each of which had its separate larger or smaller holding—seem to have been sometimes like "house-communions." A large group would often be collected; "sons and daughters for several generations living under the same roof . . . ." But "there was no joint ownership nor sharing of profits." The father or after him the heir, received all, paid all, and was responsible for all." Many small *mura* consisted of a few households all bearing the same patronymic. In others, there were three or four family names.

It seems clear that originally the *mur*as must have been aggregated or separated out of the clan whose general location was in the same district; a variety of circumstances tending to make families entirely distinct, or else three or four (having some special connection) to settle in one spot together. The stage of society in which property is regarded as the right of the whole family (the house-father merely *representing* the whole for his life), such as we see among Hindus, is a stage in which the tribal or clan bond has been forgotten and only the *immediate* family—i.e., descendants from the eldest living direct ancestor (or some similar confining limit) cohere. It is probably an earlier stage (as pointed out by Dr. Seeböhm in his "*Tribal system in Wales*") in which the idea is that the whole clan is a unit, and that every member has a right to a maintenance-plot or share in the land (waste and arable) acquired by conquest or first settlement of the clan. Then *the member of the clan*—as such and in his clan grade and place—is the owner; and as he marries and becomes the centre of a household extending to grandsons, *he* is still the sole owner, and the descendants have their own shares as members of the clan, not as co-sharers in the *father's* estate. It is only after he dies that they divide that estate among them.

In Japan, the eldest son receives the homestead and half the holding: the rest may be divided among the other sons: daughters have no share, unless there is no son, when a daughter will be married to some person of the parents' choice, and the pair will take the homestead,—in fact succeed as an eldest son would.

All this is quite unlike the joint-village of Upper India, where all the *khātedār* or co-sharers are really or theoretically descendants of one original founder of the whole village; and where, though the shares may be partitioned, the "village" remains in some sense a unit, and the government dues are assessed in one sum for which the whole body is jointly liable,—they distributing the burden of it among themselves according to their own rules and constitution. In Japan, every house-father's holding has its separate assessment; and it was the *kumi* arrangement that brought into action the joint obligation of a group to make good any default.

It does not appear that there was ever any communal ownership of land, but rather a survival of many features of a *tribal* stage in which the co-operation necessary for tribal existence is acknowledged, and the right of every tribesman to have a maintenance. The retaining of grazing lands undivided, may and does, happen, where no sense of common right in

other property exists: it is mere matter of convenience. Even the voluntary reclamation (by united labour) of a plot for the benefit of a common-fund does not imply any general community of land. It must not be forgotten, that these joint arrangements like the *kumi*, though the *possibility of working and maintaining* them may depend on the survival of a sense of *clan* or tribal union, are nevertheless often imposed from the outside, by governments or local chiefs, as the best means of securing their own objects. Moreover such association, naturally adapted to the social stage attained by the people, had also a soon-perceived effect in enabling the associates to resist oppression on the part of "feudal" and "manorial" over-lords.\* For all these earlier tribal institutions in Japan, did not prevent the growth of a class who were soon in a position to exercise a good deal of tyranny and to make their own rights larger at the expense of the peasantry.

There is no doubt a similarity between the history of Japan and of India, in this general fact, that we have independent cultivating groups, and then the rise of over-lords—whether over single villages or larger estates; but the course of development was different, and the stages of society as regards the survival of *tribal* bonds of union, different also. An instructive parallel may one day be drawn out: at present we want more information about the tribal element in Japan and the nature of the family, to make it possible.

\* At page 170, Mr. Wigmore has some good remarks. "We must draw too," he says, "a distinction, here as elsewhere, between earlier communal customs arising from family, house-community, or tribal life, and later ones arising from the existence of a superior authority, i.e., from the corporate responsibility imposed by the manorial or feudal lord upon the communities of cultivators." The whole passage is worth reading, but it is too long to extract.

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER INDIA.

By R. N. CUST, LL.D.

ABOUT thirty-five years ago out in camp in the Panjab, I was describing to the late Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieut.-Governor of the Panjab the kind of life, which some retired old Indians led in England between meals at their Club and their lodgings, a call on their tailors, a snooze and a visit to a friend. It seemed to me, who had seen it while on furlough that to die in India was better. Sir Robert, just about to leave India, seemed to agree, and remarked; that *he* too should not know how to get through the day, if there were no Chuprassey to bring his box of papers from the Secretariat for disposal. An old Military Bachelor, who was present, remarked, that when he got home, he should marry and keep a cow. Another on his retirement proposed to patent a machine for blacking shoes with a rotatory brush and did so.

Many talk about great projects when they get back to England or babble about green fields, and end in filling a space in an Indian Cemetery. An old friend *per contra* took his pension and left India in 1844, after serving 25 years: we called him "an old fellow" even then, but he lived for fifty years after, and died in 1894 having drawn a Pension amounting to £50,000. This instance, were it typical, would speak volumes for the climate of India, but would make one despair for the Finances of that country for fifty such retired Civilians, or Soldiers, would alone cost two and a half Millions Sterling.

Is there a "tertium quid"? If Life be spared, is its residue to be given to hunting, fishing, card playing, loafing about town? Has the retired Anglo-Indian official no *duty*? It seems to me that, grateful for having got home with a competence, when so many have remained behind, he ought in his own way to give England the benefit of his Indian experience, and to do all the good he could before his course be run, whether he be appreciated or not.

The age of such a man is generally about fifty: he has been accustomed from his youth to public affairs, military, civil, or commercial: he has had to make up his mind, and even to record a practical opinion in a given space of time, and this is just what his contemporary at the public school, the Parson, the Squire, the Gentleman at large, cannot do: anything so hopeless as a Committee, made up of such material, can scarcely be imagined: they argue incoherently, and at great length: when down comes the Anglo-Indian, who has learnt to economize time: he may be right, or wrong, but he brings matters to an issue, and a decision is recorded.

The Anglo-Indian has, no doubt, great disadvantages, which it takes years to get over. He has lost touch with England and her literature: whatever subject, to which he intends to devote himself, he has much to read in order to come up to the level of those at home: if he does not recognise this fact, he will always remain a quarter of a century—the length of his Indian service—behind the age. His topographical knowledge of Great Britain and Ireland is still more likely to be defective: He may tell

you all about Peshawar, Benares, Rajputana, Tinnevely, or Bombay, as the case may be, but of the manufactures of Lancashire, of the Cathedrals of Great Britain, of the Lakes and Islands of Scotland, of the beauty and the sorrows of Ireland, he knows little or nothing: Let him, therefore, during his first two years traverse these islands from Land's End to Johnny Grote's house, as a Student, acquaint himself with the industries of his own country, attend sittings of the Houses of Parliament, visit the great Seaports, the great American Steamers, the Military Cantonments, the Courts of Justice, the Universities, the Museums, the Galleries, the places of worship, and thus cease to be a foreigner in his own country: the daily study of the *Times* will make a new creature of him.

Then comes the time for annual foreign tours: in each year at least eight weeks should be devoted to a careful visit to a different part of Europe, North Africa, or Eastern Asia in its entirety: the thoughtful reading of competent authorities thereon should precede, a notebook should accompany, and a Journal should crown each Annual tour. One year will see our friend at the North Cape, the next at the 1st Cataract in Egypt: a third at Morocco, the following year in Greece, on the Caucasus, and all over Russia: one Season may be devoted to Italy, or Spain, or Palestine, or a run to the Caspian Sea: a good temper, a civil tongue, a pleasant smile, a working knowledge of the great Vernaculars of Europe, and of Arabic, will always secure to him a welcome and information, and leave a friend in every place which he traverses: he will thus shake off all Chauvinism: to him there will be neither Jew nor Gentile: he will find that a Turk is not a bad companion, a Romish Priest an accomplished fellow traveller, an Arab a good fellow, and a Russian one of the most obliging of men: Life and reality will be given to his books of Travel: Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Carthage, the Pyramids, Mt. Caucasus, Kief, Moscow, the fiords of Norway will ever rise up before him, in grateful memories.

INDIA, the land of his adoption, will and should, however, occupy the first place in his thoughts: his visits to Mahometan countries, and inspection of European systems of administrations, the tyranny of the Police, the venality of officials, the systems of universal conscription, the deportations to Siberia, the prohibition of public meetings, of public worship, or of an outspoken Press, the demand for passports, will favourably recall British India, with its freedom of the Press, of the right of assembly, of agriculture and commerce, of locomotion, its absence of forcible conscription, its liberty of all Religions, and the fact that there is not a single political prisoner out of a population of 285 Millions.

If any one attempts to injure the people of India, whether under the pressure of the Lancashire Millowners, the anti-opium fanatics, the Committee of Female Faddists, the unsympathising India Office, or the ill-judging Christian Missionaries, the Anglo-Indian will be ready to stand up for the rights of the dusky subjects of Her Majesty, and for the maintenance of Her Majesty's Proclamation, on the Platform, in the Press, and on deputations to the Authorities. The Anglo-Indian does not, like an ordinary Englishman, look at India through the small end of a telescope: to him many of her people are known to be good and accomplished men,

nor like the travelling M.P. is he likely to be misled by the English-speaking native, whose acquaintance he makes on a Railway Platform, with ridiculous stories, which on his return home he deals out to English audiences with all the air of a Prophet just come down from the mountain.

To many Anglo-Indians one of the first duties will be to assist the MISSIONS, sent out by the different Nations of Europe to try and win the people of India from Polytheism; with this comes the desire to disseminate copies of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in their native languages, and other useful religious and educational Vernacular literature. This benevolent enterprise, though often prejudiced by the sensationalism of some of its supporters, gains when influenced by a steady middle-aged Anglo-Indian, who knows the people, their languages, and aspirations. Another object of Anglo-Indian interest is "the Asiatic Strangers' Home," where natives of Asia, turned adrift from ships at the end of their voyage, are housed, and saved from being plundered and otherwise ruined.

SCIENCE comes next: the study of the RELIGIONS of the non-Christian world has a special attraction for the Anglo-Indian; the publication by the India Office of the magnificent Series of the "Sacred Books of the East" has been even to him a revelation: the subject has to be approached in a calm and sympathetic spirit, and to an Anglo-Indian, who has seen so many temples, Brahmins, Bathing-Ghats, Pilgrims, Fakirs, and Processions of Idolatrous worship, it is of intense interest to find out the origin of these remarkable sights. In Buddhism and Confucianism, we arrive at a high conception of moral excellence, although atheistic systems. They have existed more than 2,500 years, and still occupy a large proportion of the population of the world. In Mahometanism we come on the latest of Human Conceptions a pure Monotheism.

ARCHÆOLOGY follows, and is, indeed, suggested by the former study; in India, Egypt and Mesopotamia revelations of Monuments, tombs, temples, obelisks, pyramids, Inscriptions and Papyri, pass the wildest dreams of enquirers at the beginning of this century. The knowledge of these things, when they were comparatively young (say 2,000 years ago) escaped the ken of the Greeks and Romans, great as were their acquirements, they had not arrived at that degree of critical acumen, which is the feature of the Scientist of modern times. The subject of Indian Archæology alone would furnish a sufficient study for the evening of a long and busy official life, slightly embittered by the regret, that attention was not paid to them years ago, when eyes could actually have seen what they now only read in description of others.

The mention of Inscriptions, Stelæ, Papyri, burnt graven bricks, and Manuscripts on vellum or the talipot-Palm, brings us to that great factor of Human existence: Language, as forming the link of communication of man with man: Religion is the other factor by which Man thinks that he obtains access to God, illustrating the three-fold feature of Mortal environment: "SELF—the WORLD—GOD."

The excavated record of dead Religions like the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Hittite, Græco-Roman, and others, tell us what Religious conceptions have lived their little life, been the consolation of Millions who have long since passed away. The Manuscripts, well thumbed and well read, in the

hands of the nineteenth century, Parsi, Brahmin, Buddhist, Jain, Confucian, Taouist, Shintoist, Hebrew, Christian and Mahometan, tell us another story, how tenacious man is of what he has been taught to believe as Divine Truth, for the followers of each are ready to suffer torture, or die rather than give it up.

Better also than field sports, loafing at the Club, or lolling in entire idleness at home, are THE LEARNED SOCIETIES, the Geographical, the Asiatic, the Geological, the Historical, the Antiquarian, the Linnæan, the Philological, the Hellenic and Egyptian-Exploration Societies and many others: at their meetings many valuable acquaintances are made and new lines of inquiry are suggested: but there is something more. Every third or fourth year there assemble in one or other of the Capitals of Europe International Congresses for the discussion of Scientific subjects: here the most illustrious representatives in each great country of Science meet, and discussions take place, the results of which are reported: stock is thus periodically taken of the progress of knowledge, the animosities produced by long literary strifes on some particularly abstruse matter, are softened down by personal contact, and sweet friendships are formed, and a general advance is made of the whole line of Human Discovery, Analysis, Inquiry, and Speculation:

“ Sic intestinis crescit res Palladis armis,  
Europeæque recens undique floret honos.  
Sic redivit nobis Aurora, diemque reducit,  
Surgit et e fuscâ lux oriente nova.  
Ossa sepulchrorum, veterum vestigia Regum,  
Vox vocat e tumulo: lux patefacta micat.  
Omnia nota patent: nam quid non vincere possit  
Subtile ingenium, et nocte dieque labor?”

Nor should the contemporary POLITICS of the country be passed over: the returned Anglo-Indian may not be an English party man—he may have outgrown the effete notions, which he heard in his youth, but he will find that the thoughts of men have grown wider with the progress of the Sun, and he will insensibly be drawn into one side of the combatants in the great arena. We can scarcely imagine any one so stupid, or so used up, that he will not form some opinion on the leading questions of Imperial, or National, or local, interest, the murmur of which he will hear around him. Some may even be willing to express that opinion in public speeches, when opportunity offers. Anglo-Indians, however, are not eloquent as a rule. Their gifts, and training, lead more to the desk than the platform: Some of our greatest Indian administrators have been utterly deficient in the power of making a speech, or arguing a thesis. Post-prandial eloquence, or a verbose pseudo-classical oratory has, generally, been the feature of the few Anglo Indians, who make speeches in India: But the appetite may come in eating, the atmosphere of England may develop new and unsuspected powers: In some things the Anglo-Indian does not fail—he is not afraid to look an audience in the face, and he knows his subject; his opinions are made up, and he will deliver them whether the audience likes it or not: his object is not personal profit, if his party get into power: he is not paid by wire-pullers to enforce certain views, whether he entertains them or not: so at least he will be sincere.

In *written* contributions to LITERATURE Anglo-Indians are strong: a

great part of the duty of a Civilian is to make Reports on every imaginable subject, to rebuke those, who are below him officially, and justify himself to those, who are above him : he thus becomes ready with his pen : many Indian periodicals, Weekly, Monthly, or Quarterly, are thus supplied and well supplied : the only difficulty is want of leisure, but on his return to England the burden of office falls from his shoulders, and he finds that leisure long so dearly wished for : among his Memoranda is often a list of subjects with the sad note : "I should like to write about this, if only I had leisure." Many of his friends never found that leisure, for instead of their lucubrations going to the Press their bodies were carried off to the Station Cemetery : let us hope that there has been a survival of the fittest, and that those, who have survived, will look up their Memoranda, and contribute to some Scientific, Religious, or Literary periodical ; they have a reserve of original matter, an entirely independent environment, and a freedom from some of the British idols of the Pulpit, the Market-place, and the Den, to draw upon. As a rule, we should recommend them to do their work without compensation : "freely they have received, freely give," this will enable them to write what they like, not what a task-imposing Editor shall enjoin. The habit of contributing to Periodicals may lead to the composing and publishing of a volume large or small, on some specific subject : here again it is recommended not to solicit the favour of a Publisher, or allow him to suggest alterations, or make conditions, but to send the literary infant forth at the charges of its Parent.

I cannot forget that in several pitched battles in the days of Lords Hardinge and Gough 1845/46 my life was spared, when many were killed around me : I also escaped the knife of the assassin, to which my superior officer Major Mackeson, and my assistant, Capt. Adams, fell victims : I rose in the service, through Mutinies, Pestilences, and other public calamities, to the vacancies caused by the premature deaths due to violence, or disease, of many of my contemporaries, and friends : I, therefore, and others, who have escaped the perils of India, have a debt to pay to those who are sick and suffering in our own country. In the organization of Charity, we carry with us habits of business and a knowledge of accounts, in which the good English stay-at-home is often deficient. Nor are Anglo-Indians easily gulled, for their lives have been spent in one continual struggle with natives of India trying to outwit them.

Municipal and benevolent duties have to be discharged and give pleasure. I was much struck by the following remarks of the Tutor of an Oxford College, which I visited on my return from India : "I could not bear up under the strain of examining incapable or unwilling men, if I did not give Saturday afternoons and the whole of Sunday to the service of the poor in their homes, in the hospital, and in the Sunday School, or evening classes— : this brings me back to the realities of human life, Sin, Sorrow, or Suffering. The work of the week, however, is a hopeless struggle with idleness and stupidity, and is inspired by, or only leads to, *MAYA*, Illusion."

Indeed many Anglo-Indians find congenial employment in Parochial work, or on the Committees of the great Hospitals, in Institutions for the Blind, the Cripple, the Waif and Stray, the lost ones in the streets of

London. Beyond these and subject to election are the County Councils, the School Board, the Parochial Vestry for local Government, the Board of Guardians for the relief of the Poor : all these bring men face to face with previously unknown contingencies of London life, raise sympathies, and develop untried capabilities. The Anglo-Indian has got such a habit of daily work, that he cannot shake himself free of it. I know a great many parishes, in which the services, sense of duty, courtesy and abilities of Anglo-Indians, returned exiles, women as well as men, are exceedingly valued.

Finally, there is the office of Justice of the Peace : the necessary qualification is the occupation of a house at a certain rental : the duties are varied : some J.P.'s are on the Visiting Committees of the County Prisons, others dispose of the Lunacy cases, all are able to attend the Petty Sessions of their district, the Quarter Sessions of their County ; they are employed in enforcing the collections of the Parochial Rates, issuing and transferring licences for the sale of liquors : many incidental duties are attached to the office. They are appointed for life by the Lord Lieutenant of their respective Counties : outside the Metropolitan area they exercise purely Judicial functions : within that area their duties are purely administrative, as there are salaried officials to discharge the heavy Judicial duties in the Metropolis.

May I now venture to refer to myself as an instance of how an Anglo-Indian can usefully and pleasantly fill his time in England, twenty-five years after the conclusion of his Indian Service ? I made my quarterly inspection of Wormwood Scrubs to-day before lunch as Justice of the Peace, and, after lunch, I formed part of the visiting Committee of the Chelsea Parish Infirmary. Yesterday I spent several hours in the really painful duty of enforcing the collection of the Parochial Rates : the lavish extravagance of the County Council and the School Board will make this operation still more difficult every year, till at last it becomes intolerable. To-morrow my first duty will be to go down to the Workhouse observation wards to dispose of lunatic cases : The Prison population of Great Britain is annually dwindling—one-third of the prisons have been closed : the Lunatic population is increasing by leaps and bounds, and asylums are built, and filled, and more are called for : the number of female lunatics is distressingly large : Next week on one day I shall be at a Meeting of the Guardians of the Poor in the afternoon, and the Editorial Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in the forenoon to superintend the work of the translation of that Book in a score or more of neo-Vernacular languages : Another day is marked down for the granting of licences for the sale of liquors, and hearing of objections to particular licences. In other weeks there are Meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Geographical and Asiatic Societies, interspersed with other totally different duties. I have, at the age of 74, eighteen Committees, nine of which I call Committees of "Saints," and nine Committees of "Sinners"; they are differentiated by their commencing, or not commencing, with a form of prayer. The object should be to enforce Christian principles in the work of Committees of Sinners, and to carry habits of business, and stern control of money-disbursements among the Saints.



## THE PROVINCE OF GUJARÁT.

By A. ROGERS, BOMBAY C. S. (RET.).

THE Province of Gujarát (Gujar-ráshtra, or country of the Gujars), so called, on the *lucus à non lucendo* principle, because there are no, or next to no, Gujars in it, at all events in the present day, is one of the most interesting portions of the Bombay Presidency, from an ethnical as well as a historical, from a commercial as well as an agricultural, point of view. It may be roughly described as the country surrounding the Gulf of Cambay, that indentation of the Indian Ocean lying between the mainland and the Peninsula of Káthiávár, commonly called Kattywar, between about  $20^{\circ} 20'$  and  $24^{\circ} 30'$  North Latitude and  $72^{\circ} 40'$  and  $74^{\circ} 20'$  East Longitude. Starting from the Portuguese settlement of Daman (or Damaun) and the North of the Thána Collectorate, it runs in a comparatively narrow strip Northwards along the seacoast beneath the Northern portion of the Syhádri range, commonly called the Gháts or Western Gháts, until it reaches the head of the Gulf and then turns down the Western coast to below the sea-port of Gogo or Goghá. It is much intermingled with territory under H.H. the Gaikvár of Baroda, from whom and from the Peshva, formerly the head of the Mahrattas, most of it has been acquired by the British by conquest and treaties entered into at different times. It consists at the present day of the five Collectorates of Surat (Súrat), Broach (Bharúch), Kaira (Khéda), the Panch Máhals (often called the Godhra Panch Máhals from their principal town Godhra), and Ahmadábád, in addition to the Baroda State, and various smaller Native Principalities such as Dharampur, Vánsda, Rájpipla, Cambay (Khambát), Bária, and other smaller States under the Máhi-Kánta and Revákánta Political Agencies. On the North it extends as far as Rájputána, on the East to Malwa, and on the West to Káthiávár. The Parganahs of Dhandhúka and Goghá, belonging to the Ahmadábád Collectorate, form really a portion of the Káthiávár Peninsula.

Its geological formation is varied and remarkably interesting. It may be said in a general way that the tract below the Syhádri range in the Surat and Bharuch Collectorates has been formed by the *detritus* of that range, probably after the Cretaceous and during the first portion of the Eocene era. A curious feature of the seacoast on the East of the Gulf is the existence of extensive salt flats, formed by the rain in the S.W. monsoon cutting away the deep alluvial soil, and the tide from the Gulf finding its way up the channels thus formed and overflowing their banks on each side, so that, although the overflow in some cases only takes place a few times during the year, the soil becomes impregnated with salt water and is rendered unfit for cultivation. The geological era has been determined by the fact of the well-known Eocene formation, the Nummulitic limestone, specimens of the fossils from which I have brought to show the Meeting, having been discovered by me to the North-East of Surat, near

the Kím river, interstratified with laterite, with which the whole is more or less capped, at the foot of the Western spurs of the Syhádri range. Beyond Baroda, to the North-East, commencing with the precipitous hill of Pávágadh, we find up to the base of the Arávali Mountains metamorphic rocks, with one singular proof of the continuous upheaval of the traps of the Syhádri through long ages in an intertrappean lacustrine formation near the town of Dohad, containing the same fresh-water fossils as those discovered by Hyslop near Nágpúr. Below the low hills in the Panch Máhals are isolated peaks, small and large, rising out of the alluvial soil, of granite, showing distinct marks of having been hollowed out by the action of sea waves. These are matched by similar granitic peaks, also bearing marks of erosion by the waves, at Chamárdi, North-West of Bhaunagar on the West coast of the Gulf of Cambay. This leads to the conclusion that the great alluvial plain to the South-West of the Arávali hills and extending Northwards by the desert of Rájputána to the Panjáb was the Delta of the Indus, which flowed into the head of the Gulf of Cambay, and that the granite peaks mentioned were then washed by the Indian Ocean and hollowed out by its waves. The whole of this plain is alluvial, and there is hardly a stone in it as large as one's fist. I once heard a man describe this part of Gujarát as a d——d country in which you could not get a stone to shy at a dog. The theory of this being the original Delta of the Indus is borne out in various ways. A good many miles inland to the Northwest of the head of the Gulf of Cambay, on the course of the Bhogává river, there are found estuarine shells, and it is said that even now after heavy rain in the monsoon this river is connected with the Nal, a shallow lake from 10 to 15 miles long and 2 to 3 miles broad, lying on the Western boundary of the Dholka Parganah of Ahmadábad towards Kathiávár. In this lake there have been found, almost within the memory of man, stone-rings, which have evidently been used as anchors for sea-going vessels. To the North of this lake a comparatively slight rise of the land, said to have been caused by an earthquake in 1818 or thereabouts, is all that even now separates its waters from those of the Lesser Runn of Kutch in the monsoon. The Vedas mention the fact of vessels sailing down the Sarasvati, one of the rivers running to the S.W. from Rájputána, which now loses itself in the Thar or desert of Rájputána, to the sea. This is supported by the traditions of the country, and in the map of Hondius, published at Amsterdam in 1612, the Indus is distinctly marked as entering the head of the Gulf of Cambay. Sir Thomas Roe, an ambassador from James II. to Dehli in 1615, denies the accuracy of this map, the Indus by that time having receded to its present position, but his mention of the circumstance substantiates the existence of the tradition. The geological explanation of the matter is therefore probably that the successive upheavals of volcanic trap rock that formed the Syhádri range forced the course of the Indus from its original position, with its mouth somewhere near the present entrance to the Gulf of Cambay, farther and farther West by the way of the Lesser and subsequently the Greater Runn of Kutch, to its present one with its mouths near Karáchi. In addition to the proofs mentioned above, may be adduced that of similar fossil remains

to those of the Síválík Hills having been found from time to time on the Island of Piram near the port of Goghá in the Gulf, in a position to which a large river like the original Indus would probably have transported them.

The chief rivers of the Province are the Taptee or Tápi, the Narbaddá or Narmadá (sometimes called Reva), the Máhi and the Sábarmati, the two latter flowing into the head of the Gulf of Cambay, and the two former into its Eastern side after cutting their way through the Syhádris from Khandesh and Central India. There are smaller rivers, such as the Ambíká, Aurangá, and the Kím, also running in from the East, and the Bhogává from the West, which are not navigable. The Taptee and Narbaddá are so for country craft as far respectively as Súrat and Bharúch, and the Máhi to Cambay, but all three are gradually silting up. The great cotton port of Dholara is near the mouth of what is not much more than a salt-water creek, as are also the ports of Bhaunagar and Goghá.

The soil of the Province is in many parts of the most fertile description, producing tropical crops of every variety, among which the most interesting from an English point of view are cotton, wheat and oil-seeds. The Ahmadábád Collectorate to the North of the Gulf and the contiguous Khédá Collectorate ; which contain the richest alluvium, with sweet water at no great depth from the surface, are well wooded and have a park-like appearance. The black soil of Bharúch and the Northern part of Súrat is more open, although perfectly capable of producing fine trees, while the Southern part of the latter, which verges on the Konkan, and is more stony, is comparatively unfertile.

The population is in many parts dense, especially in the Khédá Collectorate and the Gaikvár's territories intermingled with it. In this part of the country and in the Bharúch Collectorate there is hardly an uncultivated field to be found, the cattle having to be fed on the straw of *Javári* and *Bájrí* and the small quantity of grass that can be grown on strips of waste land between fields. The aboriginal inhabitants of the country seem to have been Kolis or Bhíls and cognate tribes. The Bhíls, of the same stock as those in Khandesh and the Sátúra Hills, have until lately been predatory in their habits and have never risen to a position of power. The Kolis to the North-west and North-east of Ahmadábád have to some extent retained valuable estates, which are held subject to the payment of what may more rightly be called tribute than land revenue to the State, settled on no fixed data, as their lands have never been surveyed in detail. They were termed *Mevás*, or wild, in contradistinction to the *Rásti*, the more peaceable inhabitants of the country. The chief agricultural classes are the Kunbis in Ahmadábád, Khédá, and the Panch Máháls, the Voharás, who are Shíah Mussulmáns, in Bharúch, with a mixture of castes in Súrat. There are Rájpúts throughout the country, but they chiefly abound in Káthiavár.

It will be impossible in the course of a short paper to go into the details of the history of the Province. To those who wish to obtain an accurate, and at the same time not too lengthy, account of it I can recommend the perusal of a book written by Edalji Dosábhái, formerly a Deputy Collector under me, published at Ahmadábád last year at the moderate price of

3 Rs. He has divided it into four parts, the first of which, from about 1400 B.C. to 1300 A.D. he calls the Hindu Period ;—the 2nd from A.D. 1300 to 1572, when the Emperor Akbar succeeded in obtaining possession to the exclusion of the independent Sultáns who had reigned at Ahmadábád for more than a century and a half, which is entitled the Muhammadan period ;—the 3rd, during most of which the Province was administered by Viceroy's appointed from Dehli up to the commencement of the 18th century, when the Mahrattas began to extend their conquests into the Province ;—and the 4th, from the middle of that century, when the English appeared on the scene and gradually appropriated a large part of it, down to the present day. The tolerably authentic history of the Province does not commence till about the early part of the 8th Century of the Christian era, when Van-ráj (the jungle king) established the dynasty of the Chávada Rajputs, and founded the city of Anhilvár Pátan, which was for long the chief city of the Province, and the ruins of which are still to be seen not very far to the South of Deesa. The Chávada was succeeded in the middle of the 10th Century by the Solanki Rájput dynasty, during which the kings extended their sway considerably over Kathiávár, Kutch, Rájputána, Málwá and even Sindh. It was during the reign of Bhímdev, of this dynasty, in A.D. 1024, that Mahmúd of Ghazni invaded Gujarát, and carried off the gates of Somnáth, the celebrated temple on the West coast of Káthiávar. The most celebrated king of this dynasty was Sidhráj Jesing, who died in A.D. 1100 ; he pushed his conquests far into the Deccan, and left behind him such a reputation for magnificent public works that to this day every fine old tank and temple in the country is ascribed to him. The dynasty, ending with Bhímdev, was succeeded in the middle of the 13th Century by that of the Vághelá Rajputs, and the latter only lasted until the commencement of the 14th, when Karan-Rájá, the last Hindu king, was overthrown by Alá-ud-dín Khiljí, Emperor of Dehli. After this Gujarát was ruled by Viceroy's sent by the Emperors until in 1407/8, Jáfar Khan found himself in a position, owing to the state of confusion into which matters at Dehli had fallen, to proclaim himself independent. The dynasty of Muhammadan Sultans of Ahmadábád thus established, lasted until 1572, when the country again came under the direct rule of Dehli, after an independent career of about 165 years, under the Emperor Akbar. The most celebrated of the Sultans of Ahmadábád was Muhammad Bégadha (1459 to 1511). This name, signifying the two-forted one, was derived from his capture of the two strong fortresses of Girnár in Kathiávár and Chámpaner situated at the foot of Pávágadh, to the North-east of Baroda.

Gujarát was now governed by Viceroy's of Dehli, among whom was the future Emperor Sháhjahán. The time had now come for the arrival of foreign nations on the scene. In 1608 Captain Hawkins proceeded as Envoy from Queen Elizabeth to Agra, after the establishment in 1600 of a Company with the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." The Portuguese had concluded a treaty with the Emperor Akbar in 1573, and until defeated by the English in a naval battle in 1612 were regarded as undisputed masters of Súrat and the Gulf

of Cambay. After this the Emperor Jahángír concluded a treaty with the English, giving them permission to trade and open factories at Súrat, Cambay, Goghá and Ahmadábád. Súrat was made the seat of government for Western India until 1683, some time after the cession of Bombay to the English as the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Queen of Charles II., in 1661.

In 1615 James I. sent Sir Thomas Roe as his Ambassador to Dehli. Sir Thomas obtained from the Emperor Jahángír further important privileges for his country, and from that time the connection of the English with Súrat has never been interrupted. In 1616 the Dutch also acquired the right to establish factories there and at Ahmadábád, Bharúch and Cambay.

Soon after this the Mahrattas under the celebrated Síváji came into power, and in 1664 plundered Súrat for six days. On this occasion Sir George Oxenden, Chief of the Súrat factory, whose tomb is still in good preservation in the English cemetery there, made a bold defence and saved from plunder not only the English factory but other people's property as well. The Emperor Aurangzíb was so pleased at this service that he remitted a year's customs duties, and reduced their rate from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent., a very important concession in consequence of which British trade with the country soon acquired great importance. These plundering incursions of the Mahrattas into Gujarát went on from year to year, the power of the Viceroys at Ahmadábád not being sufficient to put a stop to them, and in 1676 they acquired a territorial footing in the Province by the capture of the Fort of Parnera in the South of Súrat. In 1719/20 the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, in return for the assistance of the Mahrattas in freeing himself from the control of certain Sayads who had become too powerful, issued a *Farmán* granting them the right to levy *Chaoth*, a levy of one-fourth of the revenue, and *Sardeshmukhi*, two per cent. in addition appertaining to the office of Sar-deshmukh, or Chief Revenue Officer, in the Dekhan. This right did not extend to Gujarát, but the Mahrattas under Síváji's grandson Sáhu, commonly called in former days the Sháo Rájá, proceeded to levy them there also, and thus acquired an authoritative footing in the Province. During the campaign against the Sayads mentioned above, a Mahratta Officer of the name of Dámáji Gaikvár had distinguished himself, and on the return of the auxiliary force to the Dekhan Dhábáde, the Commander in Chief, so strongly recommended him to the favourable notice of Sáhu, that the latter appointed him Second in command of the Mahratta army and conferred on him the right to levy *chaoth* and *sardeshmukhi* in Gujarát. This Dámáji was the ancestor (through adoption) of the present Gaikvár of Baroda.

It would be tedious to relate the various steps by which the Mahrattas gradually usurped the position of the Muhammadan Viceroys of Delhi in the Province, and the struggle for supremacy that occurred between the Peshvá, the nominal head of the Mahratta power at Poona, and the Gaikvár, for its possession. Suffice it to say that at last a division of territory was made between them, and that the portions that thus fell to the share of the Peshvá nearly correspond to the present territory under direct British rule

in the Province, with the exception of the Panch Máhals, acquired by treaty from Sindia within the last thirty years. The cause of the Gaikvár was espoused in the struggle by the British Government, and with few exceptions the country he acquired at the division mentioned still remains in his possession. The Peshvá's portion accrued to us mostly by the passing of the Treaty of Bassein (31st Dec. 1802) and on his final subjugation at the battle of Kirkee in 1817.

Having thus briefly sketched the physical features of the Province and its history, I propose to conclude my paper with a few remarks on its revenue administration. The first acquisition of territorial jurisdiction by us was on the demise of the Naváb of Súrat in 1800, when his brother Násir-ud-dín entered into an agreement with Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, to cede the entire government of the towns of Súrat and Ránder and their dependencies on condition of his being allowed to retain the title of Naváb and receiving a pension of a *lac* of Rupees in addition to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the surplus net revenue. At about the same time the Grassiá proprietors of Dholara agreed with Sir Miguel de Souza to cede to the British the port of Dholara with nine adjacent villages in sovereignty on condition of receiving a certain proportion of their revenues.

At this period the country was suffering from the results of the farming out of the right to levy the land revenue that had been the custom during the time of the Mahrattas. Before them, in the time of the Rájputés, the land revenue had been administered according to the immemorial usage of the country, through their head-men as representatives, which varied in different parts. In some village communities, such as those existing under the name of Bhyachará or other similar tenures in the North-west of India, paid a certain proportion of the produce,—in others petty Chiefs or Proprietors did so, but there was no such thing as direct management in the shape of direct collections of grain or cash by central authorities from individual tenants of land. The data for fixing the dues of the State were thus of so uncertain a character that in the time of Akbar his Minister Todar Mal was directed to frame estimates of what all descriptions of land should pay, from returns of actual produce for 19 years. This process was carried out, but what practical use was made of the estimates I have been unable to ascertain. The rates arrived at were clearly crop-rates, that is, rates varying with the kind of crop grown, possibly sometimes commuted into money payments, and could only have been levied in the villages which had been made *Khálsá*, that is, directly managed, under the Mussulmans. This had been effected by partitioning off certain of the village lands for the enjoyment, entirely free or on payment of quit-rents, of the Rájput proprietors: these were called *Vántá*, or divided land, while the remainder of the land under the name of *Talpat* was managed directly by the Officers of the State. With such minuteness was this sub-division carried out that village sites were even apportioned to *Vántá* or *Talpat* cultivators, and fines in the shape of extra assessment or quit-rent levied from an individual of one set who went into the lands of the others to cultivate. In other than *Khálsá* villages the proprietors or heads of village communities, such as still survive under the various names of Talúkdárs or

Gamētis in Ahmadábád, Narvadárs in Khédá and Bhágdárs in Bharúch, continued their old systems of management, which naturally were very varied. In some cases the levies were merely cesses in cash on the plough or the individual, varying with his caste, the kind of crop grown or the particular quarter of the village in which the land was situated, the crop share in cases where the assessment was levied on the crop being determined either by *kaltar* or eye-estimate, or by *mákkhal*, that is, actual division after the crop had been harvested in the village *khalli* or grain yard, and after the dues of the village servants, the village artisans, the village temples and the village dogs had been subtracted. It may be interesting to describe how the estimates in the case of unirrigated wheat were made. Three rows of best, middling and inferior quality were selected in each field and cut: the grain was rubbed out with the hand and weighed on the spot. The total number of rows (*chás*) in the field being ascertained, a rule of three sum fixed the amount of the produce of the whole in proportion to the quantity rubbed out of the three rows. Q.E.D. The expense of this process was supposed to be defrayed from the wheat of three rows, but it was found that a good deal of it went in providing tobacco and opium for the assembled villagers.

In some cases cash rents were fixed on the crops: these varied with the caste of the grower, the kind of soil in or situation of the field, whether plough or other cess was paid by the individual or not, etc., etc. In one case one of our own early Collectors had ordered that a Kunbi cultivator must make up his *khátá*, or account with the State, to a certain sum, a Rájpút to so much, a Koli to so much less, and so on according to the presumed agricultural skill of the members of the caste to which he belonged: any sum falling short of this he had to pay in cash by way of fine, which was styled a *khutta kharch vero*, or cess for deficient expenses.

Such was the system of revenue collections for which the Mahrattas, probably finding it unworkable, as I afterwards did myself, substituted that of farming out to the highest bidders the right to collect the revenue. The result of this was that the farmers, knowing their liability to be ousted from their farms by higher bidders, made hay whilst the sun shone, and levied extortionate rents which the unfortunate heads of villages had to make up in any way they could, on pain of occasional torture. Of one method resorted to we ourselves felt the result, in the shape of State lands mortgaged or sold outright in order to raise money: these were the so-called *Geránia* or *Vechánia* alienations so plentiful throughout British Gujarát. The political result was the loosening of all the bonds of the villagers by which they had been enabled to hold together in communities to pay the demands of the State, and the lowering of all tenants to that state of isolation from their fellows and dependence on their own exertions which necessitated their being dealt with as individuals by the authorities of the State, that is to the adoption of what is known as the *rayatvārí* system. *Pace* those from other parts of India who are wedded to village systems of different kinds, I venture to think that it is after all the best for the development of the country. Every man has under it to stand on his own feet, and stimulated by the knowledge that the reward of his exertions

and the expenditure of his capital will accrue to himself, it is tolerably certain, in my opinion, that he will exert himself far more than if he formed but a small fraction of a coparcenary body which would otherwise share, and thus diminish, that reward.

The system, or rather multiplicity of systems, described above, remained in force until the introduction of the Bombay Revenue Survey, in 1850 and subsequently, put an end to all uncertainty, and fixed cash rents on every accurately measured field and portion of a field throughout the country. It is laid down by law that the value of all improvements in land, such as the conversion of unirrigated into irrigated land, the turning of ordinary dry-crop into rice, etc., by the construction of wells or tanks or lifts from streams, is the *rayat's* own heritable and transferable property, as the land is, subject to the payment of a rent fixed for thirty years, and then variable only on account of a general rise in prices, and the improvement of markets in consequence of the expenditure of public capital.

The system has now stood the test of experience in many cases beyond the first guaranteed settlement of 30 years, and the increased rents at the revision now taking effect are cheerfully agreed to, for the country is increasingly prosperous. The lowering of assessments carried out at the first settlement has been fully made up by the greater area since brought under the plough, and the largely enhanced saleable value of land in the market. The country has been and is being opened up by the construction of ordinary roads and railways that afford facilities for the transport and export of agricultural produce, the result being that in most parts, at all events of British Gujarát, waste land for the extension of cultivation is not procurable. All this can be amply proved by statistics, which I have abstained from introducing into a paper meant only to describe the Province in a general way. Ample details can be found in my History of the Bombay Land Revenue, published in 1892 by W. H. Allen and Co., by those who wish to go deeper into the subject.

And now, in bidding adieu to an attentive and patient audience,\* I hope I may have enlisted their interest in a Province which I heard the late Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay in the memorable year of 1857, call the Garden of India. By far the largest portion of my own service was in Gujarát, and I shall carry the pleasing memory of it and its admirable people with me to my grave.

\* This paper was read before the "East India Association," as also that by Mr. Nundy.



## THE ORIGIN AND AIMS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

BY ALFRED NUNDY.

It is said in some quarters that a certain proportion of the people of India, mainly composed of the educated classes is disaffected, if not disloyal to the British rule. It is a matter of more than academic interest to ascertain if this is true. To anyone possessing even a superficial knowledge of the history of India, it must be patent that the advent of the British in India has brought about certain changes which redound much to their credit. Torn with internal dissensions on the one hand and living in constant dread of the foreign invader on the other hand, India had literally no peace. This blessing at all events is at present assured. For individuals there is security of life and property such as may well excite the envy of some of the more civilized countries of Europe. That the administration of justice is pure is evidenced by the fact that the only complaint made against it is that it fails in certain cases, happily not very frequent, where the members of the ruling race find themselves in the position of accused for maltreating those who belong to the subject race. Of the 20 years I have practised at the bar I have spent five in a Native State and have thus had opportunities of observing what security is offered there to life and property, and in what manner justice is administered. I could not help being struck with the bright contrast which the condition of British India offers to it. Nor is it possible to deny the blessings of a liberal education, of freedom of speech and of a free press. Surely these constitute reasons which demand the warmest admiration and gratitude on the part of those who benefit from them. Are the people of India then ungrateful? If the authority of some of the most eminent Anglo-Indians be considered as final, they are not guilty of this charge, but are credited with being capable of the most unflinching devotion for acts of even trivial kindness. At all events it will not be denied that they are always fully alive to their personal interests, and that they are most careful to abstain from doing that which would result in injury to themselves. They are neither so ignorant, nor so foolish as not to know what would be the result if the British were to retire to-day from India. It would be general anarchy and a scramble all round for anything anyone could get hold of. England has done a great deal for India, but it has not yet brought it to that stage, that the people can say to their rulers—We can now rule ourselves, you may go. At present a strong arm is needed to keep together the heterogeneous elements of which India is made up, and that being plain to the most superficial observer amongst them, it is clear that of all foreign nations England alone can offer a Government which would be most likely to secure them present peace and future advancement. If for no other reason then, I say the selfish instincts of the people would alone suffice to warn them not to do anything to weaken the Government which now rules over them.

What then is the foundation for the statements made in some quarters

that the educated classes are seditious or disloyal? It is I think based more or less on the ebullitions of dissatisfaction which have found expression in various times, and which are misunderstood for disaffection or disloyalty. For this discontent or dissatisfaction, the responsibility rests entirely on the British Government. When England found itself called upon to rule over the greater part of India, it had two alternatives before it—either to adopt a policy of repression by denying to the people higher education and the benefits of European civilization, keeping them down literally by the power of the sword—or to do what it has done, to diffuse amongst the people a thorough and liberal education, to give them liberty of speech and a free press, and to open out before them the prospect of advancing in the scale of civilization and when qualified partaking with them in the administration of the country and in the exercise of their rights as free and enlightened members of a community alive to what is likely to promote its welfare, and what would be detrimental to it. It is therefore to a liberal education, to freedom of speech, and to a free press that England owes its troubles. A liberal education instilled into the minds of the people enlarged ideas which led them to ponder on their own position and on what in their view was likely to improve that position; and freedom of speech and a free press gave them the means of giving expression to these ideas.

In course of time it was found by some men of this type who were more advanced in their ideas that individual expressions of opinion and even the ventilation of these ideas through the press were not sufficient to obtain for them their desires; hence they went a step further, and profiting by the lessons taught them by the history of civilized nations, they resolved to adopt another means which had been very successful in Western countries—that of combined agitation; and thus it was the National Congress came into existence. Before proceeding to discuss what are the aims and objects of the Congress I may here notice an objection which is often to be heard from official lips. It is said and honestly said by some officials—Why enter into a combined agitation when we who are here to govern you are only too ready to hear your grievances, and do as a matter of fact hear all that can be said on the subject, and are willing to do everything for you and give you all that we consider is for your benefit? Here the English officials to my mind commit a great blunder. Unfortunately the class of persons who visit them are those who have some favour to ask, or some friend or neighbour to injure, or who are actuated merely by the desire of flattering the officials. From such persons it would be absurd to expect to hear the truth, and it is not to be wondered at that they are often treated with scant respect by the Europeans they visit. And it is for this reason a great many persons who possess more self respect and whose opinions would be of value to Government, do not visit the Europeans. And I know it from personal knowledge that Lamurdars and ryots are often prevented from having interviews with officers on tour, by the subordinate native officials from fear of their misdeeds being disclosed. It therefore necessarily follows that European officials are by no means kept well informed of the real wants and aspirations of the people.

It was under these circumstances the National Congress took its rise. I will discuss it under two heads. 1. Who are the members of whom it is composed, and whom do they represent? 2. What are its aims and objects? When the Congress was first started, it had the approval and co-operation of the leaders of the educated classes of all races and creeds. Even Government officials took part in it, and a European Civilian now a District Magistrate told me that he had presided at one of the Congress meetings. It was not expected then that the Congress would become such a powerful and popular organization. The demands made by the Congress, based on facts and figures, were such that the Government realized the fact that it was inconvenient to have a censor that would closely criticize its actions, and it took care in unmistakable terms to show its disapproval of this organization. A large section of the Mahomedans for reasons which no doubt were to them satisfactory have in later times kept themselves aloof from the Congress, and some of them have made no secret of the fact that they hoped to take advantage of the displeasure of Government against the Hindoos who mainly composed the Congress, to obtain some immediate benefit for their community. There are still some prominent Mahomedans who identify themselves with the Congress, and there are a great many more who sympathize with this movement, but do not take an active part in it. But setting apart the Mahomedans, it cannot be denied that Hindoos, Christians, Parsees, Jains, all heartily co-operate towards making the Congress a representative assembly of the people of India. And it is not only the literary classes who support this movement, though undoubtedly their presence has given it a great impetus, but Zamindars, Merchants, and even petty shopkeepers have come to realize its importance and heartily support it. It has often been thrown out as a sneer against this movement that it is promoted by and is mostly composed of Bengalees. That there is no foundation for the statement is evident from the fact that for the five years ending 1894, the number of Bengalee delegates compared with the total number of Delegates for those five years was 13 per cent., whilst that of the Madrasees was 25 per cent., and this notwithstanding the fact that the Bengalees are scattered very widely beyond their own Province, especially in Upper India, and in parts of the Central Provinces.

It may then be said that the aim of the Congress is to bring together all the conflicting elements, and to combine them into one harmonious whole, to act as the medium of communication between the Government on the one hand and the people of India on the other hand, and to consolidate the union between England and India, by securing the introduction of such reforms as are desirable in the interests of the people. The most prejudiced observer cannot help remarking that this has been attained to some extent, for in the furtherance of their common advancement so far as concerns their relations as citizens, all castes, creeds and communities, including some of the Mahomedans, are showing a disposition to co-operate with each other. And this notwithstanding the fact that there are serious differences amongst them on religious and social matters, the consideration and discussion of which I think has

been very rightly excluded as not coming within the scope of the operations of the National Congress. It would be impossible to obtain unanimity on matters as to which the divergences are so great, and about which the feelings are more likely to be excited than the judgment to be convinced. Customs and practises which have existed for centuries cannot be broken down in a day, and outside interference often does more harm than good. Leave the communities to themselves, and in course of time they will introduce such social reforms as to them appear feasible and beneficial.

Besides promoting mutual good feeling the Congress has in view another important object. The British Government acting as it does in good faith invites public criticism—the Congress responds to that invitation. The Government desires that the people of India should freely and unreservedly communicate to it their wants and aspirations—the Congress supplies the desired information. Its function was clearly and aptly defined by Lord Lansdowne in the following words of a Circular issued by him: "The Government of India recognises that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which meets side by side with it." But it may be said, and is said, that the Congress is most extravagant in its demands, and uses language that is improper and unjustifiable. As to the use of uncalled for and severe language I would appeal to our critics to point out from the verbatim reports of the Congress speeches any sentiment or any words which could possibly be construed as showing any disrespect to the Government or which constitute a breach of the highest feelings of loyalty. If at the outset language which was not quite justifiable or desirable was made use of in one or two instances outside the Congress, the whole movement cannot be condemned for it, and surely such stray ebullitions proceeding from indiscretion or inexperience are not worth taking note of.

Now are the demands of the Congress really unreasonable, extravagant and likely to disturb the power of Government? A peculiar and striking feature about this matter is that some of these demands have already been granted by the Government, though perhaps not quite so fully as was asked, and the reasonableness of others has in some cases been recognised by Government and in others by public opinion in England and in India. Time will not permit my dealing with the merits of each demand made by the Congress during the years of its existence, but as an illustration of what I have stated above I shall take up all the Resolutions passed by the First Congress, and some of those passed in later Congresses. There were seven Resolutions making demands on the Government, passed by the First Congress.

The first Resolution asked that the promised inquiry into the administration of India (referring to the promise made by Lord Randolph Churchill) be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being represented thereon and evidence taken both in India and in England. Surely the same demand has been made by many English Statesmen, who have deplored the absence of that periodical inquiry which was such a check on

the East India Company ; and the existence of the Royal Commission now sitting is in itself a justification of the resolution passed ten years ago.

The Second Resolution considered the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council the necessary preliminary to other reforms. When it was first constituted it was believed that in regard to financial matters at least, it would be able to control and check the action of the Secretary of State. We have seen how far it was able to do so lately with reference to the import duty on Cotton Goods. The British Government has itself afforded evidence of the necessity of some change in the Council by reducing its numbers. It is practically a consultative body whose continued existence and real usefulness might constitute a subject of discussion which to some persons seems to lie within the range of practical politics.

The Third Resolution deals with the expansion and reform of the Provincial and Legislative Councils. Giving the Government full credit for its desire to carry out necessary reforms, it cannot be denied that the discussion of this subject by the Congress, the cogent arguments in its favour adduced by it, and above all the fact of Mr. Bradlaugh taking up the matter in the House of Commons, in a way forced the hands of Government, and induced it to give it its more immediate attention—and if the subject is still being agitated it is only with the view of having the concessions granted so applied to the necessities of the people as to make the whole scheme conformable to the will and intentions of Parliament.

The fourth Resolution asked for the Examination in the Civil Department being held both in India and in England, subject to the successful candidates being sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful, and the maximum age for the Covenanted Civil Service being raised to 23 years. The raising of the maximum age has already been conceded by the Government, but the question of holding examinations both in India and in England is still under discussion. It is by no means an unreasonable and extravagant demand, for we find that the India Office Committee of 1861 unanimously recommended that simultaneous Examinations for the Civil Service be held in both countries. And latterly we have had that view confirmed by the vote of a majority of Members of Parliament on the motion of Mr. Paul the late member for Edinburgh, and the Government of Madras has pronounced in favour of it. I have no desire to enter now into a lengthened discussion of this subject which is one of the burning questions of the day in India, but I leave it to the good sense of my hearers to say whether the present restrictions really carry out the intentions of the Queen's Proclamation that "It is our further will that so far as may be our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to all offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, their ability and their integrity duly to discharge," and whether it is not possible to devise some scheme rendering it practicable, under restrictions as to numbers and to further tests, to grant the desired boon.

The fifth Resolution protested against the proposed increase in the

Military Expenditure as unnecessary, and excessive, having regard to the revenues of the Empire and the existing circumstances of the country. The Congress was not alone in the expression of this opinion—for two of the Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir E. Ilbert, had at the time written strong minutes, taking exactly the same view, which after the lapse of so many years has resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the expenditure of the Government of India.

The sixth Resolution advocated retrenchment, and failing that, the reimposition of the Cotton duties, and the extension of the Income Tax to all classes official and non-official, and an Imperial guarantee being given to the Indian debt. Retrenchment is still the cry—now echoed with the greatest force by Manchester. Surely for a people taxed to the utmost of their ability it is not unwarrantable to appeal to their Government for the exercise of care and economy in the expenditure of the Revenue. The imposition of the duty on Cotton goods and the extension of the Income Tax to the official classes are accomplished facts—and that England will guarantee the Indian debt, it is devoutly hoped, will not be deferred very long—for the advantages to be derived from it will not be denied by any thoughtful person.

The seventh Resolution deprecated the annexation of Upper Burmah and considered that if the Government did unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony. Not a few Europeans in India and a great many in England held a similar opinion, having regard to the fact that the revenue derived from India was hardly sufficient for the purposes of its own administration and for a long time to come it was anticipated Burmah would not be able to pay its way, and would have to fall back on the revenues of India. These fears have been realized and Burmah is still a burden on India. It is not an integral part of India, and is peopled by a race utterly foreign to it, between whom and the natives of India there is no sympathy or community of interest. Hence it was a legitimate demand on the part of the Congress not to allow India to be saddled with the cost of administering the country, especially as its internal resources were not very large.

So much for the Resolutions passed at the First Congress. Some of these with perhaps some modifications have been discussed at the subsequent Congresses, with a number of others of equal importance, which were not taken up by the First Congress. Amongst these are the Separation of the Judicial and Executive Functions; the Repeal or the Reduction of the Duty on Salt; and the Extension of the Permanent Settlement.

On the Separation of the Judicial and Executive Functions a great deal has been written and said of late, and as a matter of fact the subject has now passed beyond the stage of its being considered a matter for debate. Two Secretaries of State have pronounced in its favour and indeed it would be impossible to find any authority of repute to advocate a system by which the Judicial and Executive Functions are concentrated in one officer, who is often just as much the prosecutor as the Judge in the

case. The separation of these two functions would have become an accomplished fact, but for financial considerations. True the Government Treasury is not very full at present, and the demands on it from various quarters are very great, yet if the Indian Government were to allot a larger sum than at present for securing greater efficiency in the administration of justice, it would not thereby lay itself open to the charge of incurring unnecessary or extravagant expenditure. But some most competent authorities in India such as Messrs. R. C. Dutt, P. M. Mehta and M. M. Ghose have published detailed statements showing how the necessary alterations could be carried out without entailing any further charge on the Government. The real opposition comes from the District Officers who assert that it would weaken the power of the executive. Perhaps it would to some extent, but not a very appreciable extent. But what they would thus lose would be amply compensated by the greater confidence which would be undoubtedly infused in the minds of the people with respect to the impartiality and the purity with which justice was administered. It is to be hoped this very pressing reform will not be very long delayed.

The Salt Tax operates as a great burden on the people, especially on the poorer classes. There are millions who live on a mere pittance, and we have high authority for the statement that forty millions of Indians live on but one meal a day, or are on the verge of starvation. Salt is a necessary article of consumption and not one of luxury. To tax it so heavily is practically to prohibit its use to a large and ever increasing class of persons. Successive Secretaries of State for India have admitted the extreme desirability of reducing this tax if not of abolishing it, but the exigencies of finance prevented them from carrying out their desires. The Congress can hardly undertake a more praiseworthy task than that of impressing on the Government of India the extreme urgency for reducing this tax.

The Extension of the Permanent Settlement under certain qualifications and restrictions to parts of India where it does not exist has formed the subject of a Resolution at almost every Congress, whilst last year it was varied to the request that failing the grant of the above boon, the Government of India will be pleased to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity of enhancement of the land tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years, so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements. I have no desire to discuss the merits of this question but I ask if this can be considered an outrageous or extravagant demand? It is simply a prayer for what was promised by the British Government in a Despatch of the Secretary of State for India in 1862 and again in 1865. The Despatch of 1862 says "after the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue, not only to those immediately concerned with the land but to the community generally are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the Districts in which the conditions required are or may hereafter be fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India and to insure in

the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects."

It ought not to be forgotten that India is an agricultural country whose industries with the advancing tide of civilization have become almost extinct. Nine-tenths of the population derive their living from the land, with which their most vital interests are concerned. Short settlements though they may be a source of eventual profit to the Government are a source of constant irritation and uncertainty to the people, who refuse to apply their capital to an object in which they have but a limited title, and which may pass out of their hands on their failure to pay an enhanced value for it, when such enhancement of value had been brought about by their own exertions and at their own expense. At all events it cannot be asserted that the Congress is altogether unreasonable in asking for a modified fixity of tenure, and an immunity from enhancement for a term not less than sixty years.

It has not been my intention to discuss fully the merits of any one of these Resolutions, for to do so would require a separate paper dealing with each one of them. My object has simply been to point out by reference to them that the demands made by the Congress are not unreasonable or extravagant, that some of these demands have already been partially granted by the Government, that the reasonableness of others has been recognised, and that others again can claim in their support promises made by the Government in years past and the opinions in their favour of some of the most competent authorities of the present day. These demands are made by men who at the sacrifice of much time and trouble and expense meet year after year to discuss questions of the most vital importance to the millions who form the population of India. It is true that so far as the masses are concerned the Congress has no direct authority to speak or act for them, but has it not been the case in the history of most civilized nations that the educated classes, that is, the reflecting classes of the nation represent the views and interests of those who through ignorance or other causes are incapable of representing their own grievances? The National Congress cannot be reproached for overlooking their interests, for a great many of the resolutions passed have special reference to their wants and requirements. The Reduction of the Salt Tax, the Relaxations of the Forest Rules, the establishment of Agricultural Banks, and anything done by Government to relieve the forty millions of people who eke out an existence on the verge of starvation, would benefit the ryots more than it would the richer classes, whilst it would be impossible for our critics to point out a single Resolution which advocates the interests of the classes to the detriment of the masses.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

### DISCUSSION ON "GUJARÁT."

A MEETING of the Association was held on the 21st January 1896 at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, S.W., to hear a paper by Mr. Alexander Rogers, late Member of the Bombay Council entitled "A Historical and General Sketch of the Province of Gujarát" which will be found elsewhere in this Review. Mr. JUSTICE PINHEY was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present:—Lord REAY; Sir Lepel Griffin; Messrs. S. A. Ausat; T. W. Brooks; A. H. Campbell; A. K. Connell; H. R. Cook; T. J. Desai; H. Dunderdale; V. A. Ghaswalla; M. A. Jinnah; Dr. G. W. Leitner; Messrs. J. Louis; W. Martin-Wood; Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Morris; Messrs. J. B. Pennington; T. M. Rogers; Tahl Ram; J. R. Vakharia; W. J. A. Voelcker; T. W. Wood, Mr. and Mrs. E. T. Morris, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. R. Lees, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

Mr. Rogers then read his Paper, at the conclusion of which LORD REAY made the following remarks :

I was not prepared to address you, but on the call of the Chairman I have great pleasure in paying my tribute to this extremely interesting paper, and especially in agreeing with its reader that Gujarát is, as Lord Elphinstone so justly called it, the garden of the Presidency of Bombay. One of the features of Gujarát to which, perhaps, Mr. Rogers might have called attention is the expansion of Railways. The expansion of the Railway system everywhere in India, but especially in Gujarát, seems to me one of the greatest *desiderata* of the present day. I have therefore been extremely pleased to see in to-day's paper that the government of India contemplate a loan of five crores to extend the Railways, of which I certainly hope that, at all events, a certain amount will fall to the share of Gujarát. Next month a ceremony will take place in Gujarát of singular good augury for the future. The Governor of Bombay will turn the first sod of the Prantej Line. I have been extremely interested in that line, and during the short period that I was at the India Office I did all I could to advance the early starting of that Line, and of another Line which is of greater importance, namely, the Nandurbar Line, which will ultimately go to Amalner. That Line will open up a great extent of country which at present is uncultivated. Mr. Rogers in his paper stated that in Gujarát there was no possibility of further expansion.

MR. ROGERS : As far as regards cultivation there is room.

LORD REAY : The Nandurbar Line goes principally through forest land, but I believe that some of that forest land, even the most ambitious forester would admit, might be cleared ; and when that forest is cleared I have been led to believe, though I have not examined it personally, that a considerable area will be open for cultivation. Further in the Panch Mahals certainly there is considerable room for expansion. I know that it was

attempted to induce the population of the congested districts to move to the Panch Mahals, but that great difficulty was experienced, owing to the very natural love of the ryots of their homes. With regard to the Railways there is this to be said : British territory has lagged far behind the Railway enterprise of the Baroda Territories. While I was in India the Gaekwar did much to extend the Railway system on very intelligent lines, because he made Railways of a very narrow gauge, which were quite sufficient for the present day—whether it will be so in future remains to be seen. With regard to the Nandurbar Line, which is of the greatest importance, because it will form ultimately a connecting link between the G.I.P. and the Bombay and Baroda Railway, I believe the Gaekwar has promised a contribution of 30 lacs. Part of the capital, besides, has been subscribed by rich inhabitants of Surat, and of Bombay, in which it is well known a great number of Gujarátis are resident. The great feature of these Railways is that they will be made chiefly by Rupee capital. In the present state of Indian finances the importance of making lines on what I may call a silver basis cannot be exaggerated. Any one who has had to do with Railway management in India knows how the present state of exchange hampers, not only dividends but even the proper working of the lines, and the very great loss which is entailed by it.

With regard to what has been said by Mr. Rogers about the survey system in Gujarát, on which he is, perhaps, one of the greatest living authorities, and in developing which he has been so very active, I found that on the whole there were few complaints in Gujarát such as there were, for instance, in the Deccan, of over assessment. The question of Well Assessment, with which I have had to deal, is, perhaps, the crux of a Settlement Officer. It is impossible to explain that question in detail to an audience like the present without becoming very technical, which means exceedingly tedious. I think this paper is of good augury for the lectures which we are to have under the auspices of Sir Lepel Griffin, and of the other gentlemen who have undertaken to make this Association really beneficial to India.

MR. W. MARTIN WOOD congratulated the Meeting upon the absence of all controversial matters. They were exceedingly indebted to Mr. Rogers for his paper, which really contained a compendious account of one of the most interesting provinces of India, and one of the most easily accessible from this country.

MR. TAHL RAM GUNGA RAM having had the pleasure of visiting Gujarát, wished to make some remarks from his personal knowledge. Those who had read the admirable work of Sir William Hunter would well know how much progress the Bombay Presidency, including Gujarát, had made under the sympathetic government of Lord Reay. Of course, much remained to be done as regards the expansion of Railways ; and British capital could, he thought, be better utilised in opening new lines in Gujarát than in such a barren territory as Uganda. He felt the greatest interest in the amelioration and progress of the Native States. The supremacy of England was due, in a great measure, to the full development of its material resources. All Indians were very glad that the commerce of the world was in the

hands of England. It was the duty of the Native State Rulers to follow the example of the Gaekwar in developing the material resources of the country.

DR. LEITNER considered that Gujarát in many of its institutions gave a lesson of chivalry to India, for instance in the honour that was paid in their villages to both the enemies who fought against, and the friends who defended, them. Little mounds were scattered about on which might be found roughly sculptured those who, whether hostile or friendly, commemorated a type of bravery. There was one that struck him very much. It was the mother pushing the child with a spear out to attack the enemy of the village, and next to him was the victorious (or in other sculptures the fallen) enemy united in death in the honour due to the brave. He thought those were to be congratulated who like Mr. Rogers had lived there, and shown, as he had done, his sympathy with these people, and those who like Lord Reay had been entrusted with the administration of such a country.

MR. DESAI wished to make a remark on the derivation of the word "Gujarát." Gujarát was a corruption of the two terms "Gurjura" and "Rashtra." There was a sect of Gurjurs who settled down in the country. "Rashtra" was a country. Therefore it was the country of the Gurjurs. Mr. Rogers had shown a deep insight into the habits and customs of the people of that part of India. Even though he (Mr. Desai) was born in the country he had learnt many things from Mr. Rogers on this occasion. For the stability of the British Empire men like Lord Reay and Mr. Rogers were required; and he was confident that there was no danger from any quarter as long as they had administrators of such calibre.

MR. ROGERS in reply observed that his reason for making no reference to the question of Railways in his paper was that he did not wish to make the paper too long; but it was a very interesting point, and he desired to show them upon the map how the Railways ran. The main Line running through the country was the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railway, which ran along the coast by Surat, Broach, Baroda Kaira, and Ahmadabad. From Ahmadabad it ran northwards, and was eventually connected with Agra and Delhi, and that part of the country. Ahmadabad was also connected with the peninsula of Kathiawar, and there were a number of branch lines, amongst others one running through these Districts to Bhaunagar itself. Amongst the new lines Lord Reay had mentioned were these. The Town of Ahmadabad was to be connected with Parantej, a line of 40 or 50 miles, which would open up a very rich agricultural country, and would therefore be of very great advantage. There was another line which had not been mentioned, a branch from the Bombay and Baroda line in the Kaira district running up into Malwah to Ratlam; so that eventually it would be connected with the Midland Railway. One great advantage of that would be that the salt which is now taken up by pack bullocks would be taken up by the Railway into Malwah, and very likely Opium would come down there instead of going all the way down to Bombay. The other line Lord Reay had mentioned was from Surat by Nandurbar to Khandesh. That would also be a very im-

portant line, and he was glad to hear that the Gaekwar was going to subscribe 30 lacs of Rupees. He ought to do a great deal in that direction because the line would mostly pass through his territory. He hoped eventually to see other lines in Gujarāt, some of which had been talked about for a very long time. They, no doubt, had heard of the small line running to Amod and Jumboosee, which had been talked of for the last thirty years, but was not yet carried out. That was a line which would certainly pay. The whole of the country was so richly cultivated that Railway lines in almost any direction would pay. In the Broach Collectorate they might travel for miles and not find a single waste field. About 95 per cent. of the whole area of the Broach Collectorate was actually under cultivation ; so much so that people could scarcely find grass for their cattle. Another question that Lord Reay alluded to was the Well Assessment. Under recent settlements the rates that were originally fixed separately of Wells had been all amalgamated with the land Revenue. A certain extra rate had been put upon the lands in which there was a possibility of making Wells, and no more was to be charged. Dr. Leitner had alluded to the monuments outside the villages. They would be found more in Kathiawar, and in Northern Gujarāt, than in the South. They were mostly figures of Warriors on horseback armed with spears and shields ; but the particular feature in them was that on the top of them all there was a figure of the Sun and Moon, which meant that the glory of the people commemorated by the stones would last as long as the Sun and Moon.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he had no knowledge of Gujarāt in the strict sense of the word, but for some years when Lord Reay was Governor of Bombay he was in charge of all the districts in Central India immediately attached to Gujarāt. He therefore knew very well its character, and the people on either side of the border. He wished to bear his testimony to the exceedingly vivid and graphic manner in which Mr. Rogers had described the country and people. In his opinion the most interesting people on that border were the Bheels who overflowed from the Hills on the border, and on the Nerbudda, into a considerable part of the Gujarāt District. They were an Aboriginal Race whose language did not possess much antiquity, but seemed to be derived from Aryan, or Sanscrit sources. On that matter Dr. Leitner, to whom he would gladly make over his Bheel vocabulary, would be much better able to give an opinion. They were a people who had been hitherto very much neglected, but were singularly amiable, and almost the only race that he had met anywhere who absolutely, like George Washington, did not know how to tell a lie. He had had many Bheels before him for murder, but scarcely ever had one who, if he had committed a murder, did not confess it at once without any shrinking. Their faults were mostly due to drinking, and when they were not drunk they were the most virtuous people on the face of the earth. He did not know whether that was their character in Gujarāt, but certainly it was so on the other side of the border. He would express his concurrence with what Lord Reay had said on the matter of Railways ; and he thought that Lord Reay's very weighty expressions would very

much strengthen the hands of the present Government in dealing with the important question of the development of Railways in India.

MR. ROGERS was afraid he could not give the Bheels in Gujarāt quite such a good character, but certainly those who had not come too much into contact with the civilization of the plains were a truthful people. There was another small caste in the south of Surat, the Dublas, which he could point out as being even more truthful than the Bheels.

THE CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Rogers for his very able paper, which having been seconded by Mr. Tahl Ram was carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.

In the course of his reading his paper, Mr. ROGERS made the following remarks :

"One of the traditions of the country as to the origin of the name of Broach is this. One of the ancient sages was called Booroo. He was an inhabitant of Broach, which was then called by his name—Boorooch—hence the name Broach. The tradition is as to a flat piece of land opposite Broach about three miles in width. There was a washerman—a dhobi, as they were called in India, who in former days said to the Sage that it was a great trouble to him to go all the way from Broach to a certain place on the bank in order to wash his clothes. The Sage said 'Never mind; you are a good servant of mine and give me plenty of presents and I will arrange that little matter for you. What you have to do is this. The next time you go to wash do not carry your clothes but tie them up in a bundle and trail them on behind you. You will see what will happen.' The man took his advice. He did not look back till he got to Broach itself and then he found the river flowing at the foot of the walls.

"The class of the Gunbis have a very curious custom of only having one marriage day in twelve years. Nobody can be married except on that one single day. The results are most curious. A man happening to lose his wife just before the expiration of the twelfth year, has, when the new marriage day is nearly approaching, to rush all over the country to find a wife and very likely he cannot find one at all. It often results in children of one or two years of age or even less being married, that is to say an arrangement is made by which if the expected child should turn out to be a female, the marriage is arranged. I am afraid that in consequence of this custom infanticide has been very greatly prevalent in that part of the country, but owing to arrangements which have been lately made I think it has been pretty well put a stop to. Great credit is to be given to the Rajputs at Kathiawar on the opposite coast because they have not followed the custom which has existed in Rajputana itself and other parts of the country of destroying their female infants. I have known families of Rajputs with numbers of grown-up daughters."

#### DISCUSSION ON "THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS."

A Paper was read by Mr. Alfred Nundy, Barrister-at-Law, on "The Indian National Congress: its origin, aims, and objects," at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, S.W., on Monday, February 17th, 1896.

Sir Lepel Griffin, as Chairman of the Association, was in the chair.

The following, among others, were present :—of the Council—Drs. Leitner and Ince, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Messrs. T. H. Thornton, Lesley Probyn, A. K. Connell and J. B. Pennington ; also Messrs. T. A. Bahadurji, G. B. Bhagtani, G. N. Chakrabutty, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Cavalier, Messrs. C. V. Chapman, H. R. Cook, B. Dass, T. J. Desai, J. S. Duff, H. N. Haridas, C. Hudson, M. A. Jinnah, C. Krishna Menon, R. M. Middleton, G. V. Morgan, T. C. Morton, P. Pillai, Tahl Ram, J. Ray, Dr. E. Oswald, Rev. G. C. Reynell, Messrs. A. Rogers, J. W. Rundall, Surgeon-Captain Sinha, J. W. Walker, A. H. Wilson, A. T. Wintle and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secy.

The Chairman briefly introduced Mr. Nundy, and said that the subject of "The Indian National Congress" fairly came within the scope of the discussions of the East India Association, as would any question in which a large section of our Indian fellow-subjects took an interest. Mr. Nundy then read the Paper, which will be found elsewhere in this Review. At its conclusion the following discussion took place :

Mr. HARIDAS was gratified to hear that the origin and aims of the Indian National Congress were considered legitimate subjects for discussion by the East India Association. The Congress was the natural sequence of the policy followed by British Statesmen for the last fifty years. Its object was to unite Englishmen and Indians by a unity of heart. Englishmen could not understand them unless educated Indians assisted England in the government of the country. The Congress was like a humble petitioner stating its grievances and only asking to be heard. The opposition which the Congress had received proceeded from ignorance, for the Congress supplied intelligent Indian opinion. It might be said that the Congress did not express the opinions of the martial races of India. This he denied. The best way of showing sincere affection for those races was to give them military colleges and commissions in the army—in fact, to treat them as British subjects and British soldiers. The Congress did not put forward extravagant demands but simply asked that grievances be heard and reasonably dealt with.

Mr. J. N. RAY : "The Indian National Congress" is, no doubt, making headway. The meeting has listened to the views of the so-called "orthodox" section of the Congress ; they should also know that there was a minority which held different opinions. The reason why the Congress had not been able to achieve more was due to its taking up from the first an attitude of humility towards the British Government. It had been kneeling before that Government which was incapable of appreciating such an attitude. If the Congress were to assert its rights, they would be more likely to be listened to. The only justification for the British in India was to do good to its people. The Government attitude of late years had widened the gulf between them. Everywhere in India amongst the younger men there was a growing distrust of the English. The only way to prevent this was to countenance such movements as the Indian National Congress and to introduce the principle of representation in every department of political life. To a great extent the dissatisfaction was due to the

people not having any responsible share in the work of government. The advent of the English into India was one of the glorious facts of history and he would like to see the old civilization of India revived through the influence of Western civilization.

Mr. TAHL RAM opposed the Congress because the Congressists aimed at destructive and not constructive reforms and did not take the trouble to develop the resources of the country. Care should be taken that those connected with the Congress were men of high character and morality. As for extending the permanent settlement the financial difficulty was in its way.

Mr. P. P. PILLAI: In England the National Indian Congress is said to be socialistic and revolutionary; that is a mistake. The Congress wished to unite the different people of India in a feeling of brotherhood, and to improve the relations between Government and the people. Some years ago he suggested a National Congress. It had now been formed and had united the different peoples of India on a common platform. This was a great triumph, largely due to British rule. Mr. Nundy had dealt with many Congress Resolutions, but Mr. Pillai dissented from those referring to the salt duty. The ryot did not feel its hardship so much as that caused by other taxes. He had never heard a ryot complain of it as of other taxes. As for the Resolution concerning the India Office Council, the administration was going from bad to worse. As regards previous speakers' reference to the bureaucracy, the people of India had strong confidence in its honesty. The average Englishman was not an oppressor or a tyrant, though he might do things out of ignorance, which ignorance was increasing.

Mr. CHAKRABUTTY congratulated Mr. Nundy on his very moderate paper. The English were anxious, with their present lights, to do India justice. They must, however, see the reasonableness of "The Indian National Congress." The fact of a certain section of Indians not liking it because it did not go far enough, was a proof of the moderation of its aims. At present there were great grievances to complain of and the Congress was the best medium for their expression.

Mr. JINNAH was glad the paper had been read before a Society which badly needed its information. He had the greatest respect for the English nation, but this was a time for truth, not adulation. The Congress was not revolutionary. It did not mean to take up arms against the English. It only wanted to be heard, and it must be heard. If this were constantly refused, statesmen would understand what would be the consequences. The people of India wanted the same rights and privileges that Englishmen had. Mr. Nundy had referred to the simultaneous examinations and the salt duty. The latter was an iniquitous tax, unheard of in any other country. The revenue from the salt duty in the first year was sixty millions and after two years it fell to twenty-two millions, showing that the people had to go without salt.

Mr. ALEXANDER ROGERS: Would the previous speaker say what other tax he would impose which would touch the people of India generally? India required an income in order to support the Government. The salt

tax in India amounted to about  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head of the population. That was not a grievous burden. It only amounted to two days' labour in the year.

Dr. INCE: The Association warmly welcomed a discussion on the National Congress and were delighted to see so many of their Indian fellow-subjects. One speaker had alluded to the National Congress as an academic, and another as a scientific, question; it was really a philosophical one. It was the intellectual product and evolution of the Government of India during the English *régime*. If they found some ideas in the Congress which were perhaps not in unison with its healthy growth and the condition of things, they should not condemn it, but rather prune away those excrescences. He wished particularly to refer to the salt duty. The quantity of salt required for each human being was something infinitesimal in quantity and in price. Mr. Rogers had mentioned  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. as the yearly expenditure of each individual, but that included salt used in manufactures and for other purposes. The value of the salt consumed by individuals scarcely amounted to a penny in the year. It was one of the fairest taxes upon one of the most universal articles of consumption.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON: Although as a Government servant he had not taken part in the deliberations of the Congress, his sympathies were to a great extent with it. The English Government had not thoroughly appreciated the capacity of the Indians for co-operation and organisation. He did not agree with some of the statements, especially as to the salt tax. Indirect taxation was soundest, and its incidence light. It was the duty of every officer in India to understand the feelings of the people and to work in harmony with them as far as possible. Governors and governed were beginning to understand each other better, but there should be a deliberative and corrective body like the Congress.

Mr. NUNDY in reply stated that if the salt tax was small the people were very poor. The present Lord Cromer assessed the average annual income of the Indian at Rs. 27 or about 30s. The proportion of  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to thirty shillings was certainly a large one. As for the Congress taking up questions of the improvement of the better classes and neglecting the poorer classes its taking up the salt tax disproved the accusation. Many Congress members, indeed, thought that the income tax should be raised rather than continue the present salt tax. A speaker had said that the Congress leaders tried to hoodwink the British public by posing as loyal to the English nation when really they were not, but there was absolutely no foundation for this allegation. They not only appreciated British rule but they could not do without it. It was to their interests that it should continue, but they desired the introduction of reforms.

The CHAIRMAN expressed on behalf of the Council of the Association their pleasure in receiving so many gentlemen unconnected with the Association. Many of the remarks made were of value, and there was nothing in what had been said to which any person could fairly take exception. No assurance on behalf of the Congress as to its loyalty to the government of the Queen was needed. It was a question of opinion as to whether all the proposals it put forward were or were not for the good of



the country or whether they were premature. Englishmen did not object that people expressed their grievances in forcible language. They did so themselves and he too had not been accustomed to conceal his opinions, pleasant or the reverse. Though not discussing any of the questions which Mr. Nundy had treated with great ability and moderation, he wished to instance the salt tax in order to show that Indian gentlemen of great intelligence differed so widely that it was not to be wondered at if the Government were compelled to differ from one half of them, because they could not possibly agree with both. Mr. Jinnah had denounced the salt tax as most iniquitous, but was it more wicked to impose a tax upon salt than upon any other article of almost universal use? Was it, for example, flagitious to impose an import duty upon wheat? That was done by every nation in Europe except England at the present day, and it was done in England until a generation ago. These things must be considered from the point of view of a Government which cannot live unless it raises a large revenue. It was not from any desire to impoverish the people that the salt duty was imposed, but because there was such a very large area on which the Government could collect a very small tax from each.

Mr. PILLAI had never heard a complaint from a ryot against the salt duty. Sir Lepel had made the same remark about a year ago and had had great opportunities of observing the imposition of taxation in the Punjab. Lord Cromer's calculation, even if correct, showed that the salt tax was not excessive. He did not desire to press his views upon the meeting but only to show that on no question could intelligent holders of different views dogmatize with safety.

In conclusion, the Chairman expressed the warm thanks of the meeting to Mr. Nundy for his interesting paper and the moderate way in which he had put a contested question before them.

#### DISCUSSION ON "THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA AND THE CLOSING OF THE MINTS."

At a MEETING of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Monday, March 16th, 1896, a paper on "The Financial Condition of India and the closing of the Mints" was read by A. K. Connell, Esqre., M.A., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, among others, were present:—Sir William Wedderburn, Dr. T. H. Thornton, Lady Lyall, Dr. Penny, General Burlton, Mr. Pinhey, Mr. L. Probyn, Mrs. A. K. Connell, Mrs. and Miss Currie, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Morris, Messrs. G. Bain, Bhagtari, T. J. Desai, K. A. Ghaswalla, G. R. Lloyd, Mowbray, J. B. Pennington, C. Price, A. Rogers, G. Seton, Tahl Ram, E. Tye, W. M. Wood, and C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN said that there could not be two opinions as to the importance of the question to be discussed. Mr. Connell was a well-known member of the Association and an authority in such subjects. Whether one agreed or not with his opinions, only good could result from their public discussion. Lord Reay or Lord Harris had been expected to preside but were prevented by public duties. Sir Auckland Colvin had also been unable to preside.

SIR LEPHEL GRIFFIN also incidentally mentioned that a letter had been received from the Thakore Sahib of Palitana, a V.P. of the Association, thanking them for their congratulations upon the honour which had been conferred upon him by Her Majesty.

The Paper was then read by Mr. Connell, and will be found elsewhere in this Review. At its conclusion,

Mr. LESLEY PROBYN said :—Though I do not agree with much that Mr. Connell has said, I accept his general statements that the injury to Indian Finance caused by the loss on exchange has been greatly exaggerated. There are certain items, however, about which there can be no doubt. There is the large gold interest on the Government debt; there are the large gold pensions and leave allowances, all of which payments require an amount of rupees proportionate to the rate of exchange, and the lower the rupee falls the greater is the burden on the Indian taxpayer. There are other items which go to compose the 17 millions of home charges which are not very much affected by the exchange, such as stores and Railway remittances, and those things which are more an adjustment of goods as between England and India. They are not like the direct loss which takes place in the case of the fixed charges to which I have alluded. Mr. Connell says that there is a set-off against these losses in the increased revenue which the Government gets in consequence of the high prices caused by the expansion of the currency. The question of prices is no doubt a very difficult one; but I think Mr. Connell has made a mistake in attributing the rise of prices to the fall in the value of the rupee. What rise has occurred has been, I believe, owing to the development of India by its Railways. The Railways of India have acted as a great leveller of prices. They have equalised the price of wheat in Central India and in Bombay. In 1862 the price of wheat at Raipore in the Central Provinces was 83 seers the rupee; in 1869 it was only 15 seers; in 1891 it was 17 seers. My object in bringing these figures to your notice is to show that prices are not regulated by causes operating on silver, but by causes operating on the commodities themselves. If the theory be true that the prices depended entirely on causes affecting money, why was there this enormous difference? The real cause is that Railways have levelled prices; and yet I understand that Mr. Connell deprecates the expenditure which has been and is still being incurred on Railways. This is like trying to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. So long as the expenditure on Railways yields a fair return, so long do I think it is the duty of the Government to encourage it. Mr. Connell's statement that the Anglo-Indian mind was greatly biassed by personal interest is unjust. I do not think that any of the members of the Governor-General's Council who put their names to the dispatch which was laid before Lord Herschell's Committee were influenced in the smallest degree by personal interest. This can be proved by the result of that Committee's deliberations. They entered upon that investigation with views diametrically opposite to those they afterwards adopted. Lord Welby and Lord Farrer, two of the members of the Committee, had committed themselves years ago against the very proposition which they afterwards felt bound to accede to. Lord

Herschell was chosen Chairman because it was thought well to get a Chairman with a judicial unbiassed mind, and that Committee, after careful deliberation, came to the conclusion that it was desirable to close the mints. Some confusion has arisen as to the real object of closing the mints. Some thought that the object was merely to raise the value of the Rupee. If you read the Report of Lord Herschell's Committee you will see that it was nothing of the sort, that it was merely to give a steady value to the Rupee. The object was to introduce a gold standard, and as the first step towards that end it would be absolutely necessary to close the mints. Lord Herschell's Committee came to the conclusion that it was necessary to have a gold standard. I think they were right. I think it is for the advantage of India that some change should be made in the old currency of that country. Rightly or wrongly, silver had been discarded as the standard of value in the principal European Countries which had hitherto so used it. In consequence its value in the markets of the world fell tremendously. Yet silver was being poured into India at an enormous rate, and the Indian people were accepting it as of good value when it really was not. Since April, 1873, the net amount of silver received into India was 183 crores of Rupees. That is now worth in gold about 30 or 40 million pounds sterling less than when it was received. The popular fallacy is that that money is scattered all over the country in currency. Out of the 500 or 600 crores of Rupees of silver which now exist in India the amount in the currency is only about 130 crores, the remainder of it is hoarded, or turned into ornaments, or buried, or kept as a reserve. These are the figures given by Mr. F. C. Harrison in the *Economic Journal*. I want to point out that the Indian people, by receiving all this silver which was actually falling in value in the world, were suffering a very material loss, and it was, I think, the duty of Government to prevent that loss from growing. Therefore I think they did rightly in taking the first step towards the establishment of a gold standard; but I think they have been wrong in not going further, and in not saying at what rate they are going to make the Rupee the representative of gold. I think it will be a very great hardship on the Indian people if the value of the Rupee is forced up so high that there is a very great difference between the value of their hoards and the value of the coin, and I am sure that three of the members of that Committee were as much against any attempt at artificially forcing up the value of the Rupee as I am.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD thought they needed to discriminate between finance proper and a monetary system. Mr. Connell had not said as much about the closing of the mints as might have been expected. Its first obvious effect would be to reduce the volume of the currency, and that would tend to the lowering of prices throughout India. The question as to prices Mr. Connell has partly answered: he thought that they had risen. Mr. Connell should have gone a little fuller into statistics as to the exports of 1882 and 1892. Why had the naturally expected result from the lessening of the currency not followed? It was partly accounted for in the Report of the Currency Department of 1894-95 (the Bombay Summaries of August

last). They had in various ways  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores coming in to check the fall in prices which would otherwise have resulted. These withdrawals of Rupees from the hoards were being replaced of course by bar silver. This silver which presumably had been coined by the Government, was being paid out gradually in meeting Council Bills. In the same Currency Report it was estimated that the total Rupees coined and then still current was 335 crores. A writer in the same Summaries a year ago quoted an authority who in 1874 calculated that it required 60 millions sterling to provide India with adequate gold currency; another authority calculated it at 80 millions. If Mr. Probyn estimated the total currency of Rupees at 130 crores—and he has just reminded them that the import of silver into India was 180 crores since 1873—this was manifestly an inadequate estimate. Mr. Connell had dealt mainly with the financial, or serious, aspect of the case. They were indebted to Mr. Connell for his exceedingly comprehensive criticism of the financial results of the Railway System in India, though Sir David Barbour could not accept his conclusions. The total deficiency between outlay on Railways and their receipts amounted to 68 million Rupees since their establishment. But there was something to show for that on the other side. He agreed with Mr. Connell as to the extravagant manner in which many of the former Railways had been carried out and the utter absence of economy and foresight which had in the last year or two again been shown in some of the Indian Railway projects; but, making large allowances for this, the Railways had largely promoted the prosperity of India. The whole question of finance, so far as it concerned the currency and exchange, came back to the question of the money remittances, 17 crores a year, which had been made to this country. These large and constant withdrawals from the annual revenues of India knocked the bottom out of what could have been done as to the currency or exchange. Mr. Connell had once more laid the ghost about exchange being the sole difficulty of the Indian Official: he had shown that it arose from other causes which were beyond their own control. A profligate expenditure had been allowed, and *that* had increased the burden of exchange; it was going on increasing, and there was needed a more emphatic repetition of the protests which Mr. Connell had made. Then they must remember the compensation allowances which were paid out of the Treasury. The root of the whole matter was the enormous withdrawals, and the only direct alleviation would be for the British Treasury to provide a portion of the 17 millions, if it were only 3 to 5 millions. That would at once relieve the situation. (Hear! Hear!)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN agreed generally with what was said in the paper about the condition of Indian finances, the cause of their critical condition and where the remedy was to be sought. Indian finance seemed to him in a very unsatisfactory state, when all the useful expenditure in India was being starved and constant demands were made for fresh expenditure upon unproductive matters such as frontier wars. They appeared also to have got very near to the end of their reserves in the way of taxation. The authorities must have seen that before they imposed the cotton duties and called upon Manchester to contribute a part of the

funds. He also agreed with Mr. Connell as to the great need of some better control over financial expenditure in India. He thought there should be a means of establishing something like a permanent control over expenditure. Speaking generally, the only real desire for economy was often among the people who had to provide the money. In this country the only people who controlled expenditure were the taxpayers, and in the same way in India the people who had the real interest in keeping down the expenditure were also the taxpayers. Unfortunately they had no voice in the matter; and therefore they saw in the House of Commons a great contrast between the way in which British and Indian expenditure was dealt with. For weeks every detail of British expenditure was fought over, because every M.P. was afraid of his constituents, and Government knew that if they did not give satisfaction they would soon get notice to quit. But for Indian matters one or two evenings at the fag-end of a Session were considered sufficient for dealing with the finances of 200 millions of people. What was the remedy? They should try to increase whatever voice the people of India could have, either direct or indirect, in exercising control over expenditure. Of late years something had been done in the way of giving representative members on the Legislative Councils in India, and that was an indirect opportunity given to the taxpayers of bringing forward their criticisms. He would be very glad to see in the House of Commons an arrangement by which a little more time and attention could be given to Indian finance. (Hear! Hear!) These matters might form the subject of a very useful enquiry by a select Committee of the House of Commons, who might then place before the House a valuable review of the financial condition of India and make some practical recommendations, and it would also educate public opinion with regard to Indian matters. No one could look without regret at the debates which took place on India, showing as they did a want of information or study. There had been a Commission appointed to enquire into the finances of India, but, unfortunately, the terms of the reference did not include any question of policy. The whole expenditure of India depended upon policy. As long as they had a policy of frontier extension they could not possibly have military economy. The policy depended upon public opinion, and public opinion should be cultivated and represented and enforced upon the Government by some well-informed enquiry in, and recommendations by, the House of Commons. (Applause.)

Mr. ALEXANDER ROGERS wished to make a few remarks not strictly within the compass of the paper but on the side of income, over which the natives of India should have more control. The prosperity of Indian finance depended generally upon the income, and that income mainly on the land revenue. Therefore most careful attention should be paid to the administration of the land revenue. This examination, particularly in the Madras Presidency, would be of the utmost assistance. The administration was now false from top to bottom. He had figures which bore out that statement. The administration seemed to be by eviction of tenants, the worst possible system. The people were disgusted and revenue was lost. The Madras Revenue Reports showed that there were in Madras

nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of acres of assessed lands waste, and he attributed that entirely to the wrong system on which the revenue was administered. The evictions were for the nonpayment of revenue, and if the land revenue were properly assessed there would be no such thing. In the last 12 years from 1879-80 to 1890-91 the number of evictions in the Madras Presidency had been over 850,000. During the last four years they amounted to 10,115, 11,118, 12,400, and over 14,000. The result was that not only the personal property but to a large extent the real property of the people, that was to say their right of cultivation of the soil was sold by auction. 1,130,000 acres had been bought in by Government for want of bidders. According to the last year's returns real and personal property estimated by Government to be of the value of 8 lacs of rupees was put up to auction and produced only 2 lacs. He called attention to this subject in order that something might be done.

Mr. PENNINGTON desired to thank Mr. Connell for the immense amount of information always to be obtained from him. He thought that however papers, looking at India from a purely financial aspect, always seemed to have a considerable amount of unreality about them. A country could not simply be looked at from a financial aspect. It was all very well to say so much had been lost over the railways; but what had they on the other side? With regard also to army expenditure, it was simply a question of insurance.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD: An increase of 50 per cent. in the last 20 years.

Mr. PENNINGTON: There is that increase in the expenditure—but what is the increase in the value of the property? He had a letter from Sir Arthur Cotton who said that no country in the world had progressed like India.

Mr. TAHL RAM said there could be no two opinions as to the bad condition of Indian finances. He objected to frontier expenditure. England must treat India as justly as her colonies. India should not bear the home charges; the Colonies did not. The Railway system should be developed as much as possible.

Mr. CONNELL, in reply, said: As regards the railways, some people have thought that I want to take dynamite round India and blow up all the railways, and that I believe them absolutely a bad thing for the country. What I have always pointed out is the financial result of developing railways in India with capital either guaranteed or raised by the State. It is a recognised fact in Political Economy, at any rate in British History, that there is the greatest objection to the State undertaking great industrial enterprises. I say that any Government that embarks on a great scheme like railways, which, if there is a loss, entails a heavy burden on the taxpayers, must consider very carefully before it goes ahead at a great pace. The Indian Government cannot go in for internal development and raising four or five millions capital every year, and at the same time increase military charges, and annex Upper Burmah, without the State being landed near to bankruptcy. The Indian Government has the greatest difficulty in making both ends meet, and the financial disease has to be diagnosed. One of the causes

of the increased burden to the taxpayer in India is that railways have been built so quickly that there has not been time for the exchequer to recover from the burden which otherwise it might have borne. There would be no objection if railways could be built with capital raised in India, but I do object to the continual raising of capital in England, thereby depressing the home remittances. An allusion has been made to the bias of the official mind on the questions of loss on exchange and closing the mints. I imagine that Anglo-Indians are not above personal interest. I do not suppose that men with high salaries at Simla and Calcutta feel very much the loss by exchange on home remittances, but for years past there has been a large amount of correspondence in the Indian press on the grievance in this respect of Anglo-Indians. I think they were justified in calling attention to it and that the Government has been right under the circumstances in giving compensation allowances. Still I think their personal interest must have had some effect, because since the mints have been closed and exchange has gone up, and since compensation allowances have been granted there has not been that perpetual bimetallic outcry in the Indian press. As regards Lord Herschell's committee Mr. Probyn admitted that the Indian Government had not carried out the recommendations of that Committee. It has closed the mints and raised the rate of exchange, but is it doing anything to carry out that to which the closing of the mints was only a preliminary, namely, having a gold standard? Gold has been leaving the country at a greater rate the last two years than before, and the Government is doing nothing but closing the mints. The result is that the whole of the land revenue of India which has been reassessed lately on the basis of open merits, must necessarily be enormously enhanced as time goes on if those mints are to remain closed.

MR. LESLEY PROBYN: I think it is absolutely unjustifiable to close the mints if it were not preliminary to a gold standard.

MR. A. K. CONNELL: I do not know whether you can say that the Indian Government are going on any further.

MR. LESLEY PROBYN: I do not know that.

MR. A. K. CONNELL: I think they are not, because they are not taking any steps to accumulate gold. The whole famine policy of the Indian Government turns upon an unrestricted rupee currency. That policy is during good years to stimulate as much as possible the export of any superfluous grain crops. In old times there was a large local accumulation of grain of every sort after a good harvest. Now the tendency is for that to leave the country, and in exchange the peasantry no doubt have been getting rupees. Those rupees to a large extent they seem to turn into ornaments upon which when times of pressure come they raise money. You now in time of famine are practically saying that that popular immemorial pawnbroking is to be stopped. Imagine what would happen in London during the unemployed disturbances if you had more or less shut the pawnshops. The Indian Government does not wish to provide food for the people. It has its railway system and it says food will come in and the people will be able to pay for it out of their reserves, and at the same time it says these reserves are not realisable. I cannot see that that policy will work.

The CHAIRMAN on behalf of the meeting thanked Mr. Connell for his interesting paper, and Mr. Probyn who had with great force spoken slightly in opposition to, but in the main in accord with, Mr. Connell. He agreed with Mr. Probyn and Mr. Connell in objecting to the continuous closure of the Indian mints, unless the Government were prepared at once to take steps to set right the question of the Indian currency. The policy of India was no doubt bi-metallic, but he did not see any intention on their part of reopening the mints unless the countries of Europe, which had been bi-metallic, again became so and co-operated in a general effort to rehabilitate silver. If the mints were not reopened it would cause the greatest hardship to the people of India. (Hear, Hear.) It was true, as Mr. Pennington had said, that these financial questions were not abstract questions which could be dealt with *in vacuo*. They were questions to be dealt with practically by the men whose business it was to govern the great Empire of India. It could not be said that there was a certain paper loss here and there, and that consequently the policy which the Government had carried out with the greatest deliberation was wrong. There were great interests to guard, and the best that was possible had to be done under very difficult circumstances. These currency questions and questions of finance had long been the despair of statesmen. He had lately spoken to a dozen or more M.P.'s, and scarcely one of them had any clear idea on the subject of bi-metallism or kindred subjects; and now that a resolution with which he was in great sympathy was coming before the House of Commons, it would be discussed in a House which did not in the least understand the question.

A vote of thanks to Mr. A. K. Connell was carried by acclamation, as was a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the proceedings then terminated.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

THE DRUSE RISING IN THE HAURAN AND SYRIAN  
ATROCITIES.

We received some time ago an account of the disturbances in Syria, which have since been confirmed in the "Times," though much is still mysterious in what has been, and is, going on in that country. Our Syrian correspondent writes: "The first conflict was between the Druses of Hasbia and the strange Muhammadan sect of the Matavallis (regarding whom we hope to publish some interesting information). It began by a well-known Druse Robber-Sheikh being found murdered near a village inhabited both by that sect and Christians. The Druses at first robbed and killed the Christians, but soon extended their vengeance to the Matavallis. Their Sheikh, Hassan, invoked help against the Druses and in a fortnight could muster some fourteen thousand men whom the Christians joined, the Bishop of Jadidi also sending provisions. The Druses on hearing of this union were frightened and sent some of their religious leaders to sue for peace, which was reluctantly granted, the warriors on both sides returning to their homes. Highway robbery by Druses of Christians, however, still continued for over two months. At this moment there is no safety anywhere in Syria. Every day reports a murder or robbery in this or that district. Work is at a standstill everywhere. The Druses of Majdulshams have been fighting with the Arabs at Anli and the Druses of Mount Hauran are fighting with the Moslems living there. The former is only an enlarged edition of the perennial fighting against the Fadli Arabs to whom the Circassian refugees have been added. In this year of anarchy they joined the Beduins in order to avenge themselves, as soon as they heard that the Turkish Government of Damascus had sent a large force to fight the Druses of Hauran, whose depredations had become intolerable. The Druses collected their clans, but that of Hasbia complied with the warning of Government and returned to their town. Whilst the Arabs were plundering some farmers near Majdul, which is inhabited both by Druses and Christians, a small Druse force attacked and routed them and restored the plundered cattle. The victors were pursued by some 4,000 horsemen (Circassians, Beduins and Kurds), when they came on the main force of the Druses, which routed them after three hours' fighting. The Druses chased their enemies to a few miles from Ulkunitim where the Vice-Governor resides, when a Kurd horseman came out of the town and warned them in vain that the Turkish soldiers would attack them. Indeed, the soldiers with the Arabs and their allies marched on the Druses who lost some 120 men before they escaped back to Majdul by midnight. On the following day they hoped in vain for the aid of their brethren at Hasbia and Mount Lebanon and two days later they were surrounded by Mamduh Pasha with 4,000 men and some guns. He wanted the Druses to begin the fight, so as to have an excuse for

burning their town and exterminating them, but the Druses, foreseeing his scheme, agreed to submit and sent one of their Sheikhs, Farhád, with a handkerchief round his neck, to the Pasha stating that the Druses had always been loyal to the Sultan and had only fought against the Arabs and Circassians in self-defence. The Pasha, however, though he let him return in safety, called the Christians out from the town and then ordered the Arabs to set it on fire. The Druses fled with their wives and children to the mountains where some forty died from hunger. The Arabs then plundered and fired two more Druse villages and the soldiers did the same with two other villages. The Governor of the Lebanon would not allow the fugitive Druses to settle there till he had received orders from the Sublime Porte, so that the Druses of the Ulkunitim district are now scattered in that of Hasbia and live there on the charity of their brethren.

"The second conflict, that between the Druses of Mount Hauran and their Mussalman neighbours, was also caused by the tyranny of the former, who would even plunder the frontier-Bedouins, especially the Shelan and Beni Smire tribes. Having heard of the Armenian rebellion, these Druses last year refused to pay the annual taxes to Government and waxed bold in their encroachments. For instance, a rich merchant of Damascus had a large sum of money owing him by the Mussulman Fellahin of Hauran and, failing to get it through the Government, he made the claim over to an influential Druse Sheikh for a commission of 25 %. The Sheikh at once rode to the defaulting villages and gave them the option of paying or of being killed. The villagers resisted, several Druses were killed; finally all the Hauran Moslems rose in arms, were defeated and had some 13 villages plundered and burnt. The Governor of Damascus then was ordered by the Sublime Porte to crush the Druses. There are now over twenty regiments fighting them and in the first engagement 800 Druses were said to have been killed and four of their towns to have been burnt. In a second engagement 1,600 Druses were reported as killed and five more towns as burnt, the soldiers losing only some 70 men. This is the official version, but the people say that the reverse is the truth, for the Druses are splendid fighting men and are well armed with Martini-Henry rifles. Their country also is difficult of access, whilst the bulk of those fighting against them are Fellahin, ill-fed, ill-clad and untrained. Whatever may be the number of regular soldiers killed, there is no doubt that many of the Muhammadan peasantry fighting against the Druses have already died from mere hunger and cold in the present campaign.

"Great fear is prevailing among Christians throughout Syria. The Beirut papers are not allowed to write one word about the state of affairs in the Turkish Empire. All we know is through some Egyptian papers that are moderate in tone. Yet every day we hear of some disturbance or riot near Syria, yea, even in Syria itself. In Aleppo and Damascus Christians are in greater fear than those living near the sea. Every hour they expect death and a great many families have already left for Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Owing to lack of work, people are always talking politics, but only Christians with Christians, Mussulmans with Mussulmans. In fact, Christians are less afraid of the Muhammadan population, than of

the soldiers; the former dare not attack us, for they remember the punishment they received from the European Powers in 1860, but the soldiers do not care for the consequence of their acts. It is the soldiers, and not the Druses, who massacred most of the Christians in the aforesaid conflict, especially in Damascus and the neighbourhood where the Druses are very few. In Beyrut all the houses that are robbed at night and all the men that have been murdered are by soldiers. A few months more of the present state of things and most Christians will die in Syria, if not by the weapons of the soldiers, at all events from starvation."

#### THE DUNGAN REBELLION AND THE MUHAMMADANS IN CHINA.

I HAVE read with much interest Colonel Mark Bell's paper in the January number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," on the Muhammadan uprising in North-Western China, and impatiently await the additional information which he promises for another number of the Review.

Having, on two occasions, visited the North-Western Provinces of China where this rebellion broke out and to which it is still confined, and in view of the apparent lack of information on the subject among the general public, I take the liberty of sending you the following notes, which may prove of interest.

North-Western Kan-su was naturally, from its contiguity to Turkestan, the first parts of China proper to be occupied by Turkish peoples. History tells us that in the eighth century, A.D., a large band of Turkomans came to Kan-su to assist the Chinese in suppressing the rebellion of An-Lu-shan. Tradition adds that when, after many years at such work, the time came for them to return to their native land, few were willing to go, for most of them had taken native wives and preferred remaining in China. Questioned by their chief, Seid Wakhad, whether they would go back with him, they replied *turgan*, "we stay behind"—and so they became known as the Turgani, a word which in process of time has become corrupted into the present form Tungani or Dungan.

There are other explanations of the origin of the name of Tungan, which, by the way, is never employed by Chinese-Muhammadans in speaking of themselves, but appears to be used only by Turkestanis when referring to their co-religionists of the Chinese Empire. The most satisfactory one is that which derives it from a Turki word meaning "a convert."\*

These and other Turki tribes who preceded or followed them thither, and all of whom now profess Muhammadanism, are settled from Sa-chou to Lan-chou and Ning-hsia and along the western border of Kan-su principally in the prefectures of Ho-chou, Titao and Hsi-ning, where they now form a large portion, perhaps a half, of the population.

In 1370, there came a migration of Salar Turkomans to China. They settled along the Yellow River between Kuei-tê on the extreme western

\* On the Dungans, see an interesting note in Col. Kuropatkin's *Kashgaria* (Engl. translation), p. 113 and p. 154, where several other explanations are given of the origin of the name.

border of the province, and the great Muhammadan stronghold of Ho-chou. There they have since lived and multiplied so that to-day they count some 50,000 souls. These Salar have retained the language of their ancestors,\* as well as their warlike spirit, and have never intermingled with the neighbouring Chinese, though they now somewhat resemble them—especially their women,—in physical appearance and in many of their customs. They are held to be the most fanatic of Chinese-Muhammadans and have repeatedly risen in arms against the Chinese, notably in 1781, under Ma Ming-hsin, and later on in the great rebellion of 1861 which, however, had its origin in Eastern Shen-hsi and at Chin-chi P'u on the Yellow River to the south of the Departmental city of Ning-hsia in Eastern Kan-su.

Robert Shaw is, so far as I know, the first European writer who called attention to the Chinese Salar. He met two members of the tribe at Kashgar during his stay there, and the information obtained from them he published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X. (New Series).

Prjevalsky and Potanin saw something of the Chinese Salar during their explorations in North-West Kan-su, but the former (see his *Mongolia*, II., p. 149) thought that they were a Tibetan tribe. So far as my knowledge goes, I was the first foreigner to devote much attention to them, having, during both my journeys in Kan-su, made frequent and careful inquiries about them and visited a large portion of their country.†

Lt. A. C. Yate, in his "Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission" (p. 301), speaks of the western or parent branch of this tribe of Turkomans who, he says, now reside around Old Sarakhs and number about 5,000 families. Mr. P. M. Lessar also refers to them in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" (Vol. V., p. 11), calling them Salyrs, and estimating their number at 5,700 tents.

The present revolt broke out at Hai Cheng, a small walled place about 40 miles N. of Lan-chou Fu and just within the Great Wall; but it soon spread westward, and first assumed dangerous proportions in the western section of the Salar country.‡ The Ahons or priests were at the bottom of it, as they were of the rebellion in the same country in 1861; but in 1895, as in 1861, the Salar were in all likelihood goaded to desperation by the exactions of the Chinese officials, by excessive imposts, the shortness of the last three or four years' crops, and the losses they had sustained in live stock from the terrible cattle plague which swept over the province in 1892 and 1893, destroying probably two-thirds of the cattle and horses in North-Eastern Tibet, in the Koko-nor and Kan-su, in which part of the Empire all their trade relations lay. The domineering conduct, too, of the lamas of the innumerable monasteries which cover this corner of Kan-su in which the Salar live, and which is known to Tibetans as Amdo, may have had a good deal to do with the outbreak, and to this must unques-

\* See my *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, pp. 373-376.

† See *Op. sup. cit.*, pp. 62, 66, 78 *et seq.*

‡ The Salar country proper is divided into eight *Kun*, hence the name of Salar pa Kun by which it is usually called by the Chinese. See *Op. sup. cit.*, pp. 77 and 81.

tionably be added the natural desire of a proud people to regain some of the personal liberties and privileges enjoyed by all Chinese, but refused to them for centuries.

Until about ten years ago no Muhammadan was allowed to enter the city of Hsi-ning without having an official seal, stamped in black on his wrist at the city gate; and for the first few years after the rebellion the stamp was put on the face, near the corner of the mouth. None are allowed to carry weapons, not even the little knife worn by many Chinese in a case hanging from the belt, in which are also their chopsticks. So apprehensive, indeed, are the Chinese authorities of Muhammadans along the north-west borders of China proper, that in most of the large towns of Kan-su they are not allowed to reside within the city walls but only in the suburbs. At Ning-hsia, for example, I found, in 1892, but one Muhammadan inn within the city walls, and at Hsi-ning, Tankar, Kuei-tê and all other border towns of the province, this rule is, and appears to have been for centuries, very strictly enforced. Thus, we learn from Benedict Goës, who visited China in the first years of the 17th century, that the Muhammadans living in North-Western Kansu, especially at Su-chou, were in his time shut up every night within the walls of their own cities, which were distinct from those inhabited by the Chinese.

In the report of my journey of 1892-93 through Mongolia and Tibet, on which occasion I visited for the second time the Salar country, speaking of the Muhammadan Ahons of Western Kan-su, I said:

"Since the suppression of the rebellion (in 1874) the Ahons have not been idle. Some have come from Mecca, some from Medina, some from Turkestan, and they have by their preaching incited the Kan-su Muhammadans to rebellion by urging them to follow customs contrary to the recognized usages and habits of China. Thus, they tried to induce the young men to let their beards grow, parents not to compress their female children's feet, and even encouraged them not to wear queues. In Hsi-ning, when the Chen-t'ai heard that some Muhammadans under forty were wearing beards, he had them called to his Ya-men, gave them their choice, prison or shaving off their beards, and off went the half-dozen long hairs which probably adorned their manly faces.

"As to not compressing girls' feet, the Ahons have been a little more successful; some of the native priests have in the case of their daughters let nature follow its course, but nine-tenths of the Hui-hui are as fond of seeing small-footed women as other Chinese are."

Islamism has, in this century, made an astonishing number of converts among the Chinese. I have no doubt that the total number of Mussulmans within the eighteen provinces of China proper amounts to perhaps 20,000,000. Among the Mongols and some of the Tibetan tribes near the Koko-nor it has also made many proselytes. For example, one of the most prosperous and at the same time independent and war-like tribes of Tibetans of Kan-su is that of the Kargan, who live in the Salar country; and there are bands of Muhammadan Mongols to the west of Hsi-ning and also farther east in the Ordos country.

With the exception of a few of their priests, Chinese-Muhammadans generally are far from conversant with the tenets of their faith. In Northern China they confine themselves to the observance of a few rules of life, such as abstaining from eating pork and other flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner, and from the use of opium and spirits, and in some parts their women appear in public veiled. Their children are

taught to read and write a little Arabic, but most of them quote the Koran in Chinese. Among the Salar, most of the older men recite their daily prayers and make the prescribed ablutions; but in many parts of the country they are so lax in their observance of their religion that they will even burn incense in the Chinese temples and perform a number of other ceremonies supposed to be peculiar to the Kaffir Chinese. These lax Muhammadans are usually known among Chinese as "white-capped Hui-hui," while the more devout ones, and especially the Salar, are called "black-capped Hui-hui."

It is a curious though unquestionable fact that the Chinese-Muhammadans in the different portions of the country I have visited, from Chih-li to Kan-su, show much more enterprise, courage, independence of character and thriftiness than do their countrymen professing other faiths. Throughout Northern China and Mongolia, most of the carters, mule- and camel-drivers, as well as the *Pao piao-ti* who hire themselves out to travelling merchants to protect the property they carry with them,—all professions which expose those following them to attacks from the numerous bands of bandits which infest these regions,—are Muhammadans. The best generals and troops China now has profess this faith. They attribute these well-known characteristics, which may be to a great extent the outcome of their temperance and abstinence from opium, to an infusion of foreign blood from their ancestors,—the Turks in the north, and the Arab sailors who came to the southern and eastern provinces in the 7th or 8th century of our era,—and they hold themselves to be quite a distinct race from the ordinary Chinese.

Whatever the cause of these characteristics, they have made the Muhammadans a source of much uneasiness and trouble to the Chinese Government for many centuries past. They have had to repress frequent revolts among them for which, however, they were themselves primarily responsible, through the culpable negligence and rapacity of the provincial officials. It was Pi Ching, the Governor of Turkestan, who by his maladministration of the country under him caused the great Muhammadan rebellion of 1820 under Chang-ko-erh (*Djihanguir*), also known as *Djengir Khodja*; and it took the Chinese eight years to suppress it. The great rebellion of Yun-nan was brought about by the massacre, in the plains of Ta-li Fu in 1856, of all the Muhammadans of that city, a measure instigated by a former Vice-President of the Board of War, who detested the Hui-hui and wished to rid the province of them. In this case, also, it was years before peace was restored to the province. The rebellion of 1861, which spread over all North-Western China and Turkestan, had its origin in the exactions of the officials, of the gentry and Buddhist priests and lamas of Shen-hsi and Kan-su, and it took seventeen years to put it down.

In none of these uprisings, so far as I am aware, was there at first any desire on the part of the Muhammadans to establish independent states nor was any concerted action agreed upon.\* If they did attempt some-

\* It is, in this connexion, interesting to note that there is very little intercourse, commercial or other, between the Muhammadans of Kan-su and those of Kasgaria. I made frequent inquiry on the subject while in the country, and was everywhere assured of the fact I mention.

times to free themselves of the Chinese yoke, it was an afterthought, and more than once it turned out to be an unfortunate one; for with it arose among them dissensions of which the Chinese were not slow to take advantage and which materially facilitated the difficult task of subduing them. I see nothing in the present case to make me believe that the Kan-su Muhammadans will do otherwise than their predecessors, unless foreign assistance is sought and obtained by China. There will be years of desultory warfare, horrible barbarities, terrible loss of life,—not on the battle-field but on the execution grounds,—and finally, the country of the Kan-su Muhammadans will resume its normal condition. In that condition, as I have seen it, it is a land of narrow valleys and bare mountains, covered with ruins of houses, fallow fields, tumble-down villages, half-deserted towns, a temporarily cowed people unable for the most part to earn a livelihood, men pleasant to speak to, kind-hearted, hot-headed and honest withal, talking much of Islam and hoping against hope for better days. The best friends I have in China are among the Tungans of Kan-su. Together with some of them I have wandered through the deserts of the Ts'aidam and of Tibet, and I have had but praise to give them; and I now feel deep sorrow for their present misfortunes, a feeling intensified by the thought of the merciless way in which the Chinese will probably repress their uprising.\*

Washington, D.C.; 15th Jan'y. 1896.

W. W. ROCKHILL.

#### TREATMENT OF "NATIVES."

We draw attention with the view of eliciting discussion, to the following remarks by Dr. R. N. Cust at the last Meeting of the British Association:

"There is a tendency on the part of the Anglo-Saxon to depreciate the social customs of other Nations, more especially of those, who are on a different level of culture, such as the people of Asia and North Africa. I purposely exclude from my argument all races admittedly in a state of barbarism, and my remarks have no reference to the attempts of Missionary Associations to convert the souls of non-Christian races. . . .

"As regards the majority of our fellow-subjects in British India, it is possible to form acquaintances and friendships, based on a mutual respect, and to associate with them on the same terms as with one's own men, notwithstanding that they differ from us in religion, language, dress, social customs, prejudices, names, mode of address, etc.

"My protest is against the attempt to uproot the ancient Oriental civilization of races which come under the influence of European Powers, and to destroy their ancestral customs and manners of social life in all matters, which are not contrary to the principles of moral law. . . .

"Are we sure that the social customs of Europe and the United States of North America, are in themselves abstractly the best? At any rate they differ very much from each other. It would not be difficult to distinguish a native of India, who had been 'Portuguesed,' from one who had been 'Anglicised' in his externals; both would be objects of derision. Why

\* See Col. Kuropatkin's remarks (*Op. sup. cit.*, p. 155) on the cruelties which attended the suppression of the rebellion of 1861.

do we meet the title 'Mr.' placed before the name of a respectable Hindu or Mahometan of ancient lineage? Why are the female members of his family called 'ladies'? Why in a French Colony are all the residents compelled to learn French, and in British India is the study of English indirectly forced upon the educated youth of the country notwithstanding that they have magnificent vernaculars, older than, and as polished as, English, the outcome of a language, dead and disused except by scholars, which is equal to, or superior to, Greek and Latin? How pitiful does an Indian appear in European garments, whose bearing is graceful and dignified in those of his own country! I might pass under review other features of social life, but my opinion is decided, that the best policy is to leave them alone in all things lawful, and allow the features of their life to develop according to their own standards, and not to attempt to convert a high class Indian gentleman into a Briton of the middle classes.

"An educated native of India, when he receives his oral instructions as an official in a Court, renders the rough, and often ungrammatical, sentences of the European judge or magistrate, into an accurate, faithful, and strictly legal form of words, to make up the record of the case; if called upon to write a letter on public or private affairs in any of the languages of India, he will do it with extreme elegance and suitability to the rank of the party writing and the party written to; there is a recognised style of correspondence which is followed. Now ask the native clerk trained in the English schools to write an English letter, and he will produce a strange bombastic, Johnsonian, document, painful to read, and causing the training, which could lead to such a production, to be despised. Scores of such letters are handed about as the specimens of the new culture of the Anglicised Indian to be laughed at.

"Another party wishes to reform the Marriage Laws, or the Dietary, of a Nation of nearly 300 millions, because they do not conform to the custom of the English middle classes. In the East, marriage takes place at an extremely early age, and the boys and girls, as we should describe them, are parents. If this practice were destructive of life, we should not have a population increasing at the rate of three millions per annum. Those who have lived among the people of India in their hundreds of market-towns and thousands of villages, can testify to the absence of outwardly visible signs of suffering, which are obvious to the traveller in North Africa from Egypt to Marocco. There are no Divorce Courts in India except for the convenience of the Europeans.

"Why not leave the subject of matrimony to gradual modification under the influence of education, both male and female, civilization of an indigenous character, and individual freedom?

"So as regards the articles of consumption by way of food and drink; what possible advantage can come from an Association composed of male and female residents in a different country, attempting to control a vast Oriental population, crying out, 'You must not eat, or smoke opium; you must not drink alcohol?' etc. This advice is more painfully ridiculous, as the people of India know that the English are the most drunken race of the world, while the majority of themselves by habit, poverty, and religion, are total abstainers.



"Polygamy and polyandry are distasteful subjects, and yet the former recalls the names of King David and King Solomon. The practice of polygamy, though legal both to Hindu and Mahometan, is dying out. The Government of India tolerates no customs contrary to morality, such as the burning of widows, the slaughter of female children, the burying alive of lepers, the exporting of persons to be slaves; any form of injury to life whether under religious sanction, or purely secular, is sternly repressed. There are no eunuchs recorded in the last census; the class has ceased to exist, as the process is punishable by criminal law.

"My references are chiefly to India, because thence I can produce facts, as an eye witness, and possessing considerable experience. The principles of the Indian Government are essentially conservative in the best sense, and sympathetic, going to the extreme limit of religious tolerance, such as the world has never witnessed before; so as regards the legal consequences of marriage and inheritance, the old laws of the country are maintained: no attempt is made to introduce Roman law or English law, unless on subjects not provided for by Indian law; but the asperity of patriarchal law is checked; no wife is made over to her husband against her will; the status of the female is elevated to equality with the male.

"An amount of forbearance to customs, which to European eyes seem ridiculous, is required, and should be enforced on foreigners who introduce themselves into any country, the natives of which never invited them. If foreigners were to introduce themselves into England, and Arab Mahometans were to get possession of a plot of ground close to Westminster Abbey, erect a conspicuous mosque with minarets, and call to prayer in loud tones, I doubt whether the populace of London would bear it. They would at first treat it contemptuously as a nuisance, and the police would deal with it in the category of dustmen, fruitsellers, and milkman's cries, or a street-band of nigger singers and music; but there would be a limit to patience.

"But what can be said of Englishmen who presumably enter China on a Christian Mission, erecting on a sacred hill in Fuchau a lofty building, which overhung the place of Chinese worship? The Chinese have a custom called 'Fung Shu,' which considers the falling of the shadow of another building on a sacred place as desecration. If the Chinese from time to time rise up against the 'Foreign Devils' and take their revenge in an atrocious manner, this is the real cause: that they do not want the presence of overbearing and unsympathising foreigners in their midst.

"In British India Europeans are compelled by equal laws to conduct themselves with restraint, and to their honour it may be said that they do so. Thirty years ago however an American erected a chapel on the edge of a Sacred Tank in Northern India for the convenience of addressing the Hindu devotees while bathing. It was a gross outrage. Let us imagine a body of Mormons, or Theosophists, erecting a preaching-shop just outside the doors of Westminster Abbey. I took Lord Canning, the Viceroy, down to see it, and by his orders had it razed to the ground.

"Now it is possible, though not probable, that a compound Indo-European language may come into existence by the same process, that produced the great Urdu Lingua-Franca or 'camp' language of the Turki

and Persian invaders of India. Yet care is taken by the Government of British India that administration and education in all its departments is carried out in the vernacular of each province; they are noble forms of speech and as numerous as the languages of Europe; one at least is spoken by 80 millions. No encouragement is given to change of the native dress of the officials; they are expected to uncover their feet, and cover their heads in the presence of their superiors. This marks a great principle.

"The conclusion I have come to after fifty years of experience, wide reading, and careful consideration is summed up in the few words:—'Leave the people of Oriental countries alone.' Maintain a firm, impartial criminal and civil court of justice, with no prejudice against, or favour for, the black, white, red, or yellow skin; free locomotion, free right of assembly, free religion, free trade, free press (subject to the same limitation as in England), opposition to old women's fads, and the gushy suggestions of impertinent intruders into the domestic habits of a nation many centuries older, and very much more numerous, than our own. Customs and the salient features of civilization will gradually modify. Respect for human life, and respect for rights of property and the liberty of the person, create a social environment totally unknown before; we do not want the great races of India, and China, and the extreme Orient, or the barbarian races of Africa, south of the Equator to be trimmed to the model—intellectual and social—of the middle classes of England. They are free from some of the vices of British civilization, and possess some virtues which we fail to attain; although they have compensating vices of their own, the result of ignorance, oppression, and isolation from contact with other nations. Leave them alone to tread their own path, and develop their own social idiosyncracies under a realm of impartial and absolute law."

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#### SIR T. WADE AND FORMOSA.

SINICUS in an article dated Shanghai, 11 October 1895 on the late Sir Thomas Wade, refers as follows to his prescience as shown in the settlement of the Formosa difficulty:

"The Formosa incident of 1874, in which Wade took an active part, deserves to be better known. A number of Loochooan Junkmen had been murdered by certain semi-savage tribes in Southern Formosa, and Japan, as the power claiming to exercise sovereign rights over the Loochoo islands, sent troops to chastise the tribesmen, and her representative at Peking demanded compensation from the Chinese Government. The military power of Japan had just then been consolidated, and the Samurai or military class clamorously urged an extension of empire or a trial of strength with either Korea or China, and the Mikado was forced to divert public attention, as is now done by autocratic Russia in Central Asia, by despatching an expedition to Formosa. China, glorying in her ancient prestige and in her being the foster-mother of Japanese civilization, but unaware of the newly acquired military strength of Japan, attempted to stand on her own dignity and to poopoo the idea of a nation of dwarfs dictating terms to a strong nation of stalwart men. A crisis in the negotiations had ensued, and a rupture was imminent between the two Powers

when Wade stepped in as a peace-maker. His efforts were entirely successful, and he was thanked publicly by both the Mikado and the Tsungli-Yamen. Owing to Wade's diplomatic ability, war and bloodshed were staved off for 21 years, and the 'face' of both powers was saved by the peculiar wording of the treaty, which is as follows :

" 'In the matter of the savages of Formosa reference being had to an understanding arrived at with the two Governments by the British Minister, Mr. Wade, and to the instrument this day signed, recording the action to be taken respectively by the two parties thereto, the Chinese Government will at once give the sum of 100,000 taels to compensate the families of the shipwrecked Japanese who were killed. In addition to this the Chinese Government will not fail to pay a further sum of 400,000 taels on account of the expenses occasioned by the construction of roads and erection of buildings which, when the Japanese troops are withdrawn, the Chinese Government will retain for its own use.'

"In September, 1882, Wade received a telegram summoning him to London 'to communicate personally with Lord Granville,' and he went home. He retired on a pension in July, 1883, and was made a G.C.M.G. in May 1889. Before he left Peking he handed to the Tsungli Yamen a comprehensive note suggesting certain important reforms; but with the *laissez-faire* characteristic of that institution, his note of warning was unheeded, and the disaster, which he foresaw more than 20 years ago, befell China. China's humiliation can only be retrieved by unearthing Wade's note among the archives of the Tsungli Yamen and by carrying out the suggestions contained therein."

SINICUS.

#### SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN'S POLICY.

Sandeman's policy involved too much interference to make it possible to avoid annexation—if not in name, at all events as the practical result. Independence cannot be maintained when every action has to submit to the controlling influence of a British official. With the loss of independence goes the loss of self-respect on the part of the chief, accompanied by a feeling of outrage to the minds of his people. The people consider their OWN chiefs as their *rightful* leaders, and no European, whatever his high qualities, can take the place of the high-born who is bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh!

Taking Sandeman as a servant of the conquerors of India and as an alien possessing nothing in common with the people he ruled over, I think he stands in the front rank of the party of progress. He was manly, simple, and kindly, and desired to deal justly by all classes, whilst serving the interests of his own nation. At the same time I believe that his policy must help to make hypocrites of men, and in the end deprive them of the manly virtues which enable men to stand up against injustice, or to meet an enemy in the battlefield.

If ever Russia invades India, England must greatly rest her defence of her Eastern Empire upon the might as well as the good will of the people of Afghanistan, and of the Tribes that intervene between that country and the Indus. BOTH qualities will be needed. I believe that the only way to nurse this resource of defence is to leave Afghanistan and the Tribes to their own selves. If thus left, I believe we have nothing to fear. Unless

so left, we shall stand alone. Then the first battle lost will be followed by chaos.

I cannot agree in Sandeman's opinion that "If we knit the frontier tribes into our Imperial system in time of peace and make their interests ours, they will certainly not oppose us in time of war, and as long as we are able and ready to hold our own, we can certainly depend upon their being on our side."

Nature is no doubt the same everywhere as Sandeman states in his last official memorandum, but it is this very human nature that detests the authority of the stranger in race, religion, speech and everything else that distinguishes the European from the Asiatic.\* As we extend British control over all the frontier tribes not subject to the Ameer of Kabul, you at the same time extend enmity and hatred of the English name and create a unity of interest in looking forward to the coming of a power able to threaten British supremacy. The old policy of punitive expeditions followed by withdrawal is still the only one that can be adopted with honour and safety. It is not a policy as described by Lord Lytton of "alternate vengeance and inaction," but a policy that might be more aptly described as one of "redress followed by peace." The new policy, on the contrary, is a constant and costly sore.

As for Sandeman's system of Tribal service and of working through committees of Tribal chiefs, both are the best means available to a conquering race. Sandeman, however, was not the first to introduce the system on the Frontier, it had been in force for many years—and had been worked along the Frontier from the winter of 1852. Tribal men held the small intermediate posts and were termed the Frontier Militia.

As regards the Khyber, its being now safely guarded by the Pass Afridis is surely due to General Sir Donald Stewart and not to Sandeman, as seems to be implied in Mr. Thornton's Lecture, nor can it be substantiated that the Pathan tribes of the Suleimans have voluntarily accepted our protection. This seems to me more like the *sabardasti Balamteer*. It is only the weak that seek the protection of Englishmen. The strong detest interference in every Tribal matter. As for Sandeman's work in bringing under British control the triangular tract between the Gomal Valley and the Marsi Hills, the value of the acquisition has still to be proved. If the Government is ever hard pressed for troops, all superfluous routes will have to be denuded of troops and they will fall into *total* disuse, if, indeed, their present utility is not already next to *nil*.

As for Sandeman finding the trade routes to Afghanistan and Kelat closed, surely caravans have always passed them. When, for instance, have the Povinda Traders ever been unable to come and go through the Gomal Pass? The occupation of Quetta due to Sandeman greatly incensed Sher Ali and helped to bring about the Afghan war, whilst it is by no means certain that our army marched to the Afghan border with all the resources

\* We thought that we had knitted the people of India in peace and made their interests ours. What was the experience at Delhi on the 11th of May 1857? What said the Patiala Agent to his Rajah in his report of the events? "And thus in three hours the British rule of 50 years in Delhi came to an end!" The opportunity given—the same thing would occur in Trans-Indus.

of a united Khelát state being enthusiastically placed at its disposal. Indeed, it is probable that the annexation of the small province of Sibi, which formed the base of the food supply is still a grievance in the eyes of the present Ameer of Kabul. And talking of supplies, God help the Russians who invade India unaccompanied by abundant stores taken at their start, for no road to India is plentifully supplied with food, not to talk with Lord Roberts of that via Chitrál which only yields a few sheep and some grain.

AN EX-FRONTIER OFFICER.

#### DILER-UL-MULK AND THE DECCAN MINING COMPANY.

The name of "Diler-ul-Mulk" is unfamiliar to many, but if that of *Abdul Huk* be added, their memories will at once carry them back to the Parliamentary enquiry in 1888 into what was then called the Deccan Mining Scandal. The result of that enquiry was a great outcry; and the Sirdar Abdul Huk was openly accused not only of having cheated the Government of Hyderabad which employed him, but also of having deceived the British shareholder by inducing him to invest his money in a worthless concern. The consequence was that the company fell into disrepute. Its £10 shares, which at one time had sold for £13, fell gradually until they could be bought for £3 or 4. Several years elapsed and the company seemed to have passed into limbo; but, about 12 months ago, the shares began to rise again, gradually and steadily, until now they are quoted at a premium. This change in the financial aspect of the company led me to make some enquiries on the spot as to what the reasons for such a marked rise could be; and the information which I have received shows not only a very remarkable state of affairs, but gives rise to some important considerations as to the justice which has been dealt out to the man whose name heads this paper.

When the Company first commenced operations it was known that an important and valuable coal-field was in existence; it was also known that 250 years ago diamonds had been found in large quantities; and it was supposed that there were also large auriferous tracts of country. Work was actually commenced on the coal-field and on one of the diamond mines, whilst prospecting parties went out in search of gold. The diamond-mining did not prove lucrative. Diamonds were found but not of a quality or in quantity sufficient to pay; and accordingly the work, on which a large amount of money had been sunk, was abandoned about two and a half years ago. On the coal-field, however, matters were different. A practically inexhaustible supply of coal was discovered which was easy of access and only required systematic development. This, of course, takes time; but year by year a rapid development has taken place, until, from the report of the last year's operations, we find that over 230,000 tons of coal were produced and sold. At the present moment the production is 1,200 tons per day and it can be increased, if only sufficient labour is available. Assuming that there are 300 working days it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that within a short time the out-put of coal may reach the large total of 400,000 tons per annum. Judging from the figures given in the last report, the nett profit to the company would seem to be about 2/6 a

ton; so that 400,000 tons would represent a dividend of 5 % on a capital of £1,000,000 which, in addition to 150,000 deferred shares, was the Company's capital. This in itself explains why the shares should have risen to par value and above; for in the coal-field alone the shareholders had acquired a property worth even the enormous price that had been paid for it. But during the years that had elapsed since the company started, important advance had been made in the search for gold. An enormous auriferous tract of country had been discovered, extending over 2,000 square miles and full of old workings. In one of these a prospecting shaft was sunk; and when the miners got below the old workings they came across true fissure veins, carrying rich gold equal to that now found in the great Mysore mines. But all further progress in this direction was stopped owing to dissensions which had broken out between the Government of Hyderabad and the Company regarding the rights conveyed under the concession. These dissensions had reference both to the coal-field and the gold mines. Lord Herschell was appointed arbitrator and first of all enquired into the matter of the coal-fields. His award was mainly in favour of the Company and was delivered about eighteen months ago. Even a friendly arbitration is an expensive matter; and taking warning by this the contending parties agreed to try and settle by themselves the disputed points regarding the gold-field. This they did; and after more than a year's deliberation and argument, they at last came to an understanding, which having been confirmed by the Govt. of India, the long delayed gold leases were at length signed. This was at the end of November last. Under these leases, the Company has acquired mining rights over 1,000 square miles of country and the right of prospecting over 2,500 square miles in addition. Now in Mysore the Concessionaires obtained only 20 square miles and the mines established on this limited area brought them in over £500,000, in cash and shares, as purchase money. There is, therefore, the possibility of the shareholders in the Deccan Mining Company recouping their original capital several times over and being left with their revenue from the coal-field as a *bonus*.

All this, however, is a matter of finance and would not as such be of much concern to a Review like this; but there is another point involved which does concern it and its readers; and that is the manner in which the man to whose financial ability this great Company is due, has been treated. I refer to the Sirdar Diler-ul-Mulk, more generally known as Mr. Abdul Huk. Ten years ago he found the Hyderabad State saddled with a white elephant in the shape of a short and badly equipped railway. After a great deal of trouble and skilful negotiation, he succeeded in selling this line to an English company, in getting an extension of the line to open out the coal-fields—a distance of above 130 miles—and in getting another company to start coal and gold mining. The royalties from the former have already brought in more than £21,000 to the Hyderabad Government, and experience in Mysore shows that the royalties from the latter may reach a very much greater sum annually. A large amount of English capital is being spent in the State; labour is employed, and trade is being improved. In this way the Government has received an ample

*quid pro quo* for its concession ; and the selling price of the shares shows that the adventure, instead of being the swindle it was denounced as, eight years ago, is a *bonâ-fide* affair which is likely to prove highly remunerative to the investors. But Abdul Huk has been treated with the utmost ingratitude. He was dismissed from his appointment ; disgraced, and ruined in reputation ; and a suit was, after much delay, instituted against him, which, however, as soon as his answer was filed, was withdrawn. The matter was then referred to arbitration, the umpire being no less a person than Sir Griffith Evans. His award declared that Abdul Huk's character was absolutely unblemished and unspotted ; and accordingly an understanding, honourable to both parties, was arrived at. We know as a fact that both His Highness the Nizam and the Prime Minister would be glad to have the services of Abdul Huk again at their disposal ; for finance is the weakest spot in Hyderabad affairs. Against this step, however, the Supreme Government has hitherto set its face. Abdul Huk has been to the authorities in Calcutta *Anathema maranatha* : they will have none of him. That he obtained a share in the concession is no doubt true ; but it has been clearly established that he held the express permission of Sir Salar Jung I., to get what share he could ; and whatever share he did get was paid for with his own money. This being so it is difficult to understand what possible grounds the Govt. of India has for the hostile attitude it insists upon maintaining, especially as it steadily refuses to hear Abdul Huk or to allow him an opportunity for explanation. The time has now come for this attitude to be changed and I trust that in the name of Justice this change will be speedily brought about. FAIR PLAY.

#### LORD ELGIN AND THE PARIAH SOCIETY.

We hear that the Viceroy of India, when visiting Madras in December last, refused to receive the address of welcome by the Madras Mahajana Sabha unless they expunged three paragraphs which criticised the action of the Indian Government as regards Chitrâl. The Mahajana Sabha declined to present the address in the expurgated form, and resolved not to present any address at all. In my opinion, there was nothing improper in the Sabha in disapproving of the Chitrâl war ; it was for the Viceroy to criticise the disapproval or to pass it unnoticed. The Viceroy's attitude led to a rebuff from these representatives of Madras. Some of the leading members of the Mahajana Sabha were conspicuous by their absence at the Viceroy's levée, though entitled to private entrée. Again, whilst the Viceroy declined to receive the Mahajana Sabha's address in its original form, he received the address of the Pariah Mahajana Sabha which contained sentiments subversive of Indian Society. It is questionable whether the head of Indian Government should receive addresses of an exclusively racial character. Now at Madras there were waiting for Lord Elgin addresses from Muhammadans, Native Christians, Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association and the Pariah Sabha. The official arrangement was that the address of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association should come between the addresses of the Muhammadans and the Pariahs. This gave great offence to the Anglo-Indian Association. The order of the

address was accordingly changed. Their address came first, and the Viceroy gave a separate reply to them. The Muhammadans, the Native Christians and the Pariahs were grouped together, and the reply was given to all at the same time. This must also have caused offence. INTERESTS alone, like the Chamber of Commerce and the Landholders' Association, should be represented in an address to the Viceroy. I question the wisdom of allowing every separate caste or creed, as such, to present an address of welcome. If the Pariahs had any special grievances they should have sought a remedy in the usual way. The Pariahs' address is also revolutionary, e.g.: "We are fully aware that, owing to the brief tenure of office allowed to your Lordship, your Lordship cannot revolutionise the present conditions," or "We merely desire to bring to your Lordship's knowledge that, influenced by the impelling power of the new order of things, now taking the place of the old, we, despite many drawbacks, have organised ourselves," etc. These sentiments, dangerously revolutionary to all that is respectable and sacred in native Indian Society, were received with satisfaction by the Viceroy while he could not brook the legitimate criticism of the Hindu Mahajana Sabha on the Chitrál question. P.

#### A PEASANTRY TREATED AS A CRIMINAL TRIBE.

We hear that the Madras Government is contemplating to enact a special legislation to bring about a million of Peasant Hindu Maravars in the Southern Districts of the Presidency under the Criminal Tribes Act!!! The immediate occasion for the extraordinary legislation is the riot between the Shanar Christians of Kalugumalai in the Tinnevely District and the Hindus. The Shanars, being defeated in a civil suit for a right of procession in the car-street of the Kalugumalai Hindu Temple owned by the Zemindar of Ettiapuram the largest landholder of the District, became Roman Catholic Christians. They not only built a church on the car-street, which was a cause of great provocation to the Hindus, but, on the Easter Sunday, they also erected a pandal across the car-street by which on that day the car of the Hindu Temple was to pass. The car could not do so on account of the obstruction wantonly caused by the Shanar Christians by the construction of the pandal. While the Brahmin Manager of the Zemindari, which is under the Court of Wards, was peaceably proposing to temporarily remove the pandal till the car passed the street and restore it immediately afterwards at the expense of the Zemindari, the Shanar Christians stabbed the Manager, who died on the spot, and two others who died shortly after. The Hindus naturally were infuriated at this conduct of the Shanars, and a riot ensued, in which many other castes, besides Maravars, took part. The High Court on appeal acquitted the Shanars. Instead of punishing the murderers and adopting measures to prevent the recurrence of such outrages, the Government took action against the people that were on the defensive. Such racial riots can never be prevented by treating a section of a caste as a criminal tribe! This will only rouse the indignation of the whole caste and the religious feelings of the Hindus generally. Instead of adopting the remedy of treating supposed rioters as a criminal tribe, it would more serve the purpose to legis-



late on the construction of places of worship like Hindu Temples, Muhammadan Mosques and Christian Churches, as the Travancore State has done, and also to regulate religious processions in streets. We cannot understand the wisdom and justice of Christian Missionaries in sensible Madras interfering with the caste institutions of the country and representing the aggressive low caste Christians as martyrs to Hindu bigotry. P.

#### CHINESE NOTES.

*Soochow Capitalists.*—Factories for filatures and for cotton-weaving are just being undertaken, the capitalists meeting for discussion at a Guildhall. Companies are in course of formation, one capitalist—Lu-feng-shi—taking 1,000 shares (of 100 taels each); another—Pan-chen-chi,—3,000: the latter embarks £50,000 in the venture.

*Steam Launches* are now to run from Shanghai to Soochow,—80 miles,—and thence to Chengkiang, 700 miles along the Grand Canal. Another line of launches will run south,—100 miles,—from Soochow to Hangchow. This is expected to give a great stimulus to trade: there is great commercial activity, and Shanghai did an immense trade last year. The Survey for the Railway to Soochow and westward to Chenkiang is in progress; and the new steam boats and railways will perfect the system of waterway which the country already has; and the result is sure to be a great advance in prosperity, owing to the increased production of cotton, rice and silk.

*The Tunghaks of Korea.*—Oppression and local injustice have driven into the arena of politics this sect, which at its origin, 34 years ago, was simply religious,—its object being to carry out, in South-eastern Korea, the idea suggested by Christianity that God hears prayers and reveals himself to man. If God reveals Himself to the men of the West, He will also reveal Himself to me in the East, thought Tsui-tsi-yü, the founder of this sect; and he began, in 1861, to elaborate a system of doctrine based on the Confucian classics, ancestor-worship and the Taoist planchette. He wrote a book and taught disciples. Much of that book has been translated by Dr. Londis, and contains the author's reasons for not becoming a Christian and preferring to found a new sect. In 1864, during a severe persecution against the Catholics, he was seized by the officials on the ground that he was a Christian,—was tried, and beheaded. His followers nursed their indignation till the rebellion caused in 1892-93 by the senseless, covetous and illegal actions of the officials. The sect reverence their founder as a religious prophet who was favoured with direct revelations from God. The shortness of his career as a teacher prevented his leaving more than one book to record his views, which contains no original idea, but upholds, like his countrymen, the Sung dynasty philosophy as orthodox Confucianism. It is a singular fact that he was induced to found a new sect by learning the Christian teaching on prayer and on revelation made by a personal God.

J. EDKINS.

#### ANTHROPOMETRICAL MEASUREMENTS IN INDIA.

In spite of beliefs and rumours that people are measured for the purpose of marking them—in a manner recognizable only by the measurer—prior

to transportation across the sea, the work of anthropometrical measurements advances, slowly, of course, for the official workshop does not allow much play-time. The looked-for steamer which was to come one day and take away a human cargo has not yet arrived. The Poligans, who are supposed to be a section of the serf-class, were found to measure in stature but 150·6 cm., or barely 4 ft. 11½ in.—the smallest people I have yet met in Southern India. The height of those who were apparently of the purest blood was invariably less than even this, which is less than that of all but two in Topinard's list of races by stature. Of 49 in his list only two, Negritos, 147·8, and Bosjesmans, 140·4, are shorter than these Poligans. In the averages are included 3 individuals whose colour and features stamp them as mixtures: their height was about 155 cm. It is difficult, however, if not impossible to exclude those who are not believed to be of pure blood in any class. We must take what we can get and be thankful—or rather, the best we can get. Nasal index of the men is 94·1. Colour about 42 (Broca)—many black. Women are of course much smaller. The only 2 yet measured are 132 and 138·8 in stature. Nasal index too is higher. The other sections of the serf-class measure about 157 cm. in the case of the men and 143 in that of the women, while their nasal index is about 84·8,—so far. The difference of races, the Poligan and the Nayar, was well marked in contrast one day, when close to a tall, fair, handsome Nayar woman who was bathing, was observed standing one of these diminutive black Poligan women. Their proximity to one another was excellent for comparison and contrast, but altogether wrong in custom, for, as a rule, the Poligan is not allowed to approach the Nayar nearer than about 100 yards.

Another people who have been measured lately are the Iluvans of the Palghat neighbourhood. Iluvan—or Iruvan—seems to be the old term for Tigan; but however that may be, the uncompromising measures reveal considerable differences between the two. The differences in the averages between 10 and 25 Iluvans are, I may say, very trifling. Statue 159·6, while that of the Tigan is about 165. Than the latter they are shorter, darker, longer-headed, wider-jawed, and with a much higher nasal index, which is as high as 82·5.

A cist made of large stone slabs, was found near here and opened, and in it were found iron tools, weapons, a necklace of what seems to be a kind of quartz rudely ornamented, and many well made vessels of ordinary pottery.

*Calicut.*

FRED. FAWCETT.

APPEAL BY, AND TO, SPECIALISTS AND LEARNED OR  
PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES ON BEHALF OF THE  
KAFIRS OF THE HINDUKUSH.

The following Appeal is now in course of circulation, with the view of obtaining signatures or other expression of sympathy and support :

"We beg to invite your Society, as an exponent of culture, to take some notice of the destruction of Aryan and Pre-Aryan landmarks in the countries of the Hindukush. 'The brethren of Europeans,' supposed by some to be descendants of a Macedonian colony planted by Alexander the Great, are threatened with enslavement or extermination, unless the voice of educated Europe is lifted against it. Even in the more settled parts of Dardistan has science already suffered by the wars and annexations that have lately taken place in that region. We remain, yours very faithfully,

JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.S.

A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S.

COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secy. of the  
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery  
Society.\*

H. R. FOX BOURNE, Secretary  
of the Aborigenes Protection  
Society.\*\*

W. EVANS DARBY, L.L.D., Secretary  
of the Peace Society.

W. WEDDERBURN, Bart., M.P.,  
Chairman of the British Com-  
mittee of the Indian National  
Congress.

HODGSON PRATT, Chairman of the  
International Arbitration and  
Peace Society.\*

R. WARDLAW THOMPSON, Foreign  
Secretary, London Missionary  
Society.

J. B. BRAITHWAITE, V.P. British and  
Foreign Bible Society.

JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).†

B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E.†

M. R. WELD, I.C.S. (ret.).†

R. GARTH,† Kt., Q.C., P.C.

T. G. R. FORLONG (Gen.).

H. B. HANNA (Col.).

RUD. VIRCHOW, F.R.S., LL.D.

THE BERLIN SOCIETY FOR AN-  
THROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND  
PRIMITIVE HISTORY.

E. W. BRABROOK, President of the  
Anthropological Institute of Great  
Britain and Ireland.

G. W. LEITNER, PH.D., L.L.D.,  
D.O.L., President of the Oriental  
University Institute, Woking.

LÉON DE ROSNY.

LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ETHNOGRAPHIE DE  
PARIS.

BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI, Presi-  
dent of the Permanent Committee  
of the Statutory International  
Congress of Orientalists.

EDWARD CLODD, President of the  
Folk Lore Society.

JOHN PHENÉ, LL.D., etc., Chairman  
of the Society for the Encourage-  
ment of the Fine Arts.

P. CAROLIDES, } University of  
N. HATZIDAKIS, } Athens.

W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.†

H. G. RAVERTY, Major.†

W. G. PLARR, Librarian, K.C.L.†

HORMUZD RASSAM.

W. SIMPSON.†

A. LINCKE, PH.D.

\* A Memorial to the Secretary of State for India has been presented by this Society.

\*\* A Conference of M.P.'s and specialists has also been held by this Society.

† A letter of sympathy has been received from this signatory.

Letters in sympathy with the movement have also been received from Sir William Muir, Principal of the Edinburgh University, Professor Max Müller, Gen. Sir Neville Chamberlain, and other authorities. The following members of the British and Foreign Bible Society:—F. B. Doveton; J. Forbes Moncrieff, c.a.; R. W. Felkin†; T. Letchworth†; W. Richardson; Stephen Massey; E. Alexander; Donald MacKenzie†; J. Stevenson have also signed the above appeal separately.

A meeting of Merchants in favor of the Kafirs was held at Manchester. Several pamphlets on the subject have already been published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and their Memorial has been referred, as in 1874, for report to the Government of India. Articles or letters strongly urging the cause have been published; among others in the *Saturday Review*, by Sir Lepel Griffin; in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of March 1896, by Gen. Sir Neville Chamberlain; by *India*, the *Echo*, *Morning Post*, *Globe*, the *Central News Agency*, *Daily News*, *Daily Chronicle*, *Manchester Guardian*; whilst shorter notices have appeared in all the other English papers. The following Members of Parliament have supported the movement or have asked questions in Parliament: Mr. M. M. Bhowmaggree (C.); Sir W. Wedderburn (L.); Mr. L. Fry (U.); T. Bailey (L.); Sir A. Bartlett (C.); Mr. A. Pease (U.); Sir John Kennaway (C.), President of the Church Missionary Society.

GENERAL SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN writes as follows: "I am much distressed to learn that the Afghan Campaign against the Kafirs is about to be renewed. It is difficult to realise how our Government can permit such an inhuman war to be recommenced, unless it either wilfully shuts its ears to the representations of the outcome of such a war, or is indifferent to the barbarities to be inflicted upon the Kafirs. Lord Salisbury's Government considered itself justified in proceeding to the very verge of war in order to protect the Armenian subjects of the Porte from their Muhammadan neighbours. In the case of Kafiristan, England, in the most wanton and unjustifiable manner, makes over the whole of its population to the merciless fury of the Afghan soldiery. England might well take example from Russia, as in the case of Darwaz. It might require that the Amir should stay his hand until opportunity was afforded of bringing within British territory all the Kafirs who would quit their country rather than fall into the hands of the Afghans. As the various Churches of this country took so active a part in pleading the cause of the Armenians, cannot anything be done to arouse their sense of duty on behalf of the people of Kafiristan? It is true that they are not Christians; but, nevertheless, they are human beings with the same feelings as ourselves, and have, at all events, the right to claim mercy at our hands, for it is England that hands them over to destruction, body and soul."

Among the learned Societies directly interested in the preservation of the Kafirs, those that devote themselves to Anthropology naturally take the first place, and we accordingly find the veteran grand-master of that science in Europe, Prof. Rudolf Virchow, and the Berlin Society for

Anthropology, Ethnology and primitive History in Germany, la Société d'Ethnographie in France, and Dr. J. Beddoe and Mr. E. W. Brabrook in England, prominent in this good cause. As the destruction of Aryan and Pre-Aryan landmarks specially affects ancient traditions, song and mythology, as also the sculpture that represents it, the movement has naturally in this country the support of the "Folk Lore" and "the Encouragement of the Fine Arts" Societies. The Orientalists are represented by the founders of the International Congress of Orientalists and by the Oriental University Institute.

As for the religious world, Mr. Weld has sought to recall it to its duty in "the Anglican Churchman," and there is no doubt, as the Russian Press constantly repeats, that Exeter Hall will have to take up the matter. In the meanwhile, the Bishop of Lahore has preached a sermon in his Cathedral Church, in which he refers to the sin and shame of abandoning Kafiristan to Muhammadan methods of conversion, when subservience to supposed political interests had prevented the religious world from responding for the last 40 years to the call of the Kafirs for instruction in the Christian religion. There can be no doubt that the public will be less enthusiastic than hitherto in subscribing to the Church Missionary Society, on which the blame mainly rests; but both the Anglican and the Non-conformist consciences have been much discouraged by the uselessness of their representations regarding the Armenians. At the same time, it must be admitted that the apparent callousness of religious dignitaries and leaders in this country to the Kafir question and their worldliness in not wishing "to embarrass Government" in a matter in which Government only desires a justification for action, has given some color to the reproaches levelled by the Foreign Press at the hypocrisy and time-serving of the Clergymen and Ministers of religion in this country.

The French Press has had a vast number of short notices; a long article in the *Politique Coloniale*; meetings at the Sociétés *Indo-Chinoise* et d'Ethnographie; and an Appeal in favor of the cause is inscribed on the Agenda of the Congress of Learned Societies at the Sorbonne.

In Russia, the Press and the Government deplore the transfer of Kafiristan, though it be to the advantage of the conjectural invasion of India.

In Germany and elsewhere the few notices have been most favourable to the Kafirs; whilst in Athens, a most sympathetic and exhaustive article on the "descendants of Alexander the Great" in the Hindukush has appeared in the *Acropolis* from the pen of the learned P. Carolides, Professor at the University of Athens of the History of ancient Oriental nations. This article is illustrated with the portraits of the two Kafir slave pages that appeared in the last "Asiatic Quarterly Review." A circular has been sent round by Baron T. de Ravisi, in which he rightly observes that "politics have nothing to do with the matter" of supporting the Kafir Appeal.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have taken up the subject of the enslavement of the Kafirs with the view of the ultimate abolition of slavery in Afghanistan. The Aborigines Protection Society will similarly continue their efforts. Their memorial contains the following statements:

"1. It is submitted that the campaign against these unfortunate people which has already been initiated on three sides of their country by the Amir of Afghanistan, can only result, unless it is prevented, in the extermination, enslavement, or displacement of tribes whose preservation in their ancient homes is a matter of great concern to scholars and others as well as to philanthropists.

"2. The Kafirs, ever since the days of Sale at Jallalabad, have looked to the British, as their elder brethren, for protection. They call themselves, indeed, and are called by their enemies, 'the brethren of the Europeans' in general, and of the English in particular. They have welcomed Europeans and Christian missionaries in their midst; and they have a special claim on the consideration of the British Government and people.

"3. According to reports that have appeared in the Indian newspapers, the massacre of the Kafirs had already commenced in November and December last, when the too-trustful Kafirs admitted Afghan troops into the Bashgal valley under a pledge of protection from the invasion on the north or Badakhshan side, with the result that some of their villages have been burnt, many of their men killed, and girls and boys carried into slavery, by the implacable foes who had thus effected an entry into the country by misrepresentation. If, as is alleged, these treacherous proceedings have already overawed the Kafirs, the risks of their being speedily trampled under foot are only increased.

"4. The possession of Kafir boys and girls has for the past thousand years been desired by every Afghan or Pathan household, and this has sometimes been effected even with the assistance of border-Kafirs forcibly converted to Muhammadanism or by means of the perennial raids by neighbouring Pathan tribes; which, however, were not invariably successful—although the Kafirs are poorly armed—until the Afghans were provided with British rifles and other modern weapons of destruction, obtained by help of British subsidies, or manufactured in Kabul workshops under British supervision.

"5. These raids have ever been conducted under the pretext of a 'jehád' or 'holy war'; and the present campaign, of unparalleled proportions, is being similarly conducted, in obedience to the mandate of a fanatical priest, the Mulla Nizamuddin of Hudá, who is alleged to have received a large sum for the purpose from the Amir, and who, on a previous occasion, proclaimed a 'holy war' against other 'Kafirs' or 'infidels', namely, the British. Such a war, it may be observed, is at variance with Muhammadan law unless it is undertaken in defence of the Muhammadan religion, which has never been, and is not now, threatened by the Kafirs. Many of the latter, indeed, are the descendants of Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Buddhists, forced by Muhammadan persecution to take refuge in their present mountain-fastnesses along with the aboriginal inhabitants and with others, supposed by some to be of Greek origin, whom they found there.

"6. The Amir, on opening the present campaign, it is said, offered the Kafirs the choice between extermination and adoption of the Muhammadan religion, but on previous occasions the Kafirs have always preferred death

to embracing the faith of their hereditary foes. It is doubtful, however, whether even this change of faith would protect them from, at any rate, such partial enslavement as has befallen the Panjshehris and the Hazaras, who, after being subjugated, were sent as slaves to Kabul where the demand for slaves must always keep up the raids for their supply. Intimation to be silent about the atrocities, purposed or perpetrated, in Kafiristan has already been given, but no confidence can be felt in Afghan professions unless they are coupled with the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan itself by an enlightened ally of an anti-slavery nation.

"7. In spite of the most heroic resistance, the area of Kafiristan has in course of time been constantly diminishing, and the belt of hostile, though only nominal, Muhammadans which surrounds what remains of Kafiristan is being drawn closer and closer. Among other injuries thus inflicted on these unhappy people is the introduction among them of an immorality and of diseases previously unknown, such as small-pox. This appears from the report of Dr. Robertson, whose recent visit to Kafiristan, by giving umbrage to the Amir, has been the immediate cause of the present crisis.

"8. It is charged against the Kafirs that they have made retaliatory raids upon their oppressors. These, it is submitted, were the inevitable consequence of the cruel attacks to which they have been subjected for centuries. Wherever their neighbours have shown them any friendship, as, occasionally, on the Chitral and on the Asmár side, the Kafirs have been only too glad to be left alone, and the very existence of such a small community in the midst of so numerous and such formidable enemies would in itself be sufficient proof, if there were not abundant other evidence, that they are not an aggressive people.

"9. They are now threatened with national extinction. Hitherto the complete conquest of Kafiristan has been the dream of nearly every neighbouring Muhammadan ruler, anxious to acquire the title of 'Ghazi.' The Amir now seeks to convert the dream into a reality, in opposition to his own real interests and to the dictates of his own religion; and he is doing this under cover of alleged sanction by the British Government.

"10. It is submitted that the 'transfer to Afghanistan of the whole of the Kafir country up to Chitral,' under the Durand Agreement, which is mentioned in the recently-issued Chitral Bluebook (C. 7864, p. 44), only warrants control by the Amir of the political affairs and the external military relations of Kafiristan, and cannot have been intended to imply the consent of Great Britain to any project for the slaughter or enslavement of its inhabitants.

"11. The Amir has shown himself a loyal, and, in many respects, an enlightened ally and feudatory of Great Britain, and he has frequently expressed his high appreciation of the good opinion of the people of this country. It may be assumed that he will not persist in the course of action now entered upon if he is informed in a suitable manner that by so doing he will forfeit that good opinion and the benefits resulting to him therefrom.

"12. It is submitted, moreover, that it is not to the interest of Great

Britain or of any civilized and Christian nation to encourage raids or campaigns on Kafirs or 'infidels,' as the fanaticism thereby roused would be likely to extend far beyond its present limits, and would in any case be injurious to the prestige of the British Government in India.

"Our Committee, therefore, speaking on behalf of many Scholars, specialists and learned bodies, besides the members of the Aborigines Protection Society and the signatories of an enclosed appeal, makes this earnest representation to Her Majesty's Government that it will use such influence with the highly-subsidised Amir of Afghanistan as may rescue the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush from their present danger and leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their property, religion, and customs.\* The British Government has made over Kafiristan, whose inhabitants have ever relied on British protection, to its hereditary foe and is therefore bound to see that none of them are massacred or enslaved or their fertile lands taken by the Afghan or Pathan 'landgrabbers' to whom Col. Holdich of the Afghan Kafiristan Boundary Commission, refers in the last Journal of the Royal Geographical Society as already converting the Kafirs to Muhammadanism at the point of the bayonet. Nor have the British people as represented in Parliament, any more than the Kafirs themselves, been consulted before this secret transfer of human beings took place, an act for which there does not exist even the favourite excuse of 'policy,' for Kafiristan has over and over again been officially declared to be of no political or strategical importance and to lie within no trade-route whatever."

\* It has been suggested, on high authority, that, in the event of the British Government being too late to stay the hand of our ally, an asylum, at any rate, be offered by the Government of India to the surviving or fugitive Kafirs, with grants of waste lands in our own hilly territory, where these brave men would form an effective military frontier-colony and that, in order to effect their departure from Kafiristan, our troops or the friendly levies now stationed at Dir and in Chitral be ready to receive them and that the Amir facilitate their unmolested exodus on the Asmâr, Badakhshan and Lughman sides. Our Committee, however, does not look with favour on a proposal which is a mere *pis-aller*, and which does not relieve the Government from its first duty to preserve in their own homes a people for whose fate it is largely responsible.

#### ABYSSINIA AND THE DERVISHES.

We trust that the Dervishes will not be forgotten in the next Distribution of Honors. If they did not already exist, they would have to be invented. They were invaluable in justifying our occupation of Egypt, and are now *impayable* in maintaining it, perhaps for ever, by their threatened attack on the land of the Pharaohs. No matter that only a few weeks ago they were reported to be disunited and their power as falling to pieces, it has revived in the nick of time for us to demolish in the interests of Egypt, of England and of civilization. No matter that the Dervishes and the Abyssinians were deadly enemies and could have been utilized to give a good account of each other—the Italian defeat, brought about by French arms, Russian instruction and English "neutrality," requires to be avenged as also the Hicks disaster of unwelcome memory. Never would the Dervishes think of attacking Egypt, but for the presence there of "the infidel" English, though the dream of a Franco-Muhammadan Empire in Africa may not



be unconnected with aid to the Soudanese as also to their rivals, the Sanûsis, the spiritual advisers of *the* Khalifa, the friend of the French. If Italy were wise she would offer, or accept, the peace for which Abyssinia is still anxious and concentrate her energies on herself in Europe. The Abyssinians would then settle the Dervishes, into an unnatural alliance with whom the nominal Christians of Europe are driving the real Christians of Presbyter John. The key to the world's peace is Alsace-Lorraine, not Egypt or the Transvaal or Venezuela. Once the reign of might over right, of "blood and iron," inaugurated by Bismarck's tangible success, is destroyed, Europe will resume its march towards true culture. The Triple Alliance and the strange brotherhood of France and Russia will cease ; Germany will no longer play "the honest broker"; and England will find friends or sentinels in Egypt, India and elsewhere, where there are enemies now thirsting for "a complication."

#### THE LATE MAHARAJA OF BHOWNAGAR, G.C.S.I.

Among the many able and enlightened Chiefs of India, few have deserved so well of their country and people as Maharaja Takhtsinghji, Thakur Sahib Bahadur of Bhownagar, G.C.S.I., whose sudden death in January last, at the early age of 38 years, has been the subject of deep regret to all India. He was born in 1858, of a long and illustrious race of Gohel Rajputs ; and in 1870, the death of his father, Thakur Sahib Jaswantsinghji, placed him on the *gaddi* when only 13 years old. He was educated at the Rajkumar College of Rajkote and made a tour of India under his tutor, visiting England, later on, where he was most graciously received by Her Majesty. He attained his majority in 1878 and with it assumed full charge of his State. During his reign he ruled with wisdom and justice ; he provided waterworks, roads, bridges and other necessary public buildings ; and he was liberal in extending education among his people. With the aid of able and judicious ministers he reformed the administration of the State, giving his personal supervision to every department. In our last issue, we reviewed an important publication of the Bhownagar Government Press, which showed the great success achieved in even that department.

The Maharaja did not, of course, escape enmity ; and at one time he was a good deal calumniated for purposes of blackmailing ; but with characteristic courage he prosecuted the offenders in our own Courts, within the jurisdiction of which the offences had been committed : they were found guilty and suffered just punishment. While maintaining all the dignity of his position and dispensing a princely hospitality, he never squandered his revenues on worthless objects ; and while introducing all the useful reforms and needed novelties of western government, he continued faithful and staunch to his religion and to the ancient customs of his country, race and caste.

He leaves two sons ; Shri Bhausinghji who has succeeded him on the Bhownagar *gaddi* at the age of 21, and Kumar Shri Mangalsinghji, born in 1881. While we have every hope that the late Maharaja's successor, educated under the care of such a father, will follow in that father's footsteps and attend to the welfare of his State, we cannot but share in the

regret that all have felt at the too early loss to India of the able and conscientious Chief under whose rule—and what praise can be better?—his State and people were prosperous, contented and at peace.

### THE LATE DR. REINHOLD ROST.

Dr. Reinhold Rost, C.I.E., who died at Canterbury on Friday, the 7th of February, was a distinguished member of the noble little band of German Oriental scholars who have made England their home. His life's history is briefly as follows. Born in 1822 at Eisenberg in Saxe-Altenburg, he was educated at the Grammar School of Altenburg and the University of Jena, where he graduated in 1847. In the same year he came to England to continue his Oriental Studies. In 1851 he was appointed Oriental Lecturer at St. Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury. The duties of this appointment he continued to discharge, literally until the day of his death, which took place in that institution, whither he had gone for his usual weekly lecturing visit. In 1863 he was appointed Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1869 he succeeded Dr. FitzEdward Hall as Librarian of the India Office, whence he retired on pension in 1893.

Before his appointment as Oriental Lecturer at St. Augustine's College, Dr. Rost had published an essay on the Indian sources of the Burmese laws. In 1862 he published the first two volumes of his edition of Professor Horace Hayman Wilson's Selected Works, namely, Essays on the Religion of the Hindus. The three volumes of Essays on Sanskrit Literature, also edited by Dr. Rost, appeared in 1865. Dr. Rost's notes in this edition are enclosed in square brackets. They show the editor's wide acquaintance with Indian literature, and even with the subject of Folk-lore, which lies outside the path of the professional Sanskritist. In 1880 he edited two volumes of the selected papers of his friend, Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, entitled *Essays on Indian Subjects*. In 1886 appeared, in *Trübner's Oriental Series*, two volumes of Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China, reprinted for the Straits' Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. These papers were "carefully edited" by Dr. Rost, who, to borrow the words of the Honorary Secretary of the Society "added some useful references to modern literature giving fresh value to papers, some of which would otherwise have little beyond antiquarian interest." Many of Dr. Rost's illustrations are borrowed from Dutch writers. The second series of these papers appeared in 1887, also in two volumes. For work of this kind Dr. Rost was specially qualified by the wide range of his linguistic knowledge. Besides being a sound Sanskrit scholar, he had made a careful study of the Pāli language, as is shown by his admirable essay on the Pāli Language and Literature in the XVIIIth Volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He had a useful knowledge of Tamil and Telegu, and was by no means out of his depth in Burmese. As he added to his knowledge of the Hindu and Buddhist languages of India, a considerable acquaintance with the Musulman languages, he easily mastered the Malay language and literature. His essay on this subject will be found in the XVth volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It was reprinted in the *Journal* of the Straits' Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. From the study of the

Malay language, he was naturally led on to the study of Malagasy ; and it is well known that Dr. Rost took special interest in some of the languages of Africa. Besides acquiring the Swahili language, he invaded the domain of the Bantu dialects.

Dr. Rost's knowledge of alphabets, both printed and written, was extraordinary. He rendered aid in preparing the first specimens of Sanskrit manuscripts published by the Paleographical Society. This series was, if we remember aright, discontinued in 1883, for lack of support. He contributed many articles on Oriental philology to the *Athenæum*, edited *Trübner's Oriental Record*, and his series of *Simplified Grammars*, and wrote notices of books for *Luzac's Oriental List*. Nor was he a mere linguist. He was accustomed to look at the East from a wider point of view than the merely philological, as is shown by his brief account of the Thugs in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

It is, of course, to be regretted that so little of his vast learning is preserved in a conveniently accessible form for future generations. But his knowledge was at the disposal of every one that consulted him, and many a specialist is indebted to him for aid ungrudgingly rendered. In this respect he may be compared with the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, of whose vast paleographical and literary knowledge no memorial remains, as far as we know. Scholars of the Rost and Bradshaw type are eminently altruistic : other men enter into their labours.

Of the discerning sympathy of Dr. Rost many Orientalists have recorded their testimony. We select by way of example the eloquent tribute paid to him by the late Mr. R. C. Childers in the commencement of his Pali Dictionary : "These pages I dedicate to my friend Reinhold Rost, who first induced me to commence the serious study of the Pali language, and to whose encouragement and help it is due that I persevered in it under many difficulties." These words represent in a concise form the service which Dr. Rost rendered to Oriental studies,—a service none the less valuable because wholly unobtrusive.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO.; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

1. *Why Gordon perished?*—This is a welcome and much needed work. That Gordon perished because of perfectly avoidable delays has been all along well known but the responsibility for them has remained somewhat indeterminate. Here, however, we have that responsibility brought home and distributed impartially among those who must ever share the disgrace of that all too late arrival of our troops. Primarily and in the abstract, our author—a well known war correspondent—places that responsibility on our now degenerate system of Party Government when members vote for party purposes against the dictates of their own consciences and party chiefs neglect national interests for party objects. Then in the concrete it is laid on Mr. Gladstone's ministry, which under this party-system first neglected a plain duty till nearly too late and then acted in but a half-hearted spirit; and among others, he indicates particularly the present Duke of Devonshire and the late Mr. Childers. Lastly, not least, he rests the largest share on Lord Wolseley, who is directly and personally responsible for the final catastrophe. Our author quotes Blue-books and despatches; and though all of the latter have not even yet been allowed to become public property, he brings home his share of responsibility to each culprit by the irrefragable evidence of dates and their own words. If Mr. Gladstone's Ministry was responsible for the Soudan policy here so strongly condemned, it was party-politics that led them to adopt it; if they delayed too long before deciding to act for Gordon's release, party-politics caused that inaction; if after deciding, their instructions were still not to do too much, the cause lies still in that open sore of party-politics, the bane of actual British political life. Gordon will not have perished in vain if his death, traced to its true causes, inflicts a death-wound on this morbidly developed evil of party politics. But besides the political responsibility, there is the military one, which is also saddled on Lord Wolseley. The author makes him responsible for the choice of the wrong route, for unnecessary delay about boats, for countermanding preliminary storage of provisions while it could easily have been made, for positive inaction even after hearing that Gordon was starving;—and for much more.

MESSRS. GEORGE BELL AND SONS; YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN,  
LONDON.

2. *The Koh-i-nur Diamond, its romance and history, with special notes by Her Majesty the Queen, also the curious history of the celebrated Pitt diamond, with special notes by the Ex-Empress Eugenie*: 1895. This is a dainty little reprint from Mr. E. W. Streeter's "Great Diamonds of the World"; and as it deals with two of the most celebrated stones in the world and notes several things regarding them that are not generally known,

the little book is eminently attractive. There are several misprints in names—three on p. 10 alone,—and the statement, at p. 29, is, to say the least, very strange,—that “having, as stated, no personal knowledge of gems, the tyrant of the Punjaub now fancied that this ruby which surpassed everything he had yet seen, must be the real stone”—the diamond “Koh-i-nur.” The absurdity of an Indian Raja not knowing the difference between a ruby and a diamond is grand. We are glad to see that Mr. Streeter has the courage to denounce the senseless recutting of the Koh-i-nur, in 1852:—£8,000 paid for reducing it nearly 43 per cent. in weight without any corresponding improvement in form and value. The Pitt, equally well known as the Regent diamond, now in the Louvre Museum, is 30½ carats more in weight than the Koh-i-nur, and is much better cut.

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MESSRS. A. AND C. BLACK; SOHO SQUARE; LONDON.

(MESSRS. R. AND R. CLARK; EDINBURGH.)

3. *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*, by the REV. JAMES DODDS, D.D.; 1896. This further number of the *Guild Text Book Series* will be welcomed by many readers; for taking up the 12 sections of which that Creed consists, our author gives a plain statement of the important doctrines of Christianity contained in those sections; and the day is, happily, far distant when sound doctrine will cease to be considered necessary for the true Christian. Dr. Dodds is very clear and comprehensive, generally speaking, in his exposition; and we may notice particularly the section: Maker of Heaven and earth, pp. 19-24. His expositions of the corresponding heresies, is very fair but not complete, as Arius, for instance, is not mentioned. We are glad to see also that he feels strong enough to acknowledge, as at p. 16 regarding the word “person,” and at p. 33 regarding the “Sonship,” that in religious doctrine we are often compelled to use words which we do not fully understand. Of course, many bodies of Christians, not to mention individuals, will find fault with one and another passage of Dr. Dodd’s exposition: in some he is very needlessly polemical when his duty was to be merely expository, as regarding the Church and Orders at pp. 24-5; in others he dogmatizes against plain historical statements of Scripture, as at p. 81, that our Lord did not during his ministry, set up a church with an outward organization: We wonder what else was the appointment of 12 apostles with 70 assistants out of the body of believers. But it is at his 5th article “He descended into hell,” that our author gets quite out of his depth. No wonder. His own church has no definite and authoritative teaching on this point; and he has not studied that of churches which have. He makes up for this, however, at pp. 58-60, by a very uncalled-for attack on the “Romanist” doctrine of Purgatory which he clearly proves there by his own words that he does not understand and has not troubled to study from original sources. We would recommend the remodelling of certain parts of this book. Precisely because of its controversial character, it should have been written with a prudent regard for others’ views, which we regret to see wanting. Perhaps

all the more will it be welcome to those for whom it is chiefly written; but this surely would be a lowering of the general character of this excellent Series.

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BOMBAY GOVERNMENT PRESS; BOMBAY, INDIA.

4. *Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1894-95;—1895.* This report is marked by all the painstaking ability and fulness of detail which characterize the greatest part of the reports of Indian officials. It records an advance, if not a very great one, on the previous year. In Private institutions there is an increase of 81, with an increase of 2,611 pupils, and in the Public, a decrease of 68 institutions, with an increase of 13,396 pupils. The total expenditure was Rs. 6,979,691 against 6,711,149 in 1894. The details will repay study.

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MESSRS. CASSELL AND CO., LD.; LUDGATE HILL, LONDON; PARIS AND MELBOURNE.

5. *The life and adventures of G. A. Sala, written by HIMSELF; 1896; (Popular unabridged edition).* Since death has lately deprived us of the versatile and brilliant writer in the *Daily Telegraph*, it is a renewal of long absent pleasure, to read once more, in this book, the varied chances and changes of his long and eventful life, as written by himself. It is and it is not a biography; but it certainly is a splendid sketch of his life and his times, and of a very large number of "great personages" of various nationalities with whom he rubbed shoulders, as a Newspaper correspondent or a personal friend. Adventures, of course, he had many; and these the book chronicles, with a vast number of anecdotes, tales, sayings and occurrences, most varied in character and all interesting in their way. From one scene to another, from one country to another, from one set of people to another—he goes all over the globe. And everywhere are the clear intellect, the keen observation, the kind heart and the genial manner, which characterized the man. The book, in fact, is a pleasure to read and re-read, every page glowing with life, every line instinct with ability.

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

(MESSRS. C. J. CLAY AND SON; LONDON.)

6. *Ethnology in two parts: I. Fundamental Ethnical Problems, and II. Primary Ethnical Groups, by A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S.; 1896.* That a good book on Ethnology is badly wanted is an admitted fact; and we consider we are giving our author no small meed of praise in saying that his work, if it does not actually fill the gap, furnishes much material for doing so, and is, in itself, a distinctly successful effort towards that object. He rightly explains all difficult words derived from the learned languages, which, though in very common use, by no means universally convey clear ideas to the general reader. Thus he begins at chapter iv. with a very useful explanation of geological terms. His explanations and definitions are, however, not quite so clear and terse as a strict adherence to *genus ultimum et differentia proxima* would have made them. There is also a great deal

of actual and positive dogmatizing—a matter in which scientists have long ago surpassed their theological predecessors. Mr. Keane is a complete evolutionist—drawing the line, however, at a common progenitor of *Hominidæ, Simidæ, Anthropoidæ, etc.* But even though objecting to being descended from a monkey, he is so thorough an evolutionist as to create some little surprise in those who have had the patience to follow the latest phases of this yet unsettled controversy. Still his liberal sentiments permit him to say, at p. 30, that this theory does not necessarily exclude creation, which is very kind to God no doubt. At p. 35 we have additional proof of that *crux* of evolution “Heredity”; but no explanation is offered of why and how the two antagonistic forces come to work together. Mr. Keane may, however, justly retort that he is confining himself to Ethnology and not writing of Evolutionism in general; and he would be quite right only that then there is too much avoidable obtrusion of and dogmatizing on his favoured system. His ethnology, however, is right enough; he collects his facts far and wide; he makes judicious selections; he has numerous most interesting illustrations; and his reasonings on his facts and premises are correct. Among other points, he maintains the specific unity of the human race. His method might admit of improvement, his style be more lucid and less dogmatic, his explanations be more pointed and exact, but the work as a whole bears criticism well; and though many of his conclusions, and possibly some of his facts, may be challenged, yet he has furnished a valuable and important contribution to the study of ethnology, deep enough for the scholar and yet simple enough for the student. As such it should meet a very general welcome, for it sufficiently supplies an urgent need.

MESSRS. C. J. CLAY AND SONS; CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON.

7. *A Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, by E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B.; 1896. We congratulate Prof. Browne on the accomplishment of this tiresome but much needed task, the difficulties of which none can fully appreciate who have not been engaged in similar work. Cambridge is not rich in Persian MSS.:—our author gives a total of 340,—and among them we find that very few belong to the better class of calligraphy, so much valued in the East. There are some interesting copies of the Gospel; and as Mr. Browne, amid the details of description, occasionally treats us to a short extract from the books he mentions, we are shown many a variety in the rendering, partly due to the peculiar construction of the Persian and partly to the difficulty of the translators in grasping the difficulties of both languages. This shows how little trust can be put in translation for reproducing the exact meaning of the originals,—a matter of the utmost importance in such works as the Bible. The Islamo-Christian controversial books are few but of interest. Most of the MSS. belong, of course, to the common classes; but occasionally we meet (as at p. 69, *Javidan i Kabir*,—an Ismailian work) rarer and less circulated books. Most of the better Persian classics are fairly well represented—thus there are several copies of Firdusi and of the *Khamsa-i-Nizami*. This painstaking work of Mr. Browne's now places the Persian MSS. of

Cambridge at the easy service of scholars ; and as the author says, we hope it will induce those who can to add to the collection and to extend his list.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO. ; 2, WHITEHALL GARDENS, LONDON.

8. *Problems of the Far East*, by the RT. HON. G. N. CURZON, M.P. ; *new and revised edition* ; 1896. We gave an early review of the first edition of this book,\* and it speaks as much for the work itself as for the growing interest in Eastern questions, that a second edition should now be issued. This follows mainly the first edition ; and the illustrations too, though there are changes, are substantially the same ; but the recent war has, of course, necessitated some additions to some of the chapters. Thus our last treaty with Japan is given textually in an Appendix to Chap. III., and that of Shimonoseki at the end of the work. An entire new chapter—XII.—has been added, entitled “After the War,” thus making the old Chapters XII. and XIII. become XIII. and XIV. in the new edition. That new chapter reviews the late war, its causes, pretexts, general form and results ; and it discusses briefly the hollowness of Japan’s professions, her harshness and failure in Korea, the inconclusiveness of that war in which one party did not fight at all, the evils caused in Korea, and some probabilities in the future for all the Far East. Mr. Curzon shows very clearly that he has not been blinded by Japanese success. The additions made to the book have much increased its already great utility and value.

LIBRAIRIE FISCHBACHER ; RUE DE SEINE, PARIS.

9. *Aux Portes de l’Orient*, par EDOUARD MAURY : 1896, is a very neatly got up book of travels, beginning at Venice and going eastward down the coast, with incursions into Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Corfu into the bargain. We need say little regarding the parts that merely describe the journey and its incidents. The interest seems to centre in the description of what Austria has accomplished in the two Principalities placed by Europe under her control. People are rather in the habit of loftily despising Austria, and considering her as a worn-out and dying State, barely able to exist. Yet it may be said with truth, that not the vigorous Anglo-Saxon himself has succeeded, in India, in evolving order and peace out of chaos and war, one whit better than Austria has done in these localities. Our author is compelled to admit this, and is really not stinting of his praise, especially of Count Kallay, the great statesman whom the Emperor chose and set to work out the reforms, and whose name is not so well known as it ought to be. Of course, our author has faults to find,—which is only another way of saying that he is a Frenchman and that human nature is nowhere on earth perfect. But it is a great thing for Austria to have succeeded even so far as she certainly has ; and M. Maury’s book is a pleasant and we think a tolerably safe guide to showing both what the difficulties of the task were and how far and by what means they have been overcome.

10. *Egypte et Palestine* par EMILE DELMAS, *ouvrage orné de 115 gravures*,

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII., No. 16 ; October 1894, p. 485.



4 *Eaux-fortes et 4 Aquarelles par E. COUNEAU*; 1896. This work is splendidly printed, with a very liberal allowance of margins, and the illustrations are excellent. Over three quarters of the book describe the author's journey of pleasure up the Nile, as far as the 2nd Cataract, beyond which the English officer would not let him (or anyone else) go then, as the Dervishes had just made one of their periodical incursions. Our author seems to consider this a fiction, and suggests that the British will neither extinguish the Dervishes nor the Mahdi—both seemingly easy feats,—but prefer subsidizing them, as an excuse for maintaining our occupation of Egypt. Resulting from that occupation, he relates (at second-hand, of course) terrible consequences of suffering to the people, ground down by British extortion and general tyranny. He does not attempt much in the shape of description of either ruins or scenery; but he narrates his travels in the lively style of such French books and is, at times, exceedingly though unconsciously amusing. The anti-British feeling of the Frenchman at the mention of Egypt is seen in naked simplicity all through the book; he even manages to speak of antiquarian discoveries in Egypt, and gives due honour to Champollion, Mariette, Maspéro and de Morgan; but not an English name is mentioned—not even that of Flinders-Petrie, nor the Egypt Exploration Fund. Of his depth, we note (p. 97) that he finds the sun “perpendiculaire” at Gebel el Tayr on 26th December; and (p. 281) at the great El Azhar university “le suprême de l'enseignement c'est d'arriver à réciter le Coran tout entier,” and nothing more. A similar tour is made to Jerusalem, the Dead Sea and some few spots adjacent; but even here no mention is made of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He returns *via* Athens and Brindisi; and if his views are not impartial and his description adds nothing new, he has given us at least a very lively and readable book of travels.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

II. *Good Reading about many books, mostly by their authors; second year*; 1895-6. The first of this very interesting series we reviewed last year, and we can honestly recommend this second issue as quite equal to the other. Not the least interesting point to observe is the individuality of each writer, as shown in his talk about his own work. Thus one modestly claims (p. 208) that he combines all the peculiar good qualities of Dickens, Thackeray, Tolstoi, Howells and Henry James; Mr. Standish O'Grady, à propos of his books, gives us a good sketch of History; Mr. Todhunter incidentally shows the many difficulties of good book-making; and Mr. Cole—in perhaps the most interesting paper in this issue—gives us quite a little Art-dissertation on the expression of colour in engravings. 38 authors are dealt with; and the volume, concluding with a selected catalogue, really verifies its title and is “good reading.”

MESSRS. GALE AND POLDEN; ALDERSHOT; AND AMEN CORNER,  
LONDON.

12. *Sport in India and Somaliland*, by SURGEON CAPTAIN J. S. EDBY; 1895, is an interesting little work, with numerous illustrations. It is

founded on the author's personal adventures and achievements, in the two countries named in the title; and nearly half of it contains important instructions for the outfit necessary and the precautions to be taken in such sport. The other half gives instances of what he encountered and did. His Indian experiences embrace almost every part of the country and he has done execution in Somaliland. The book is both instructive for the preparation of a novice's kit and very pleasant reading for everyone else.

MESSRS. LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON.

13. *Europe in China*, by E. J. EITEL, PH.D.; 1895, is, as the second title tells us, the history of Hong Kong, down to the year 1882, and the only fault that the most exacting critic could find with the book is the arbitrary selection of that year for closing it. It begins with a history of British trade with China in general, from 1625 to 1834, with its domestic and international relations, down to the expulsion from Canton and Macao and the consequent war ending in the cession of Hong Kong in 1841. Here, Chap. x., the author gives the previous history of the island, in 8 pages. The next four chapters continue the history under British rule,—under Eliot, Pottinger, Davis and Bonham,—to 1854; and Chap. xvi. is a brief recapitulation of this first epoch. The history is continued—a chapter to each Governor—under Bowring, Robinson, MacDonnell, Kennedy and Pope Hennessy. The last chapter summarizes this second epoch; and there is a good Index. Wide reading and patient research mark every page of the book; every thing is treated with careful attention; and the history is told with impartiality and great fulness of detail. Among other matters we may note, that the author though a firm believer in the evils of opium, is candid enough to admit and to prove categorically that the opium question had nothing directly to do with our war with China in 1840. Yet, in spite of this careful and candid proof, we suppose the oft refuted story will go on being reiterated as often as before, that England waged war with China for the purpose of compelling the latter to take Indian opium. We cannot say too much in praise of our author's detailed history of the British period, of which he gives us minute particulars. We have the character and acts of each Governor, the names of his officials and members of his council, the various legislative and administrative ordinances and acts, and all important events occurring, including fires and typhoons. We hope that an appendix will soon bring the history up to date; for the 13 years left out have by no means been uneventful for the colony. There is a good deal about the military contribution exacted from the colony, which the colonial office would find it useful to read. This volume of nearly 600 pages can be recommended as a thorough guide to the history of our only fortified position in the Far East.

14. *A History of the Deccan*, by J. D. B. GRIBBLE. Vol. I., 1896. Notwithstanding the numerous works dealing with Indian history in its more general aspects or under the heads of biographical sketches, there is not only room for special works on particular epochs and localities, but even an actual need. Among such localities we must put India south of the Vindhya range. Even this division, however, of India is too vast

to be treated fully as one whole ; and hence Mr. Gribble has wisely undertaken to tell only the history of the kingdom ruled over by the "Nizam of Hyderabad." This first volume may rightly be styled preliminary, as it just brings us to the installation as *Nizam ul Mulk* of the first really independent ruler—Asaf-Jah. The greater part of the book is almost necessarily taken up with a long account of Mughal invasions—from Ala-ud-din to Aurangzebe—and with long details of subsequent Mughal intrigues in and about Delhi. Their connection with the history of the Deccan lies in the fact that they paved the way for the independence of subordinates on the ruins of the central Imperial authority. Mr. Gribble has sought his sources of information far and wide, among both European and Asiatic writers ; he has utilized local traditions and authorities ; he gives us numerous, well chosen and well executed illustrations ; and the book is dedicated, by permission, to the ruling Nizam of Hyderabad whose portrait forms its frontispiece. The instalment now given is well wrought out, though it seems, in parts, to want the just eye to due proportion ; and the far more important portion of the work which is soon to follow, will be anxiously awaited by those who enjoy the perusal of the first volume now issued.

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MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

15. *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, by J. P. MAHAFFY ; 1895, is the work of an erudite classical scholar and a man of wide general reading, who to these qualifications adds that of a specialist in this subject, through his study of the coffin-papyri which have of late cast so great a light on the popular life in Egypt. As Prof. Mahaffy says, almost every day adds something to this kind of knowledge and one cannot say what *lacunae* may be suddenly filled up, what hypotheses be confirmed or upset by positive evidence, what proofs be adduced, which we can hardly foreshadow or conceive. With what we have, however, up to date, the learned professor gives us the history of those remarkable sovereigns—whom, by the way, he always calls "sovrans"—using for the purpose every scrap of available material. The result is worthy of the author and worthy of the care and pains he has devoted to his task. It is a part of history which has had but scant justice done to it ; for our former chief sources of information—Greek and Roman writers—have had little to praise and much to blame in the Ptolemies. Our author, stating both their virtues and their vices, shows them to have been talented on the whole and in some cases particularly so, solves many puzzling problems and especially brings forward what the papyri tell us of the conditions of the people. This novel information is most interesting study for the thoughtful reader. The History, beginning with Alexander the Great, ends with the death of the notorious Cleopatra, when Egypt ceased to be an independent kingdom. Every page is full of interesting matter, narrated in a simple and graceful style, where the learning of the scholar, the acumen of the critic and the judgment of the historian combine to produce a work as pleasant to read as it is instructive and sound.

16. *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, by E. A. GARDNER, M.A. ; 1896.

Our author, as he says rightly, supplies a long felt want, for few have leisure to study the larger works on this most interesting subject, on which the general ignorance is extreme. His handbook is all the more valuable, because it simply states facts and acknowledged truths and gives the main points of leading controversies, without digressing into the regions of mere theories. The history is carried down to the days of Phidias, and we are promised the concluding volume of the work before the end of this year. On examining the work itself, which is sufficiently, if not copiously illustrated, we find matters discussed in clear methodical order. The introduction deals with our sources of knowledge of Greek art, both literary and material, while the details of the substances and processes used, of which little is generally known, are of great interest. Chap. I. considers early influence on Greek art,—Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, etc., figuring in the roll and the earlier local Greek schools being also discussed. Chap. II. deals with the earlier period B.C. 600-480, passing each region under close review. Chap. III. goes on from B.C. 480 to 400; and in it the discussion of the results of the Persian war is of interest, while Phidias closes the account of this first part of the history of Greek Art. The author's thorough knowledge of his subject combines with his plain and clear style in placing before his readers an accurate statement of the origin and progress, the means and methods, the defects and excellencies of Greek sculpture. As an instance of his insight, I quote, p. 240, the comparison between the action of the Discobolus and the Marsyas of Myron :

“It is the momentary pause which follows the start that is here (in Marsyas) chosen by Myron, just as in the Discobolus he has chosen the momentary pause which precedes the violent motion. Then, since the motion was from within, the preceding moment seemed to contain the action in itself; here, since the impulse comes from without, it is the succeeding moment that shows its result most fully.”

Full of information, well digested, well ordered and well written, the book deserves a general welcome from all lovers of sculpture and frequenters of museums: a great deal of pleasure is lost by both classes for want of some of the information so pleasantly conveyed in this book.

17. *The Far Eastern Question*, by VALENTINE CHIROL; 1896. Our author dwells chiefly on the internal conditions of China and Japan, of both which he is entitled to speak from personal experience. The picture drawn of China is dark in the extreme, without the slightest gleam of any hope for the future: it certainly is most discouraging that in so severe a crisis of her life, China has failed to produce any one among her children to take the much needed lead in uprooting evils and implanting needful reforms. His book, however, shows distinct traces of an animosity against China, when all the blame for the late war is not only laid on China's shoulders, but we have passages like the following, p. 5 :

“It is now generally admitted that Japan was by no means anxious to precipitate a conflict, and an emphatic admonition at Pekin . . . would not improbably have induced her to make some concessions in the sense of a *condominium* in Korea, which Japan might have accepted as an adequate satisfaction.”

He even condones the massacre at the sinking of the *Kowshing*, justifies that at Port Arthur and generally

*Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.*

Passing to Japan, he finds everything so nice, it is quite a treat. We need not follow him in his praises of the much lauded country. Such praise, coupled with just such vituperation of China, is just now as plentiful as black-berries in all books on the subject. The chapters that deal with the financial and industrial questions of China and the industrial future of Japan, with that on British interests in these important matters, are more to our taste and are very good; and we can also particularly recommend to our readers Chapter vii., *On the genesis of Missionary outrages in China*, as stating a peculiar if not quite novel view of an old and interesting question. But the last chapter, if short, is the most important in the book—*Wanted: an Imperial policy*. Unfortunately all the writing and talking in the world will not put a back-bone into our Foreign Office. France and Russia both know what they want and how they are to get it: as soon as any important event occurs, they know what is to be done, and they do it: take as an instance the steady and continuous pouring of troops into Vladivostock, from the first outbreak of the late war till now, by which Russia was able to cry "Hands off" to Japan. Our Foreign Office never studies what the future interests of the British Empire may require; it does not know what is or may be wanted; all its energies are concentrated on the conciliation of implacable foes and the staving off or shirking of unavoidable issues. This chapter speaks much to a similar effect, though of course, as coming from a *Times* correspondent it first blows a party penny trumpet.

MESSRS. E. MARLBOROUGH AND CO.; OLD BAILEY, LONDON.

18. *Thimm's Self-taught Library—Arabic*, by A. HASSAM.

19. *Thimm's Self-taught Library—Turkish*, by ABU SAID.

This series of Primers for learning foreign languages is pretty generally known, and is appreciated as a fairly easy method for laying the foundation of further study, while providing a sufficient vocabulary for immediate use. The system, well suited for beginners, travellers and sportsmen, has hitherto been confined to the European languages; but these two handbooks extend it to the East, and tackle the difficulties of Arabic and Turkish on the old plan. That it may be useful for the simpler languages of the East may perhaps prove correct; but it certainly cannot be so in the case of the complicated and highly elaborated Arabic. The attempt however is made. In addition to the matter found in all the issues of the Series, these two are supplemented with fairly copious vocabularies of the languages with which they deal. The transliteration of the Oriental by the Roman alphabet leaves much to be desired; and though this question is too wide for settlement by individuals or even firms, it would be easy to show that the system here adopted is needlessly faulty. As to the Arabic and Turkish, we find the phrases generally correct, though there are several exceptions,—many unusual words are used for which simpler and more common ones could be well substituted,—and there is an occasional slip in the Grammatical parts, notably the verbs. We wish the enterprising publishers every success in their attempt to extend the study of Oriental languages; and if we have been compelled to indicate blemishes, it is

rather with the hope of seeing them corrected in subsequent editions than in the spirit of depreciation of a meritorious work.

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MESSRS. METHUEN AND CO.; ESSEX STREET, LONDON.

20. *The King of Alberia*, by LAURA DAINTRY; 1895. This is, as the second title tells us, a Romance of the Balkans—of what part it is useless to try to fix, though there are local indications. The plot is carefully constructed; the characters are graphically drawn and are skilfully worked; even what seems to the colder west a dash of exaggeration in the details of love and cross-purposes is more natural in the ardent East; and the chapter of accidents is terrible indeed. What, however, forms the chief grace of this delightful story are the brilliant touches of local colouring, of popular portraits, of folk-lore tales interwoven in the narrative and of legends introduced, breathing the spirit of the country and the people. Incidentally, as part of a narrative which without it would no longer be true to fact, is the tale of Russian intrigue, consistently, constantly and calculatingly carried out. Our authoress gives us not only a charming work to while away a few hours' leisure or to relax for a time the wearied brain, but also a sketch of people and country, with their legendary tales and picturesque customs drawn correct to life.

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AL MOKATTAM PRESS; CAIRO.

(B. QUARITCH; PICCADILLY, LONDON.)

21. *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, compiled by SOCRATES SPIRO; 1895. Extending over 200 pages, we have here a comprehensive vocabulary, dealing expressly with only the common Arabic of the people of Egypt, and the words and phrases peculiar to that country. Within this scope, it is very full and comprehensive; the order and arrangement are good; and the inclusion in it of all technical terms used by the Government in the administration render it all the more useful. There is a plentiful crop of familiar sayings, current slang and peculiar phrases, which without such aid would be unintelligible to the average foreigner. There are numerous dialects in the Arabic; but among these the Egyptian holds a very prominent place; and hence the comparative importance of this book, which we can thoroughly recommend.

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MESSRS. H. S. NICHOLLS AND CO.; SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

22. *Life on the Bosphorus*, by W. J. J. SPRY, R.N.; 1895. Beautifully got up and plentifully and well illustrated, this portly volume furnishes also very pleasant reading. It is divided into two parts, the last of which gives historical sketches of the Sultans of Constantinople, with an introductory chapter dealing with Muhammad and his successors down to the first Ottoman Sultan. These biographical sketches are sufficiently accurate and full to give a fair outline of Turkish history, and we have the portrait of each Sultan, several showing strong individual characteristics and most of them presenting a general resemblance of feature and expression peculiar to the race, though they seem in abeyance in their latest descendants. It is a singular fact that for 37 reigns a direct male head has never yet been

wanting to the Ottoman throne, though often reduced to one last representative. But it is the first half of the book which is most interesting for the general public, dealing with the Constantinople of only a few years back, in varied and graphic detail. The quaint old city—the meeting place of Europe and Asia—the beauty of some of its environs, the grandeur of its public buildings, the marvels of its bazaars, the panorama of its daily life, the peculiarity of its circumstances are all described, and generally very well described, notwithstanding frequent wrong numbers in the verbs. The whole is interspersed with interesting anecdotes of the most varied character. Some of the little slips are really amusing, as, *e.g.*, that Henna is a species of powdered *clay*; but the book itself is charming, despite little faults. Some of the descriptions are contributed by the author's wife, of places and scenes which none of the other sex would be privileged to witness; and his own curiosity and love of adventure occasionally leading him, as he himself says, where angels fear to tread, enable him to depict for us scenes which few Christians have cared to witness; as, for instance, the departure of the pilgrims from Scutari for Mecca. This part of the book is eminently readable. The historical portion is brought down to date, giving us even the sketch of the proposed Armenian reform of June 1895. In this connexion, it is strange to note the frequent praises of the present Sultan interspersed in the book, written by an impartial man who had himself several times seen him and was intimate with men who often met and conversed with him. Has something only latterly gone wrong with one who was once excellent? Or had he long been acting a part, of which he has now cast off the mask? Or is he a consummate hypocrite, charming all who come in personal contact with him, even when they know the evils of his personal rule? Or does he hypnotize them into forgetting the darker part of his character? Let the reader judge for himself after carefully perusing this book, in which task we can confidently promise him more pleasure than falls generally to the lot of the readers of large volumes. This exceeds 600 pages.

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MR. DAVID NUTT; 270, STRAND, LONDON.

23. *Barlaam and Josaphat: English lives of Buddha*, edited and induced by JOSEPH JACOBS; 1896. The author frankly confesses, in his Preface, that the legend itself is only issued by him to show how much he can write about it; and we as frankly admit that it contains much important if not novel matter that will repay perusal and many thoughts that may profitably be considered and wrought out. Interspersed, however, are not a few errors: *e.g.* at p. xxi, about the two wills and at p. xc, about "one Anatasius (*sic*) Bibliothecarius." The central point of the dissertations, however, is the principle that wherever two or more narratives show several minute coincidences they must all proceed from the one source and one be a mere *replica* of the other. In many cases where real coincidences or similarities do not exist, they are taken for granted from some slight similarity in the wording. Thus we fail to perceive any similarity between Christ's parable of the sower and the tale of Buddha's comparing his own work to that of a husbandman. The transmigration of tales has, in fact,

been greatly overdone; and for one real case there are many imaginary ones. The proofs too seem often forced. At p. xlvi, we have the steps of the transformation of Buddha into Josaphat:—Bodhisatva = Bodhasaph = Yodasaph = Joasaph = Josaphat! Again, Barlaam = Balanvar = Baganvar = Bhagavan! Therefore Barlaam and Josaphat stand for Bhagavan and Buddha and, in fact, both Barlaam and Josaphat stand for Buddha. It is too common a conclusion that because some or even many similarities are found, all such tales must proceed from one source and all that remains is to seek out the connecting links. This reasoning quite leaves out of account the fact that human nature is admittedly akin all over the world, and consequently that similar circumstances and thoughts give rise to similar occurrences and speeches. It is far from our wish to decry our author's conclusions about Barlaam and Josaphat. The martyrologies of the churches are notoriously full of errors, for which no blame attaches to the churches themselves. Whether Josaphat ever existed, or was intended to represent Gautama Sakyamuni, or was an independent personality is a matter of little consequence compared with the important question of the truth or falseness of the principles on which the conclusions are sought to be based. So far as we can see, those principles are not the entire truth; and in their application they are often urged beyond the limit of prudent moderation. With this remark, we are glad to say that Mr. Jacobs' book is deserving of close study, and that it will be read with pleasure even by those who, like ourselves, may not be able to agree with all his conclusions.

24. *Jewish Ideals and other Essays*, by JOSEPH JACOBS; 1896. The eponymous essay is the first of eleven, of varying interest though all well written, and of different ages, some having survived any importance they can ever have possessed—as, *e.g.* The Solution of the Jewish Question. The Jewish ideals are excellent: Morality as Law, the Holiness of the home, and the Mission of Israel for the good of the whole human race. Very interesting is the second essay—the History of the God of Israel; but it is not accurate according to Scripture; and it is too late in the day to say that writing was unknown at the time of the earlier fortunes of Israel, p. 29. The blessing of the whole human race through Abraham and his posterity by the Lord of Israel is not a "later concept" (p. 33), but was distinctly announced at the first appearance on the scene of the God of Abraham. The application of the term wise to Solomon and Haroun al Rashid (p. 41) is passing strange in our age; and in the glorification of Spinoza, which almost seems to be the chief object of this essay, all will not agree. "Mordecai" is a thoughtful review of part of the now almost forgotten "Daniel Deronda" of George Eliot; and there is a certain interest in the attitude of George Browning towards Judaism and the Jews, which is well brought out. Jehuda Halévy, the Hispano-Jewish poet, is a fine study, and the specimens quoted from his works will be appreciated. That Jews as translators did much to diffuse folk-tales needs no proof; a description of the London Jewry in 1290 is of archæological interest; but in Little St. Hugh of Lincoln the author gets on very delicate ground which had best be left alone; and though he discusses it successfully from one point of view, others remain. The last essay urges the study of Jewish



history which is rightly said to be still in its infancy. Our readers will find much in this book to interest them.

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MESSRS. OLIPHANT, ANDERSON AND FERRIER ; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

25. *From Far Formosa*, by G. L. MACKAY, D.D., edited by the REV. J. A. MACDONALD, with portraits, illustrations and maps ; 1896. The Fair Island continues still very far, in the sense of its being almost wholly unknown to the generality of readers ; but the book before us makes a distinct and very successful effort to bring it within the reach of our minds to understand and the grasp of our hearts to love. Dr. Mackay spent over 25 years in its Northern parts as a Missionary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church ; and having early acquired the various tongues needed and secured some ardent native converts as assistants, he lived among the inhabitants, a zealous, sympathetic and very successful evangelist. He tells us very plainly, cheerily and fully the difficulties he encountered and the dangers he faced and overcame ;—the numerous conversions that have taken place among the most various and strange circumstances ;—the chapels built by the score and the converts made by the hundreds ;—their heroic constancy, in many cases to the death ;—and the successful training of numerous natives—male and female—as missionaries, which he made a special point in his system. He gives a list of 60 Chapels, with 60 native preachers. In 1894, the contributions from the natives came to \$2639.84. There were 2 foreign and 2 native ordained ministers ; 60 unordained native preachers ; 24 native Bible-women ; 1027 male and 711 female (total 1738) native communicants ; 2633 baptized members. These, with a College for Missionaries and an adjunct for training female assistants, and 60 dispensaries attached to Chapels, form the statistics of the Mission, which seems to have been peculiarly successful. Interspersed with narratives of his own special work and his opinions, there are extremely interesting accounts of the geography, productions, and history of the island ;—of the divisions, subdivisions and peculiarities of its people who are divided between Chinese and Malay races ;—of their manners and customs, religions and superstitions, observances and rites. It is not too much to say that Dr. Mackay is quite as successful as an author as he has been as a missionary. Let us hope that as he has here brought Northern Formosa to our doors, the success of his effort may induce his brethren of the Presbyterian Church of England, who work the missions of South Formosa, to give us a similar work on that part of the Beautiful Island, to complete our knowledge.

26. *Persian Life and Customs*, by the REV. S. G. WILSON, M.A. ; 2d Edition ; 1896. Our author, an American missionary who spent 15 years in Persia, gives us a very readable account of the lands he traversed and the people among whom he dwelt ; and his descriptions are excellent and comprehensive. Little escapes his attention ; and as he had great opportunities he furnishes us with much matter for pleasant perusal. Without being either new or original, he gives the general reader a great deal of information regarding Persia and Persian ways, and there are several very good illustrations. A very interesting chapter is No. XIII., *Among the Ali-Allahis*. The conclusion of the book deals, of course, with the work of the

Missions in Persia, which, after all is said, is practically *nil*, with immense expenditure of energy and money. In the course of the work we occasionally come across some "high falutin'," as on Ararat,—some strange mistakes in Persian which cannot all be due to printers' errors,—some doubtless quite unconscious but still distinctly unjust exaggerations, as e.g. pp. 265-267 regarding the lot of Persian women in general; and we know workmen further west than Persia who do not kill themselves with over-exertion. For mistakes regarding religious matters there is all the less excuse because one who goes abroad to combat a religion should first of all acquire as thorough a knowledge of it as he has of his own. We have even found some jokes about religion which we failed to appreciate, as we belong to the benighted class who hold that no man's religion is a fit subject for ridicule or smart writing. We are glad to say, however, that it is very seldom our author offends thus; and, on the whole, his book is valuable for the information it conveys and pleasant reading both on account of the variety of the subjects discussed and of the graphic descriptions of life and custom which it contains.

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; 24, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON.

27. *Quarterly Statement, January 1896*, maintains its usual high level of excellence, the work done being important in its results, and the results themselves being related in interesting style and form. The continuation of Dr. Bliss' excavations continues to give good results; but interesting as is this series of papers, perhaps that which will command the most attention in this Quarter's Statement is Col. C. M. Watson's disquisition on the site of the Temple. He brings the writers in antiquity to bear on the subject; and from their relations and descriptions, checked and counter-checked over and over again, he gives us the ground-plan of the buildings. He then brings the contour-survey results to bear on the matter, and he eventually locates the temple in the only position in which such a building as is described by ancient authors could be placed on such a site as the survey reveals. This article, which is carefully illustrated and thoughtfully written, will be studied with the closest and greatest interest by all. Col. Conder's paper on "The Syrian Language" has a wider title than its contents justify. There is another instalment of Prof. J. Glaisher's Meteorological observations in Jerusalem in 1890; and we have a good account of a journey undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. Gray Hill, in 1895, on the East of the Jordan and Dead Sea: it is prettily illustrated, and the narrative is very readable.

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THE PIONEER PRESS; ALLAHABAD, INDIA.

28. *Essays fin de Siècle*, by an (ANGLO-INDIAN) OPTIMIST; 1895. A small volume, of some 300 pages, divided into two parts, the last dealing with Indian questions and the first with European and general ones,—though for the matter of that, the first Essay is Indian also. The subjects are very various,—administration and music, religion and politics, National Congress and public opinion in India,—and so on. They cannot be called Essays in the usual acceptation of the term; nor does one see in what sense they are "*fin de siècle*." The author seems to suppose that the close

of this century must see a fresh "renaissance"; but as our dating of centuries is a purely conventional thing, we fail to see why there should be any sudden change in the beginning of what we call the coming twentieth century. Whatever the future may hold, however, much wisdom and many sensible things are to be found in this book, interspersed, we regret having to say, with much that is the exact reverse. Both those who agree with the author and those who do not will find the book very pleasant reading, for the short time it takes to get through it.

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MESSRS. G. ROUTLEDGE AND SONS; LUDGATE HILL, LONDON;  
MANCHESTER AND NEW YORK.

29. *The Love Adventures of Almansur*, by A. C. GUNTER; 1896. Our author gives us a most charming Oriental tale, quite in the best style of the Arabian Nights, full of magic and wonders, of Afrits and other spirits. He tells us how this Khalif, after long indifference, at last falls desperately in love; and in order to secure his lady-love, has to undertake a most serious "adventure" in the best style of the knights-errant of yore. During his absence, the time of his lady-love is beguiled by his old preceptor who tells her a succession of most interesting adventures, the connecting link of which is a wonderful power he possesses of shooting his soul, when dying, into the nearest living being. The Khalif in the end returns victorious from his adventure, with the head of his rival at the saddle-bow of his spirit-mule; he marries his lady-love; and they are happy ever after, of course. The old preceptor, dying shortly after, shoots his soul into their infant son. To maintain the appearance of an Oriental style, the "thou" is often used in the dialogue; but it frequently gets much mixed with the wrong number in the attendant verb, and with "you" in the succeeding clauses. We find also "moon-eyed" beauties, where we should have expected the Oriental to say "moon-faced and almond-eyed," and the idea of a Khalif painting a picture would never enter a Mussulman mind. Then the history is all wrong. Al-Mansur was not the son but the brother of Abul Abbas; and his contest for the throne was not with a brother called Selim Mustapha but with his uncle Abdullah; nor was Haroun al Rashid the son but the grandson of Al-Mansur, between whom and Haroun there reigned the Khalifs El Mahdi the father and El Hadi the elder brother of Haroun. But in spite of all this, the story is an Oriental story, penetrated with a good deal of the true Oriental flavour, and charming in its simple narrative of wonderful and thrilling incidents.

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MESSRS. SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

30. *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, by SIR W. MUIR, K.C.S.I.; 1896. Our distinguished veteran author is well known as an accurate and (in spite of some strong opinions) a more than fairly impartial biographer of the Arabian prophet, and historian of the Khalifate; and his present work, dealing with the Mameluke history of Egypt and Syria, is quite worthy of Sir William's reputation. This history is very singular; for the fact of such an extraneous body of slaves, continually succeeding each other in power for two centuries, is simply unique, nor could it have

occurred anywhere except under peculiar circumstances, and only under the equalizing hand of Islam, with its kindly relation between domestic slaves and their masters. The original Arabic authorities, already utilized by German scholars, have been diligently employed by Sir William together with the works of Western writers on the subject. He thus gives us a compendious history of Egypt, which is in fact that of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Armenia, with Persians, Turks and Tartars occasionally passing, with fatal consequences, across the stage. It is preceded by a lecture on the Crusades, which are intimately connected with the history of Syria and the folly, wickedness and evil effects of which have not yet received the attention they deserve, owing to the false glitter of religion cast over them and some good results to Europe which they certainly produced: there is no unmixed evil under the sun. As an appendix, we have the notes of Jacob Artin Pasha on some queries put to him regarding the Mamelukes, besides a (very) brief continuation of the Mameluke history to their overthrow by Napoleon and their extinction by Mahomet Ali. The book is plentifully and beautifully illustrated. It has its peculiarities of style (*e.g.*, an oft-recurring hysteron-proteron, as "till in agony he expired," and "by" used for "with." Occasionally there is a failure to grasp the whole reason for a fact; as at p. 132, the "Caliph" is said to have been taken about by the Sultan, "with no authority but simply to grace his train": the real reason most probably was to keep under his own eyes, and not to leave in turbulent Cairo, a man who, while most useful as a tool, could become a most dangerous instrument for evil in the hands of malcontents. Sir William's narrative, however, is plain, fair, clear and full; and while he omits nothing of real importance, he is equally resolute in excising what is simply redundant. It is singular, as Sir William does not fail to observe, how little we really know of the inner life and surroundings in Egypt, of Sultans, Emirs, Mamelukes and people, whether Mussulmans, Jews or Christians. Especially little do we see of the Copts and their church and the Alexandrine Patriarch, though all three of these have outlived Fatimite and Mameluke, and survive down to our day. We recommend the book to our readers as filling, with great diligence and success, a gap in our English written histories, from 1260 to 1517.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE; LONDON,  
BRIGHTON AND NEW YORK.

31. *Patriarchal Palestine*, by the REV. A. H. SAYCE; 1895. The last few years have produced for our perusal such a comparatively vast number of ancient records—mostly but not all cuneiform,—as to almost revolutionize a good deal of what passed for ancient history and much more of the ravings of criticism. Within this century, criticism rose to be a power, at the name of which all but the soundest theologians quaked; it slew the faith of "believers" in thousands; and it threatened to demolish Biblical inspiration, revealed religion and Christianity. The force of its dogmatic assertions of slender foundation was only equalled by the credulous acceptance of its dictates, as unimpeachable facts, by its many dupes. If the third quarter saw a rally of the orthodox forces, the last quarter of the

century sees them triumphant all along the line. Many a myth, many a false interpretation and many a gratuitous assertion have been exploded by the higher criticism, and we cannot be too grateful to the enemies who have done us so much good. But the main attack has failed; and there are not wanting learned and erudite men, like Prof. Sayce, whom increased knowledge has only made more steadfast in the old paths, and who are both able and willing to aid in resisting the assaults of the enemy. The book before us is one of his good efforts, in which he reconstructs ancient Palestinian history, life and conditions, by means of data furnished us by recent cuneiform discoveries, and proves to demonstration that the conditions of the country really were, in those remote ages, as they are represented in the Hebrew Scriptures. He deals especially with Patriarchal Palestine—from Abraham to the Exodus; and a careful perusal of the book cannot fail to convince all, that none but contemporary writers could have penned the sources of the Hebrew Scriptures. The identifications of names of places and people are numerous; but much more to the point are the identifications of circumstances, manners and customs. Perhaps what Prof. Sayce claims is a little more than archæology has yet been able to accomplish for the Bible; but it certainly has already done an immense work, and the near future, we have every hope, will probably increase the total. For the details of the information lately exhumed out of the earth, we must refer our readers to this book—beautifully and cheaply produced—which it has been a pleasure to read, even though many of the cuneiform documents cited were already known.

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THE THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING CO.; LONDON, BENARES AND ADYAR.

32. *The Theosophy of the Upanishads, Part I. Self and not Self*; 1896. Theosophy, whatever special meaning its disciples may give to it, means, by its derivation, knowledge of God, whether taught by God to man or discovered by man himself: in neither sense does this book contain any Theosophy at all. In fact, though the word *gods* in the plural, with a small *g*, occurs four or five times in it, the term God never appears at all nor any equivalent to it. The teaching is altogether pantheistic, and revolves around Self, spelt according to requirement with a capital or a small *s*. The author's own part of the book—nearly the whole—consists in explaining the simplest and most elementary physical, moral and metaphysical truths in the longest, obscurest and at times most inaccurate words possible; and he often lays down as certain and acknowledged truth what is the very reverse. *E.g.*, he holds that most persons, to be good, require more light to the intellect than strength to the will—an assertion disproved by the experiences of ages and the old Roman saw. At p. 55, the illustration from the moon is grossly inaccurate, as further on, pages 90 and following, is much that is laid down regarding dreams. The author's style may thus be exemplified:

"We may guess that, for the perfect fulness of the Eternal, it was necessary that the whole of the Eternal should be fully revealed to every part of the Eternal; and that from this necessity arose the illusion by which that one Self seems to be mirrored in innumerable selves" (pp. 158-9). "Before beginning to speak of the Theosophy of the

Upanishads, we had occasion to see that, in this age and epoch of ours, religion and religious life are chiefly characterized by two things : a lack of originality and a lack of light. For the vast majority, the overwhelming majority even, there is no first hand dealing with the universe, no meeting of the universe face to face, no openness to the strong and flowing powers of inexhaustible life" (pp. 162-3). "The Self is for unity, and completed, rounded totality ; and selfishness is a greater sin against rounded totality than any self-indulgence" (p. 195).

But when we read (p. 171) that "the grinding tyranny of the world's material forces is but the result of our own material lusts, our own craving for a warped and stunted part rather than the magnificent all"—we wonder how one can make and who can accept such assertions. The Upanishads are, of course, only a peg for hanging on the author's own ideas ; there are few and only unimportant quotations from some few of them, and these neither the generally used nor the best.

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MESSRS. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE ; LONDON, EDINBURGH AND OXFORD.

33. *The Idea of God and the Moral Sense in the Light of Languages*, by HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S. ; 1895. The general idea that the application of philology furnishes a comparatively easy, safe and reliable solution of various problems regarding the earlier state of man, is utilized by the author of this painstaking work for the purpose of showing to his readers to what conclusions his philological inquiries have led him on the subject of man's early "concepts" regarding the spiritual and moral life. His reading, we see at a glance, has been very varied and extensive ; and his acquaintance with languages is just as wide and general. The book is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with the idea of the Godhead and the second with that of natural ethics. The first and longer part follows up the names for the Godhead in the various languages and peoples—cultivated and uncultivated—of the Old and New worlds, terminating with a summary on the idea of God, its genesis and evolution, in which he rejects the suppositions that it was either evolved from man's "lower faculties and passions, or from a primitive revelation." His arguments against the latter not unimportant hypothesis summed up into a short paragraph at p. 220 seem to us,—to use a mild phrase,—singularly weak. On many points, his own opinions reflect those of Prof. Fairbairn. The second part deals with its subjects in less detail though much on the same lines, and ends in a similar summary. Different classes of readers will hold varying opinions regarding the subject treated and the mode of its treatment in this book, according as they find in its pages more or less confirmation of their own pet theories on these matters. Exception can doubtless be taken to some of Mr. Baynes' philological statements, and to more of his comparisons and deductions. The arguments too, as we have already hinted, will not always bear the super-imposed weight. Still the reader will find in it much interesting matter, which he will appreciate more or less, according to his own scholarship and linguistic acquirements :—on the importance of the subject in itself and on the utility of philology in its treatment we need hardly enlarge. Mr. Baynes has rendered a great service to students and scholars in presenting them with this very pregnant if not perfect statement

of an important and yet obscure subject, which needs contributions from various points of view and discussion by opposing scholars, before it reaches the stage at which conclusions can be safely and definitely drawn.

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VERLAG VON WILHELM FRIEDRICH ; LEIPZIG.

34. *Entwurf einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen nebst einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch* von DR. JOSEPH GRUNZEL. Dr. Grunzel's attempt at a "Comparative Grammar and Vocabulary of Altaic Languages" proves that Japanese belongs to that group, and insists on the necessity of research into hitherto unexamined Central Asian languages, before the progress of European culture there, as elsewhere, effaces what is alike a monument of the past and a basis of the special future development of that important group. The learned author shows similarities in declensions, diminutives and nouns which are striking between the Turki-Mantshu and Japanese languages, but in numerals they do not agree though numeration is by tens in all. We think that Dr. Grunzel establishes his contention although his linguistic analogies and affinities are occasionally far-fetched.

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LIBRAIRIE CH. EGGIMANN ET CIE ; GENÈVE.

35. *Sourate de Joseph, Texte Arabe accompagné d'un Vocabulaire à l'usage des commençants, publié par E. MONTET* ; 1896. "The Sura of Joseph," being the 12th in the ordinary editions of the Korán, has just been issued by Professor E. Montet in very readable Arabic type, carefully punctuated, and accompanied by a Vocabulary for the use of beginners. We have compared it with the authoritative text of Háfiz Osman's Manuscript, which the Oriental University Institute has reproduced by photo-zincography in an illuminated *édition de luxe*, and we find the Sura, as issued by Professor Montet, to be absolutely accurate by that most reliable of standards. The story of Joseph, though almost similar to that in the Bible, has certain details in the Korán which are either of value or of sentimental interest. Among the former may be classed the reference to the Law of Egypt not permitting a man to keep a brother, convicted of guilt, as a bondsman, and among the latter is the pretty tale of the ladies assembled at a banquet being so struck at the beauty of Joseph, who was suddenly introduced to them by Potiphar's wife, that they cut their fingers in amazement. Thus she excused to them her own passion. The Vocabulary that accompanies the Sura is very practical and just what a beginner wants. Whilst Mr. du Pré Thornton suggests that a student of Arabic should practise reading the Korán aloud, Professor Montet actually enables him to do so in the pamphlet before us, which, we hope, will be the beginning of a series, initiating the veriest beginner of Arabic, into the necessary easy and idiomatic stages for the mastery of that first of languages, a mastery which can never be acquired by the catchpennies of "Arabic made Easy," with which even Oriental Publishers of standing in Europe now venture to mislead the Student.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

THE growing admiration for things Japanese is extending the desire of acquiring the language also, and of this the last instance to hand is a lithographic copy of a part of Prof. L. Silvestro Prota-Giurleo's *Corso Completo di Lingua Giapponese* (Naples, 1895, at the Real Istituto Orientale), which shows promise of thoroughness and practicability.

Dr. Dinshaw Ardeshir Taleyer Khan sends us his pamphlet—*A second Note on the discovery of the snake-bite cure*—treating of that and of the cure of cholera.

Major Evans Bell sends a pamphlet, *Indian Polity* (Bombay, Commercial Press, 1895), consisting of 30 pages of extracts from his writing,—which are hostile in their tone and biting in their sarcasm against the Government of India as at present constituted and administered.

The Bombay Presidency Association publish in pamphlet form (Ripon Press, Bombay, 1895) the *speeches of the Hon. Pherozeshah M. Mehta*, in the Viceroy's Council, in 1894 and 1895.

The 8th *Provincial Conference of Bombay*, held at Belgaum in May 1895, send us their voluminous *Report* (Belgaum, Samachar Press, 1895) detailing the speeches made and the resolutions passed.

Part II., vol. iii., of the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India* gives, with other matter, a prettily rendered metrical version by Nobin Chandra Das, of the Story of Sri Gupta from the 8th Pallava of Kshemen-dra's Avadana Kalpalata; while Shri Satis Chandra Vidya Bhushan comments on the Madhyamika school of Philosophy (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta).

The *Report of the 17th Conference of the International Law Association*, held at Brussels, October, 1895 (London: W. Clowes and Sons), contains some important papers, documents and discussions.

*Sirut un Nabi*, a Life of Muhammad, by Moulvi Abdur-Rahim of Dinapur, published in Urdu, lithographed in a very legible hand, is doubtless a very welcome book to most Mussulmans, seeing the marvels at the Prophet's birth, and the wonderful deeds at Ohod where the enemy were slaughtered by "twos and fours at each stroke of the sword."

Our thanks are due for the following publications received late in the quarter:—

(1) *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 5, by MARGARET D. GIBSON, M.R.A.S. (C. J. Clay and Sons; 1896.)

(2) *Campaigning in S. Africa and Egypt*, by MAJOR-GENL. W. C. F. MOLYNEUX. (Macmillan and Co.; 1896.)

(3) *Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1894-5*. (Bombay, Central Govt. Press; 1895.)

(4) *A History of Hindu Civilization during British Rule*, by PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, Vol. III. (Kegan Paul and Co.; 1896), is the continuation of the work of which we reviewed the two first volumes in our number of April, 1895 (Vol. IX., No. 18, p. 487). This volume deals with Hindu intellect and education, past and present.



(5) *The Rajah's Sapphire*, by M. P. SHIEL (Ward, Lock and Bowden; 1896),—one of the dainty *Nautilus* Series,—a delightful though short tale of a charmed stone.

(6) Vol. I. of *The Upanishads translated into English*, with a preamble and arguments by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., and JAGADISHA CHANDRA CHATTAPADHYAYA (Theosophical Publishing Society; 1896)—not equal to the translation in the Oxford Series.

(7) *A Turkish Grammar*, by the REV. ANTON TIEN, PH.D. (Sampson Low and Co.; 1896.)

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt also of: 1. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—2. *Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—3. *Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome: A. Boffani);—4. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—5. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—6. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—7. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—8. The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—9. *Public Opinion*, (London);—10. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London);—11. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris);—12. *The Canadian Gazette*, (London);—13. *The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.);—14. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie*, (Paris);—15. *The Moslem World* (New York);—16. *Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette);—17. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: The National Press);—18. *The Strand Magazine*;—19. *The Art Bible*, Pt. 10;—20. *Round London*;—21. *The Strand Musical Magazine*;—22. *Woman's Life*;—23. *The Navy and Army illustrated*;—the last 6 from Geo. Newnes and Co., London.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE Viceroy of INDIA has suffered from malarial fever but having recovered his health by a sea-voyage has already moved up to Simla;— Lord Wenlock, ending his term of office as Governor of Madras, is succeeded by Sir Arthur Havelock from Ceylon; and in the Viceregal Council, Mr. A. C. Trevor C.S.I. from Bombay is D. P. Works' member *vice* Sir C. Pritchard; General Sir E. H. H. Collen, K.C.I.E., is Military member *vice* General Brackenbury; and Mr. D. E. S. Chalmers, of the Birmingham County Court, is Legal member *vice* Sir A. Miller. The duty on Cotton goods has been needlessly reduced from 5 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *per cent.* At the India Office, Mr. Le Marchant succeeds Mr. B. W. Currie in the Council.

The Indian Financial Statement was made on the 18th. The accounts for 1894-5 closed Rs. 2,590,000 better than the revised estimates, the surplus of Rs. 9,910,000 reaching 12,500,000; but deducting various charges, the nett surplus was Rs. 6,930,000. The revised estimates for 1895-6 show a nett surplus of Rs. 9,510,000, after paying the Chitral Bill of Rs. 17,500,000 with £16,000 in England, repaying Provincial contributions levied in 1894-5 = Rs. 4,050,000, and restoring the Famine Insurance Grant to Rs. 10,000,000, which 15 years' experience shows to be sufficient: it used to be Rs. 15,000,000, Improved exchange saved Rs. 14,360,000, and English expenditure was reduced £249,000. Rs. 1,970,000 came from better opium sales, and Rs. 6,760,000 were saved on advances for poppy crops, the season being bad. Improvement in other sources of revenue gave Rs. 2,430,000, and Rs. 4,620,000 were saved, owing to favourable prices, on ordinary military expenditure. The budget for 1896-7 calculates Exchange at  $1/1\frac{3}{4}$ d, and on this rate shows a surplus of Rs. 4,630,000. The Land revenue, owing to bad crops is estimated at Rs. 2,760,000 less than last year; the reduction in the Cotton duties throws away Rs. 3,330,000; and Railways are estimated to return less; but improvement is expected in other heads and the expenditure is very little increased. A special grant of Rs. 4,959,000 is made for materials and animals for Army Mobilization, including 1,000 reserve Artillery horses. Rs. 72,700,000 are allotted for State Railways, and Rs. 11,500,000 are advanced to the Bengal-Nagpur and the Indian Midlands Railways for extensions. The Secretary of State will draw for £16,500,000, and a Rupee loan of Rs. 40,000,000 will be raised in India. The financial prospect is hopeful, if expenditure be jealously watched, Exchange transactions be wisely conducted, and India not be again made the sink for the world's depreciated silver.

Police punitive fines led to a serious Mopla outbreak in the Ernad Taluq, Malabar; the military had to be called out; and over 100 were slain or mortally wounded before it was put down. The want of due rains in the Punjab, N.W.P., and Central India has caused distress, especially in Banda, Jalaun, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Allahabad, Gwalior, Rewa, Bikanir,

Jesulmir and other districts in Rajputana; over 130,000 were on relief works and 7,000 on gratuitous relief. Some rain had brought partial relief; but a pinch was already felt widely. The opium crop, bad enough last year, is worse now. The "National Congress" held its annual December sitting at Poonah under the Presidentship of Sourindro M. H. Bannerji, with about 1,600 delegates and 4,000 visitors; the usual resolutions were passed, the dissensions between Reformers and orthodox Hindus being laid aside for political unity.

The Karachi trade of 1894-5 was Rs. 156,165,781; the rice crop of India and Burma has been abnormal; and Indian tea shipped from April to January was 128,303,860 lb. against 116,870,657 : 117,397,454 lb. came to the United Kingdom. The Treasury balance at the end of 1895 was Rs. 106,629,000. The Kotri-Rohri Railway was opened to Tando Udam, as also another section of the Bezwada-Madras Railway; and the French Government have sanctioned Rs. 807,000 for the Karikal-Perilam Railway. The Education report gave the number of teaching Institutions (chiefly public primary schools) at 149,436; and scholars at 4,066,235,—the increase being 117,878 boys and 15,657 girls. The 24th Bombay Infantry—with European officers increased to 12, and possibly a Maxim gun—is sent to Mombasa to preserve order. The Chitral expedition forces are to receive a special medal and a gratuity of Rs. 600,000.

We note the following public benefactions from individuals:—Raja Ram Lall Mukerji of Bainchi, Hugli district, Rs. 50,000 for investment to relieve distress in famines;—the Raja of Makhstupur, Rs. 25,000 to the Dufferin Hospital for private cottage-wards;—Raja Jyoti Pershad Garga of Mysadal, Rs. 4,000 for a dispensary at Gowankolly, with an annual endowment of Rs. 300;—Mr. Edulji Dinshaw of Karachi Rs. 50,000 for a female hospital;—and Haji Zakeria Ahmad Patel of Bombay, Rs. 200,000 for a Muhammadan orphanage.

The news from the NATIVE STATES is of unusual importance. The Maharaja of Kashmir has been made an Honorary Major General in the British Army. The Rana of Jhallawur, alleged to be unfit to govern, has been deposed; and the future of the State, now temporarily under the Political Agent, is under consideration, some urging its re-union with Kotah, from which it was separated only 60 years' ago. In Radhanpur, though Muhammad Sher Khanji, a minor, son of the late Nawab Bismillah Khanji, has been installed on the *gaddi*, the Political agent has set aside the Council of Administration organized by the late Nawab and taken the administration of the State into his own hands, falling, besides, into the evident mistake of interfering with the dowager Begum Sahiba's personal effects. This claim of administering States falling to minors, without considering the arrangements already made, is a most serious one, fraught with far-reaching consequences. The Portuguese revolt at Goa is not yet settled. In BURMA a statue of the Queen, presented, at a cost of Rs. 23,000, by Messrs. Carapiet and Samuel Balthazar, was unveiled in Rangoon by the Chief Commissioner. A great explosion of dynamite, some miles from Rangoon, caused damage to Rs. 80,000, and made a hole 30 feet deep: fortunately no lives were lost. Plumbago has been discovered near Man-

dalay and good coal in the Shan States near Kyaukye district. The Chief of Kiang-Kheng in the Mekong valley has been deposed for disobeying the British officials and impeding the exercise of their authority.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN has despatched presents, valued at Rs. 1,300,000, for Her Majesty and some members of the royal family, in acknowledgment of kindness shown to his son, Sardar Nasrullah Khan. They are to be handed over for presentation by the Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In the recent fighting with the Kafirs, 1,536 Afghans were killed or wounded; but 25 forts were captured, and 150 temples destroyed, idols of wood and brass being broken up, and gold ones sent to Kabul. The Kafirs had only bows and arrows and a few guns, and it took 100 camels to carry away the arms seized.

In CEYLON, Sir Joseph West Ridgway has entered on office as Governor. The customs for 1895 show a nett increase over 1894 of Rs. 924,341; the Government has purchased the Telephone Co.'s plant, etc., for £2,500; and the Colombo-Galle Railway has been extended to Matara. A Pali college under the Welivitiye Dharmaratne Terunansi, has been opened at the Bogahawatte temple; and a Pali-Sanskrit school is proposed for the Uva province. The Governor of the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS has signed the treaty of Federation with the Chiefs of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Sunjei Ujong, as the "Malay Protected States," under a Resident General (Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.) as the channel of communication between the Governor and the Confederacy, which will pay his salary. There is to be but one Civil Service, and a small army, distinct from the Police, which will be recruited in India. \$250,000 are sanctioned for the Penang Harbour works. The Anglo-French Convention regarding SIAM is treated at length elsewhere. The French have fortified Chantabung; and in Siam are registering Chinese and others as French subjects or *protégés*, which cannot but lead to future complications. A loan of frs. 80,000,000 on the guarantee of France is sanctioned for Tonquin. HONG KONG revenue for 1895 was \$2,363,000, expenditure 2,143,000, surplus 220,000; the estimates for 1896 were revenue \$2,288,366, expenditure 2,479,062, nearly 200,000 being for extraordinary public works. The rate of 17½ per cent. fixed for the military contribution has raised the sum of 40,000 to 41,500. The Bubonic Plague has reappeared, and some Russian spies have been detected sketching the fortifications.

In JAPAN, Viscount Muira and the Seoul conspirators were acquitted "for want of evidence." The total war expenditure is said to have reached 225,000,000 *yen*. The trade return of 1895 gave 265,373,004 *yen* against 230,728,036 in 1894; exports were 136,112,165 and imports 129,260,839. The Revenue for the year was 138,070,677 *yen* and expenditure 152,071,463; deficit 14,000,786 *yen*. Formosa is still giving trouble, and the estimated cost of its administration is put at 4,000,000 *yen*, with a revenue of only 1,500,000: ten telegraph offices were opened in the island in February.

In KOREA edicts regarding hair-cutting and new fashions in clothes cause much agitation. The King, being kept virtually a prisoner, fled to the Russian Legation, for the protection of which some troops were landed at Chemulpo; several ministers were murdered and much anarchy naturally

prevailed. The Budget calculated revenue at 4,809,410 *yen* and expenditure at 6,273,384 *yen*, the deficit of 1,463,974 *yen* to be made good by reduction of salaries. There are 1837 Japanese in Seoul; some 300,000 Koreans have taken refuge in Russian territory; and as some Russian settlers near the frontier had been molested in December, a small Russian force crossed over to protect them.

Sir C. M. Macdonald, late Commissioner in the Niger Protectorate, is the new British ambassador to CHINA. The Laotung peninsula has been entirely evacuated, and a loan of £16,000,000 is being negotiated in Germany. The Anhui troops at Hsiang-yin, 95 miles from Shanghai, mutinied, blew up the powder magazine, killing 200, and sentenced their general to death, their foreign instructors remaining safe under the protection of the Hunan troops. The Imperial Chinese Telegraph Department have made a duplicate line to Helampso opposite Blagovestschenk where it links with the Siberian lines; and Russia has secured the "use," during winter, of a good anchorage for her fleet. Russian naval and military forces continue to be augmented at Vladivostock. The scientific expedition to Tibet, under Capt. Roborovsky, has, after a two years' exploration from Dzumgarra to Lyukchun, returned to Kaisan, with many specimens—200 of mammals, 1,300 of birds, 450 of fish, 30,000 of insects, 25,000 of plants, and 300 of seeds, besides 300 geological specimens: 10,700 miles were traversed, careful surveys being made of the whole.

In PERSIA, severe earthquake shocks in Azerbaijan did immense damage to property with a loss of 1,100 lives. Serious riots occurred at Julfa (Ispahan) from the accidental death of 2 persons at the office of a European firm. The Indo-Persian frontier delimitation is in actual progress—200 miles of desert country from Kuh Malik-i-Siah in the north-west corner of Baluchistan to the town of Jalk on the Mushkid Rud. The British commissioners are Col. Holdich and Wahab, Capt. Kemball and Mr. Sykes, Consul of Kerman,—with 15 sowars and 100 sepoy. This is the only part of the frontier as yet undetermined. The Russian Company already constructing the road between Resht and Kasvin, have obtained a 75 years' concession for a road between Kasvin and Hamadan, besides taking over the existing road between Kasvin and Teheran.

In TURKEY the disgraceful jealousies of the European powers have prevented anything like united action for necessary reforms. That there had been great exaggeration in the evil done is proved by a Blue-book issued; but there was quite enough to require prompt remedies, which are as far distant as ever. Enforced conversions of Armenians are said to continue, and one of our Vice-consuls has testified to them; and disturbances are reported from Albania and from Crete where Turkhan Pasha has replaced Karatheodory Pasha. Father Scheil has discovered, at Mujilibah in Babylonia, a diorite *stela* of Nabonidus, with eleven columns of inscription containing much historical *data*: the top is broken. In CYPRUS, in 1894-5, at an expense of £6,877 there were destroyed 4,718 *okes* of locusts' eggs and 569,567,012 locusts.

In EGYPT, the princess Nimat Allah, youngest sister of the Khedive, was married to her cousin the prince Jemil Tussum; and Nubar Pasha, for

services rendered to his country, has been created G.C.S.I. For 1895, the estimated revenue £E10,260,000 yielded 10,508,000; the expenditure £E9,600,000 was only 9,450,000; and the surplus £E660,000 rose to £E1,058,000, the largest yet got. Of this sum, about £421,000 went to debt conversion, and some 354,000 to the reserve, leaving 332,000 at the disposal of government. The Finance Ministry propose small loans at low interest to the *Fellahin* on their cotton crops, to save them from usurers. The repair of Cairo monuments is being undertaken, £7,000 being voted for the purpose, beginning with £1,500 for the mosque El Mardani which dates from A.D. 1338. An expedition is proceeding to Dongola against the Dervishes.

Our ASHANTI Campaign has had a bloodless success, and King Prempeh is paying for his obstinacy at Cape Coast Castle. The explosion of 10 tons of gunpowder on board the British steamer *Matadi* killed 25 white and 16 black men and sunk the vessel. CONGO FREE STATE Exports for 1895 were given at frcs. 10,943,019 and Imports at 10,685,847.

Sir David Tennant is now Agent-General in London of CAPE COLONY; and Mr. C. Rhodes, having resigned the Premiership, Sir John Gordon Spriggs succeeded him. Cape imports for 1895 were £19,094,880; exports £16,904,756; and Colonial produce was £3,826,504; diamonds £4,775,016, gold £7,975,637, an increase all round. Gold Exports, which, in December 1895, were £689,467 fell in January 1896 to £621,704. Col. Goold Adams has made the settlement of Bathoen's territorial limits with the Railway in the South of the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and the High Commissioner has withdrawn the proclamation of October, by which the territories of Montsioa and Tkaming had been placed under the B. S. A. Co., and has himself resumed their direct administration. Earl Grey has been sent out as Administrator in place of Dr. Jameson; Mr. C. Rhodes will reside in Rhodesia and co-operate with him,—and Col. Sir R. E. R. Martin, K.C.M.G., late Commissioner in Swaziland, is appointed a Deputy Commissioner under the High Commissioner of S. Africa for administrative purposes and Commandant-General of all the British Police forces in Bechuana-, Matabele-, and Mashona-land and directly responsible, as such, to the Imperial Government. TRANSVAAL trade for 1895 was £4,314,390 against 2,895,639 in 1894. Dr. Jameson's raid, fight, surrender, detention and deportation are now old matters: the trial is going on. That of the Uitlander leaders of Johannesburg by the Transvaal authorities continues; and a frightful explosion of dynamite has caused widespread disaster. Judge Steyn has been elected President of the ORANGE FREE STATE by a large majority over his competitor, Mr. Fraser. Gungunhana has submitted to the Portuguese, and with his son, 2 *Idunas* and 10 women has reached Lisbon, *en route* for Cape Verde, his future residence. An outbreak in MATABELELAND is again raising "the negro difficulty."

In Nyassaland, the chief Mwasi of Kasungu, west side of the lake, raided for slaves, with the Angoni and Yeos tribes, even into our protectorate, with a following of 20,000, but was routed by Lt. Alston with 150 regulars and 5,000 allied tribesmen. The slave-trader Zafari on the Shire has also been punished. Dr. Carl Peters, late Governor of GERMAN EAST AFRICA is to be tried on charges of murder while in office.

The Mombasa-Uganda Railway is begun ; but owing to trouble by some chiefs, the 24th Bombay Infantry are sent to keep order.

The Italians, who, after a short siege, had evacuated Makalah with the honours of war, have suffered a severe defeat from the Abyssinians at Adowa, with terrible loss. It has endangered their position in Africa, but they are negotiating for an honourable peace, perhaps yielding Adigrat and Kasala,—the latter is being attacked by Dervishes under Osman Digma.

For MADAGASCAR a supplementary credit of frcs. 17,325,000 was sanctioned, the island being definitely made a French possession, dislocating all previous treaties into foreign powers made by the Hovas. Hostility is still shown, but the beneficial effects of the occupation are said to be already felt. The late premier Rainilaiarivony has been deported to Algiers. In future the *Messageries Maritimes* cease to call at SEYCHELLES, where this late coaling depot has been taken over by our Admiralty. This leaves the island without regular communication with MAURITIUS.

In AUSTRALIA, a conference of Premiers has been arranging for the federation of the Military forces and other matters connected with a closer union of all the Australian Colonies, New Zealand still remaining apart. The Federation Enabling Bill has been passed in N. S. Wales, S. Australia, Victoria and Tasmania, and the Federation itself seems likely soon to be an accomplished fact. In 1895 the total out-put of gold of the 7 colonies was 2,350,562 oz., an increase of 106,928 oz.

N. S. WALES revenue for  $\frac{1}{2}$  year ending December, 1895, was £4,841,721, an increase of 1,688; expenditure 4,305,000, being 305,000 under the estimate. S. AUSTRALIAN revenue for the quarter ending December, 1895, was £562,704, an increase of 4,355. The separation of the Northern Territory was discussed and negatived by a small majority. In VICTORIA, the revenue for the quarter ending December, 1895, was £1,554,326, a decrease of £126,812. In 1895, the exports were £12,547,700, an increase of 521,000 and imports 12,472,000, an increase of 1,700. In QUEENSLAND, where a general election is in progress, the revenue for the last half-year was £2,009,000, an increase of 148,000; expenditure £1,694,000, an increase of 66,000. WEST AUSTRALIAN revenue for 1895 was £1,438,717, an increase of 863,679; that of the quarter ending December, 1895, was 449,764, an increase of 120,270, and that of January, 1896, £130,729, an increase of 30,414,—showing a steady progress. Mr. Venn, the Minister of railways, has been dismissed by the Governor, on declining to resign, after a disagreement with the Premier. In TASMANIA the following increases in one year are noted,—sheep from 1,535,000 to 1,727,000, and pigs from 13,068, to 52,000.

Mr. W. P. Reeves succeeds Sir W. Percival as Agent General of NEW ZEALAND in London. The frozen meat export of 1895 was 128,000,000 lb., an increase of 11,000,000 lb., of which 9,000,000 were in lambs.

In CANADA, a ministerial crisis ended in a reconstruction of the cabinet with Sir Charles Tupper as its head. The Dominion Parliament has introduced a moderate Bill for settling the Education question in Manitoba, which province is said to be determined to resist; also a Bill for branding

cheese. The Behring Sea claims have been referred to arbitration as to amount due, there being one American and one British member and the President of the Swiss Republic nominating the third. A loan of \$3,000,000 is issued for rearming the Canadian Militia, and 40,000 Lee-Mitford rifles are ordered. In 1895,—12,908 horses were shipped to England; and in 2 years, 7,000 Canadian horses have been purchased by France, 1,000 being for the army. The actual results of 1894-5 give revenue \$33,975,127, expenditure 38,132,000, a deficit of near 4,150,000; the estimates for 1895-6 are revenue \$31,578,664, expenditure 33,750,000; deficit about \$2,170,000; while for 1896-7, revenue and expenditure are calculated to balance at about \$37,000,000. There are signs of recovering trade, the January imports showing an increase of \$2,739,000 and the exports \$1,500,000. At the end of January, the deposits in the Government Savings Banks were \$17,263,835,—an increase of 68,100.

NEWFOUNDLAND revenue seems recovering and there was a surplus of \$146,345, all liabilities having been cleared by a loan of £550,000. The Blue Book for 1894, only issued last February, gave the produce of the fisheries at \$5,466,911. Other exports were—copper, \$235,179; Iron-pyrites, 285,474; Asbestos, 1,200; and lumber, 82,641. Savings Banks deposits were, \$2,821,423, with 6,401 depositors. Imports were \$7,164,738; Exports, \$5,811,169; and revenue, \$1,641,035; the revenue for the last half-year was \$800,000.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of:—Bde. Surg. Lt.-Col. Rajendra Chandra Chandra;—Lady Lethbridge;—Heremoni Ratitapu, a centenarian Maori Chief;—Hon. Edward Murphy, and Hon. Henry Kablbach, Dominion Senators, Canada;—H. H. Kerala Varma Elya Raja, nephew and heir of the Maharaja of Travancore;—H.H. the Nawab of Radhanpur;—Col. R. G. J. Hurford (1st Afghan, Maharajpur, 1st and 2nd Sikh and Mutiny campaigns); Hon. J. I. Fellows, Agent General for New Brunswick;—H.H. the Jam of Lusbeila, Baluchistan;—H.H. the Maharaja Thakur Saheb Takhtsinghji, of Bhowanagar, G.C.S.I., after a distinguished reign of 20 years;—Genl. R. C. Lawrence, C.B., last of the great 5 brothers (Sutlej and Mutiny campaigns and then in the political department);—Raja Sir Dinkur Rao, K.C.S.I., the veteran statesman of Gwalior;—Genl. Hugh Chichester, R.A. (Mutiny);—Genl. H. T. Molesworth, R.A. (China 1842, and Mutiny);—Shahzada Nadir Bahadur, C.I.E., son of Shah Shuja of Kabul;—H.H. Sri Pratapsinghji, Raja of Sunth;—Genl. Sir C. P. Keyes, G.C.B. (2nd Sikh, and all the frontier campaigns till 1878);—the famous veteran Orientalist and general scholar, Dr. Reinhold Rost, late Librarian of the India Office;—Genl. Sir E. J. Foster, K.C.B. (1st Afghan and 1st Sikh wars);—George Robertson, F.R.S.E., Commissioner in 1870 for inspecting Indian Harbours;—Pundit Balakaul, a renowned Kashmiri Sanskritist;—Sir C. U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., sometime Acting Foreign Secretary in India, member of the Viceroy's Council and Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab;—Genl. J. T. Walker, R.E., C.B., best known for his work in the Indian Surveys but equally distinguished in war (2nd Sikh, several Frontier and the



Mutiny campaigns);—W. J. B. Clerke, C.I.E., distinguished for work during the famine of 1876-7;—Surg. Genl. J. Ekin, C.B. (Crimea, Afghan and Egyptian wars);—Genl. Sir A. W. Lucas, K.C.B. (South Mahratta, Persian, Mutiny and Abyssinian wars);—Col. W. R. Orme (Maharajpur, Sutlej and Mutiny campaigns);—George Schilling, Principal of the Lucknow La Martinière College, who, with his pupils, served during the siege;—H. B. Goad, of the Simla Municipality, well known to many of our readers;—Genl. H. Peel Yates, C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny), Mr. C. Macnaghten, the respected and popular Principal of the Rajkumar College in Kattywar; the philanthropic and philo-Muhammadan, Mr. G. Crawshaw.

25th March, 1896.

V.

The telegram, just received, that the Amir has issued orders discountenancing the slave traffic in Kafirs among his subjects and cheerfully agreeing to Kafirs taking refuge in Chitrál, shows that our conviction of his humanity and farsightedness was well-founded, whilst it also increases our regret that representations were not made to him earlier and more clearly by the Government of India, which would, we believe, have had the effect of stopping the massacres. The friends of the Kafir cause have reason to congratulate themselves on the partial success that their efforts have achieved at the eleventh hour, though these should not be relaxed, as there are many evils yet to be redressed in connexion with the campaigns in Kafiristan and with Kafir slavery in Afghanistan itself, to which attention is drawn in an article in this issue.—*Ed.*

28th March, 1896.



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